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PART I.—JANUARY

The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century

By M. LONGWORTH DAMES

IN his paper *L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine*, published in *T'oung Pao* in 1912, M. Cordier, before giving a more detailed account of the events in the Further East following on the taking of Malacca in 1511, gave a lucid sketch of the events accompanying the first establishment of Portuguese power in Eastern seas. I consider that these events require to be further set forth, for as far as I am aware the existing histories do not give any adequate and consecutive account of the struggle for the mastery of the Arabian Sea carried out by the Portuguese against the Muhammadan states, and more especially against the Turks, who in the sixteenth century were the most powerful military state in the world. In this paper I propose to deal with this subject to the best of my ability.

When the brilliant period of marine exploration and discovery inaugurated by the great organizer known as Prince Henry the Navigator came to its culmination in the closing years of the fifteenth century with the discovery of the sea passage to the East, Portugal had opened a new page in

history. The greatness of this exploit has been universally recognized, and the names of Bartholomeu Diaz and Vasco da Gama have long been inscribed on the roll of fame with those of the great explorers and sailors of all nations. Yet it may be doubted whether the true nature of the task which Portugal then undertook to achieve as the pioneer and forerunner of Europe has been fully realized. It is generally taken for granted that the Eastern trade, once the route by the Cape of Good Hope had been made known, fell of itself, and as it were automatically, into the hands of the bold adventurers who "were the first who ever burst" into the Indian Ocean without the toils and dangers of the land passage, and that the wealth of the Indies thenceforward flowed in a smooth and uninterrupted stream to Portugal and to all Europe. But it is seldom recognized that in order to secure these benefits Portugal was embarking on a naval war of unprecedented length and difficulty against the greatest military power then existing. It is probable that the Portuguese leaders did not themselves realize it, for Turkey had not as yet, in 1498, made her way to the shores of the Indian Ocean. They did realize, however, that they would have to fight many powerful enemies before they could obtain control of the trade routes, and they prepared deliberately for the struggle. Selim Yawuz (or the Grim), a man of extraordinary vigour and ability, was not content with the grip he had obtained over Europe ; he contemplated nothing short of universal empire. India was at this time going through one of its periods of anarchy and weakness. The great Salṭanat of Delhi had declined into decrepitude, and although some able Afghan adventurers, the Lōdis, had inspired it with some signs of life, it was incapable of recovering its old dominions in the Deccan. Most of the Musulmān kingdoms which had arisen on its ruins were themselves in decay. The Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan had split up into five small realms, two of which reached to the sea-coast and held the region in which Bombay and Goa afterwards arose. Further north

the coast was held by the strongest still surviving of the kingdoms which had succeeded that of Delhi, Gujarāt, the only one of them with any naval power, and the possessor of the famous ports of Kambāyat, Sūrat, and Diu. Mesopotamia, the Shatt-al-'Arab, and the northern coasts of the Persian Gulf were in the hands of the newly founded kingdom of Shāh Isma'il, Safavī, who had established the Shi'a sect of Islām in Persia and was the principal object of the hatred of Selim, who regarded him as a detestable heretic as well as a dangerous rival, and, moreover, as the possessor of the only route by which access could be obtained to the Persian Gulf, the shortest way to India. The actual issue from the Gulf was held by the small mercantile principality of Hurmuz, which from its barren and torrid rocky island in the Straits controlled both the Persian and Arabian coasts, and grew wealthy on the tolls levied on the trade which passed through.

On the other side of Arabia lay the Egyptian kingdom of the Mamlūks, still apparently strong, ruling not only Egypt but Syria, and controlling the Red Sea and the sacred places of Islām.

To enable Selim to carry out his ambitious schemes, the control of the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, or both, was necessary, and to obtain this control he must conquer either Persia or Egypt. Could he but obtain control of the sea-route to India, conquest of that country in its distracted condition would be easy for a Turkish army constituted and disciplined as those armies then were. India had long been the coveted object for the men of Turkish race, not Ottoman Turks, it is true, but of the same stock and speaking the same language. Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Timūr were Turks, and Bābur, who, six years after Selim's death, overthrew the Delhi kingdom and established the so-called Mughal Empire, was also a Turkish adventurer. Ottoman Turks abounded in India, they were employed to form their body-guards by many of the Muḥammadan rulers, and were

universally found as artillerymen; in fact, all the gunners in India seem to have been Turks.¹ They also held many of the official posts of importance. As a step to opening the way to these vast projects, Persia was first attacked. Shāh Isma'il was defeated and crippled at the battle of Chāldirān in 1514. Kurdistān fell into the hands of Selim, but Persia was still able to retain her hold on Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, so that the scheme so far was a failure. Selim then turned his arms against the Mamlūks, and in 1517 succeeded in destroying their Government and annexing both Syria and Egypt. This gave him control over the Red Sea and the sacred places, and the sea-route to India for the first time became accessible to the Turks. But the Portuguese now stood in his way, and to understand the position it is necessary to go back a few years and consider what had been happening in the Indian Ocean.

At the extreme south of Western India lies the country of Malabar, a fertile strip between the Ghats and the sea. Here were some small Hindu states as yet untouched by the flood of Musalmān invasion. The principal of these was Calicut, and it was here that the Portuguese adventurers first touched Indian soil. They soon discovered that the Raja of that country looked on them with unfriendly eyes, for although he was a Hindu he was dependent for his revenues on the trade carried on by the Arab merchants with the Persian Gulf, Arabia, and East Africa. All attempts on the part of the Portuguese to obtain trade were resisted, and their leaders therefore made friends with two minor states, Cochin and

¹ No less than three out of the kingdoms which were formed out of the Bahmanī State were ruled over by men of Turkish origin, viz. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, founder of the 'Ādilshāhīs of Bijāpur, Kāsim Barīd (often called Kāsim Turk), founder of the Barīdshāhīs of Bidar, and Sulṭān Kuli Kuṭb Shāh, founder of the Kuṭbshāhīs of Golkonda. All three probably belonged to the Turkish tribes of Ādarbaijān. The claim afterwards made that Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh was a son of Sulṭān Murād II of Turkey is probably baseless. I have dealt with this question in my note to my edition of the Book of Duarte Barbosa (Hakluyt Society), vol. i, p. 72, n. 1.

Cananor, which were jealous of their more powerful neighbour. Trading stations or factories were soon established at these places, and a fort built at Cochin in 1506. The Portuguese were also on fairly amicable terms with the great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar, which held the divided Muhammadan states at bay over the remainder of South India, and came down to the coast north of Malabar and south of Goa. The Raja of this country hoped to get a supply of horses for his cavalry from the Portuguese, and to be freed from dependence on the Arab dealers. The principal Arab settlements in East Africa, Mozambique, Kilwa, and Mombasa, were taken and occupied by the Portuguese, and a settlement made in 1507 on the island of Socotra, near the entrance to the Red Sea. Thus a strong position was secured, and the fleets coming round the Cape were provided with harbours and means of obtaining supplies. Yet their trials and difficulties were enormous. Provisions were bad, and scurvy raged, crews were decimated, and the tiny ships frequently perished in the gales of the South Atlantic. Meanwhile, all the Muhammadan powers surrounding the Arabian Sea were up in arms against the insolent intruders on their ancient monopoly in the lucrative traffic of the East, and before Turkey came on the scene they had combined to make one great effort to crush them. The leaders in this movement were the Mamlûks of Egypt and the Sultāns of Gujarāt, and active assistance was given by the rulers of Bijāpur and Aḥmadnagar, two of the smaller kingdoms which had arisen on the ruins of the Bahmanī kingdom, which, as has already been noticed, were interested in the maintenance of the Arab trade. Egypt, especially, found herself faced with the loss of the great revenues she derived from the trade which came by the Red Sea to Suez, and thence by caravans to Alexandria, where the Venetian and Genoese merchants paid heavily for the privilege of monopolizing the trade of Europe. Kambāya or Cambay, one of the principal emporiums of India, was in Gujarāt; Chāul in Aḥmadnagar, and Dābhōl

in Bijāpur, were both very important trade centres. It was arranged that a fleet should be equipped at Suez and sent to India to co-operate with the light coasting craft of Gujarāt ; assistance and co-operation was to be given by the other states, and information as to Portuguese movements obtained from Calicut. The Egyptian fleet was placed under the command of Mir Husain, Governor of Jedda, a Kurd by race, while the Gujarāt forces were organized by Malik Ayyāz, a Russian renegade taken prisoner by the Turks in his youth and sold into slavery in India, where he rose by his ability to be governor of the town and island of Diu.¹

The Portuguese were under the Viceroy Francisco D'Almeida, one of the great leaders of the time, who was ably seconded by his gallant and popular son Lourenço, the darling of the troops and sailors. Lourenço's exploits, as described by contemporary chroniclers, resemble those of a hero of ancient romance. Gaspar Correa says in his account of a fight at Cochin ² that Dom Lourenço, who had just been wounded in the hand by an arrow, "threw himself upon them with great fury, whirling his battle-axe round, and felled two of them so that they could not rise, and one javelin-man he dealt such a blow with his axe that he split him through the shoulder into two pieces, and another wielding a short sword he cut through both legs at the knees, and another he ran through with the spike of the battle-axe so that he fell dead. The rest, seeing these strokes, were seized with great terror, nevertheless they did not yield, but strove to wound him in the heels, no other part being uncovered, for he went all armed in white armour gilded in parts, and the darts they hurled at the vizor of his helm, but they could do him no hurt, and when they struck him with their soft iron swords they broke or twisted, whereupon they fled and took refuge

¹ This is the account given by De Barros (Dac. II, ii, 9), and is the most trustworthy. Correa calls him a Jão, or Javanese. Firishita says simply that he was the private slave of the Sultān of Gujarāt. Castanheda (i, 252) says he was a Tartar by nation.

² *Lendas da Índia*, vol. i, p. 612.

in the mosques, and were no more willing to display their valour." Such was the young leader whose deeds have furnished the subject of the excellent historical novel of Pinheiro Chagas, *The Viceroy's Jewel*,¹ which adheres closely to the narratives of the chroniclers. He was the first Portuguese leader to visit Ceylon and open up friendly communications with the rulers of that country. In 1507 the Viceroy sent him north with a squadron to explore the coast as far as Gujarāt, to attack and scatter pirates and local hostile gatherings, but no rumour of the approaching storm from Egypt seems to have reached him. As he lay in the estuary leading to the then famous port of Chāul (a little way south of where Bombay stands now), into which he had run to escape the force of the monsoon gales, news was brought to him by a Hindu that a great Moorish (i.e. Muḥammadan) fleet had arrived at Diu, and had been joined by Malik Ayyāz with his light craft. The joint fleet was on its way to Chāul, and it would be well for the small Portuguese fleet to put to sea at once, and not to be caught in the river by a much stronger force. This was also Dom Lourenço's opinion, but he was overborne by the views of the majority of the captains, who thought the whole story a stratagem to tempt them out to sea, and unfortunately for him the squadron remained in the estuary. Even when the Egyptian fleet arrived off the bar the Portuguese sailors at first believed it to be that of Afonso D'Albuquerque, for the ships were of the European style such as had not been met with in India before. They were soon undeceived. The fleet came in over the bar and attacked the Portuguese vessels. In spite of their bad position the latter were able to beat them off, and the Egyptian fleet withdrew to a distance after severe losses. The next morning the Gujarāt light vessels, sixty *fustas*, came in over the bar, and the fight was renewed, lasting through the day and night. On the following day came

¹ *A Joia do Visorey.*

the disaster. D. Lourenço's ship, in turning to go downstream, became entangled in a line of fishermen's stakes, and was for a time isolated among a swarm of *fustas*. There was still an opportunity of escaping in a small boat to the other ships, but the leader refused to leave any of his men behind, and they would not go without him. In the end a shot broke both D. Lourenço's legs, and he shortly afterwards died, telling the remainder of his men to surrender to Malik Ayyāz, who had promised to keep them as prisoners of the King of Gujarāt, and not to make them over to the Egyptian fleet. This they did, after first letting down the body of their commander into the swift current through a hole in the ship with all his arms and belongings, so that nothing of his should fall into the hands of the enemy. Part of the squadron escaped, but the blow to the Portuguese was a severe one, and thus the first serious fight in the long war was a triumph for the enemy. This battle took place at the end of April, 1507,¹ and it was not till the end of the next year that the Viceroy was able to collect a fleet of sufficient strength to avenge his loss. During this period Alboquerque, who had come out from Portugal with another fleet under Tristão D'Acunha, and had jointly with him taken the island of Socotra, made his first attempt (during 1508) to take possession of the island of Hurmuz, and so to seal up the entrance of the Persian Gulf. This attempt, successful at first, ended in a partial failure, owing to the mutinous conduct of some of his captains, who deserted him at the most critical time, and sailed away to India to traduce him to the Viceroy. It is evident that the lack of discipline in the Portuguese fleet, as in other fleets at the same period, was a source of great danger. There was no royal fleet; some ships were fitted out by the king, and others by private adventurers, and these always claimed liberty of action and held themselves free to disobey

¹ De Barros, dec. II, vii, f. 41; Correa, i, 762-71; Firishta, i, 204. Mirāt-i-Sikandārī in Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 322 (Fazlu'llāh's trans., p. 75), gives the date as 913 H., which year began on May 13, 1507. Castanheda, i, 254, places these events in 1508.

orders unless they approved of them. Albuquerque himself did much to reform this abuse at a later time, but it long remained a dangerous defect in the fleets sent out from Lisbon. Yet they were superior to their adversaries in seamanship and gunnery, and in a naval engagement under equal conditions they seldom failed to assert this superiority. This was shown most forcibly in February, 1509, when Almeida with his fleet sailed up the west coast of India, and after taking his revenge at Dābhōl for the assistance which had been given there to the Egyptian fleet, arrived at Diu, where he found the Egyptian fleet and the Gujarāt *fustas*, with a contingent from Calicut, assembled in the strait between the island of Diu and the mainland, where they were under the guns of the fort. The attack was made in the morning, with the sea breeze bringing in the Portuguese fleet. The fight was a desperate one; there was much grappling and boarding. Many ships were sunk, and the Egyptian fleet was completely broken up. How far it escaped absolute destruction is not certain. It is remarkable, however, that the native historians of Gujarāt, while laying great stress on the victory of Chāul, do not say a word as to the defeat at Diu. Mir Ḥusain and his fleet are never mentioned again after their victorious return to Diu either by Firishta or by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*.

The Sultān of Rūm, who was the enemy of the European unbelievers (*Kāffār-i-Firang*), sent many ships to the coast of Hind for a holy war (*ghaza*) and protection, and many ships arrived near Gujarāt. Sultān Maḥmūd, eager to take part in the holy war, started towards the ports of Basi (Bassain) Daman (Dāmān) and Mahāim (Mahim), and when he arrived in the region of Daman he ordered his own private slave, Ayyāz Sultān, who was *Amīra'l-umarā* and *sipah-sālār*, to go from Dīb (Diu) with several picked ships to attack the Firangis, and ten large ships of the Rūmis, who were come from the *Khūnkār* of Rūm for purposes of holy war, accompanied Ayyāz, and Ayyāz, having gone to Chēwal (Chāul), fought with the Christians, and one great ship of the Firang, worth one *Karor*, and in which was their leader, was battered and sunk by the cannon of the Musulmāns, and Ayyāz was victorious and slew very many.

Although he lost four hundred of his own men, who drank the *sharbat* of martyrdom, yet two or three thousand of the Firang unbelievers were despatched to hell. (*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Newal Kishor Press, Lucknow, vol. i, p. 204.)

For the *Khūnkār-i-Rūm*, Briggs in his translation (vol. iv, p. 74) has the "Grand Signior of Constantinople". Possibly *Firishta* himself did not know that the fleet was Egyptian and not Turkish.

The passage corresponding in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Bayley's *Hist. of Gujarat*, p. 322), is as follows :—

The Sultān (i.e. Maḥmūd Bigarha) marched with his army to Chēwal, and in consequence of the disturbances caused by Europeans he marched towards Basai and Mahaim. On arriving at Diu he learnt that Malik Ayyāz, the Sultān's slave, and the ruler of Diu, had obtained a body of Turks and ten Turkish ships. With these he sailed to the port of Chēwal and fought with the disorderly Europeans. He killed a great many of them and with his guns sunk one large ship heavily laden. Malik Ayyāz lost 440 men, Turks and others, but he returned to Diu in triumph.

Neither of these authors even mentions the fight off Diu in 1509.

Mir Ḥusain is heard of in the Red Sea as building fortifications at Jedda,¹ but never seems to have commanded a fleet again. Before the time of the Turkish conquest of Egypt by the Turks he was superseded by a corsair from the Mediterranean, a Greek renegade from Mitylene, named Raīs Sulaimān, and Mir Ḥusain seems to have served under him in an unsuccessful attack on Aden.² Ultimately, according to De Barros, Mir Ḥusain was thrown overboard and drowned by his successor's orders. At Gujarāt Malik Ayyāz hastened to make peace with the Portuguese by supplying the fleet with provisions and surrendering the Portuguese prisoners taken at Chāul. If Almeida had not been opposed to the policy

¹ See De Barros, dec. III, i, 6, f. 6, verso; Book of Duarte Barbosa, i, 47-50.

² Ibid. III, i, 6, f. 8, and IV, i, 8, p. 24.

of land acquisitions it is probable that Diu would have been surrendered to the Portuguese. As it was they did not obtain it till 1535.

Thus ended the first concerted attempt to expel the Portuguese from the Indian seas. It is to be noted that many historians, both Portuguese and Indian, speak of the Egyptian fleet as one sent out by the Sultān of Rūm or Constantinople. No doubt, even before the annexation of Egypt, the Turkish element was very strong in that country, and the composition of the fleet was like that of the Turkish fleets; a fighting element of Turks, mixed with Kurds and Circassians, sailors of all kinds from the Levant, mostly Christians by birth, and prisoners in the galleys under Turkish taskmasters. The native Egyptians had no voice in the matter. The confusion was therefore natural, especially as all the histories were composed after the Turks were in possession of the Red Sea.

From 1509 till the end of 1515 Afonso D'Albuquerque was the Portuguese Governor, a man of great ability and extraordinary energy. He did not share Francisco D'Almeida's objection to land settlements. He saw clearly that to maintain the struggle at such a distance from home it was absolutely necessary for Portugal to have a foothold of her own, secure from the caprices of native rulers. The first was Goa, on an island between two creeks, a secure harbour separated from the mainland by a shallow but easily defended channel. This had belonged to the Bijāpur kingdom. It was taken, lost, and retaken in 1510, and has been held ever since by Portugal. The second was Hurmuz, which held the key of the Persian Gulf. The ruler of this island had accepted Portuguese suzerainty in 1508, but, as described above, Albuquerque was prevented from completing his schemes. The last act of his rule and his life was the completion of the strong fort which still stands on the deserted and sun-parched rock as a memento of departed greatness. Portugal held this extraordinary island, by nature one of the most desolate places in the world, but important and wealthy by its position, till

1622, and its loss was one of the principal causes of her downfall. After taking Goa in 1510, the indefatigable governor in 1511 conducted a most adventurous expedition to Malacca, one of the most important points for controlling the trade from China and the Spice Islands. This, too, became a Portuguese possession, and filled the position now occupied by Singapur and Hong-Kong combined. The fourth of the key-points aimed at was one which should discharge for the Red Sea the same function as Hurmuz did for the Persian Gulf. Aden was the only place that in any way corresponded with Hurmuz. Even Aden, however, could not perfectly seal up the Red Sea. Alboquerque made a bold attempt in 1513 to take by escalade this strongly fortified town. The attempt failed, and he then tried to reach and take the town of Jedda. He had vast dreams of converting the world and destroying Islām by taking its holy places. He had not, however, reckoned with the climate of the Red Sea. He could not reach Jedda, and his men perished from fever in the terrible island of Kamarān. He was unable to renew his attempts on Aden, and Portuguese power was never established there. Although the Indian Ocean became a dangerous place for Turkish ships, yet some trade continued to find its way to the Red Sea, and from time to time expeditions came out of it through the Straits of Bāb-el-Mandab. Also occasional Portuguese fleets went in through the same straits, but were never able to do much. In 1515-16, just before the Turkish conquest of Egypt, a small expedition under Rāis Sulaimān went out and tried to take Aden. Although the walls were battered down the Arabs were able to beat it off.¹ Soon afterwards Lopo Soares D'Albergaria, the incapable successor of Alboquerque, appeared in the harbour with his fleet. The Arab chief felt himself so helpless that he offered to surrender the fort to the Portuguese. The foolish Lopo Soares preferred to go on

¹ It had been intended that the fleet should go on to the Indian coast, but it was not able to go beyond Aden. See the account in Castanheda, IV, vii, 11-13.

with the impossible project of taking Jedda,¹ actually reached it, and sailed back again. As with the first expedition, he was shut up in Kamarān by the monsoon, and lost most of his men, and when at last he got back to Aden he found that the Arabs had rebuilt their wall and laughed at the idea of surrendering the town.

Just before Lopo Soares arrived in front of Jedda the news had been received of the conquest of Egypt by Selim. Rais Sulaimān, the governor, declared for him and was confirmed as Governor of Jedda. Selim at once pursued the plans for the invasion of India, but as the fleet of Egypt had been destroyed he had no means of carrying them out. He urged on the construction of a large fleet² at Suez, but did not live to see its completion. Selim died in 1519, and it remained for his successor Sulaimān, generally called "the Magnificent", to prosecute his schemes. Nothing was, however, done for some years, and the work on the fleet seems to have been retarded by a feud between Rais Sulaimān and a Circassian named Haidar, who succeeded him as Governor of Jedda, though not in command of the fleet. This ended in both being killed.³ The retreat of Lopo Soares from Jedda had much injured the prestige of the Portuguese, and, although he had taken and destroyed Zeila, on the Somali coast, on his way back to Hurmuz in 1517, and Saldanha sacked Berbera the next year, there was, according to Correa, a general idea that the Portuguese would not venture to oppose the Turks. It was felt that some action must be taken, and in 1523 an expedition was sent to Massowa, in the Red Sea, to bring back a Portuguese Ambassador who had gone to Abyssinia, but it returned without effecting its purpose.

In 1524⁴ Eitor da Silveira again went into the Red Sea, and also made peace with Aden, the Chief of which expressed his willingness to submit to Portugal; a treaty

¹ Castanheda, iv, 18 and iv, 41.

² De Barros, IV, i, 8. 24 f.

³ De Barros, IV, i, 8, p. 24.

⁴ Correa, ii, 780.

which, however, led to nothing. Next year a Turkish fleet under Raīs Sulaimān again threatened Aden, but was beaten off by Silveira. This fleet and others in the following years made their way across the Indian Ocean to the coast of Gujarāt, where many contests took place with Portuguese vessels.¹ Sultān Sulaimān was undoubtedly attracted to India by the state of unrest and disorganization which followed the invasion of Bābur in the north and the collapse of the Bahmanī kingdom in the south. Bābur's great victory at Pānīpat on April 20, 1526, which led to the fall of the Lōdī kingdom of Delhi and the foundation of the Mughal Empire, preceded only by four months Sulaimān's own triumph at Mohacs (on August 28, 1526), which led to the subjection of Hungary to Turkey. At this period Gujarāt stood out as the most wealthy and apparently the strongest among the existing kingdoms of India, and there can be no doubt that Sulaimān regarded a foothold on that coast as a necessary step towards the foundation of an Indian Empire. To effect this it was evidently his policy to form an alliance with Gujarāt for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Eastern seas; in fact, to carry out with far greater force what had been attempted by the Egyptian fleet in 1509. Negotiations were therefore commenced with any elements which gave the promise of raising a strong Turkish party in India. The Mughal Emperor Humāyūn, who succeeded Bābur in 1530, inherited his ambitions without his extraordinary resolution and energy. One of his principal projects was the conquest of the wealthy region of Gujarāt, and Bahādur Shāh, the king of that country, was willing to obtain support wherever he could, either from Turkey or from the Portuguese. His country had already served as a refuge for malcontents from the Delhi kingdom, among whom was the pretender to the crown, 'Alā-ud-dīn Lōdī (uncle of the king Ibrāhīm, who had been defeated by Bābur). This man or

¹ De Barros, IV, 1, 8. 27.

some member of his family found his way to Constantinople,¹ and begged for help, while Bahādur Shāh's emissaries at the same time laid his case before the Sultān with very valuable gifts and large sums of money in gold. These applications provided the opportunity he wanted, and he immediately began to fit out a great expedition at Suez. A fleet of sixty-six ships, including twenty-four large galleys and a great number of smaller craft, was constructed and armed with powerful artillery. A force of 20,000 men was embarked, which included 7,000 Janissaries, as the Turkish historian, Hāji Khalifa, informs us. This fact, alone, shows that conquest by land as well as by sea was contemplated, and there can be little doubt that Sulaimān's intention was to establish his power in India, relying at first on the support of Gujarāt. The whole was under the command of Sulaimān Bāshā, a eunuch of Greek descent, a man of great cunning, known for his cruel and unscrupulous nature. He held the post of Governor of Egypt, and owed his appointment, it was reported, to a harem intrigue. He was over eighty years of age, and inordinately fat, so much so that according to the chroniclers it took four men to lift him from a seat. His appointment to such a responsible post may be regarded as an example of the vicious Turkish system of later days, but can hardly be considered as typical under the usually vigorous administration of Sulaimān the Magnificent. A Portuguese pilot named Alvaro Madeira, who had been taken prisoner by the Arabs at Shihṛ on the coast of Hadhramaut, offered his services as guide, but escaped before the expedition sailed, and found his way to Lisbon, where he exposed the Turkish plans. His information was, however, too late to be of any value to his countrymen in India.

¹ Turkish records (quoted by Hammer-Purgstall) mention one Burhan Beg, "son of Sikandar Lōdī, who had been defeated by Humayun." No such person is mentioned by the Indian historians. Sikandar Lōdī was the father of Ibrāhīm, who was defeated not by Humāyūn but by Bābur, nor is the title Beg borne by Afghāns such as the Lōdīs. In India it denotes Mughal descent. Firishta (Persian text, ii, 222) says that 'Alā-ud-dīn was one of the sons of Bahlōl Shāh, Lōdī.

The island of Diu had been ceded to the Portuguese by the Sultān of Gujarāt, Bahādur Shāh, in 1535, as a bribe to obtain their help against Humāyūn. They also obtained his consent to the erection of a fort on this island, and immediately set to work to construct it, under the orders of the Viceroy Nuno da Cunha. A quarrel afterwards broke out, and in 1536 Bahādur met his death in a sudden and apparently unpremeditated dispute which broke out during a visit to the Portuguese Governor. The succession to his throne was disputed, and in 1538 the nominal ruler was Maḥmūd Shāh, but the army seems to have been under the control of an Italian renegade named Khwāja Ja'afar,¹ who was working in the interest of Mir 'Ālam Khān, a Lōdī refugee. The Muḥammadan historians give but little information regarding these events, and we are dependent mainly on Portuguese records for what happened after the death of Bahādur Shāh. The defences of the Diu fort had been pushed on, and Khwāja Ja'afar, who had for a time feigned friendship to the Portuguese, suddenly turned against them, having learnt of the Turkish preparations. His troops, consisting of a motley army of Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, and others, were joined by the army of 'Ālam Khān, and occupied the north shore of the strait which separates the island of Diu from the mainland. This strait was in some places fordable at low water. The Portuguese fort occupied the eastern corner of the island, and the native town with a mercantile population of Muḥammadans and Hindus lay to the west of it.

The first attack was made on the town on June 26, 1538; the Portuguese commander, Antonio da Silveira, was able for a time to hold the straits, but in August he found that his small force was insufficient for this purpose, and he gradually withdrew his artillery into the fort, not without considerable losses. This action was just in time to avoid certain destruction, for the Turkish fleet was approaching. No news

¹ The correct form of this name is uncertain. It may be Zafar. The Portuguese historians give it as Sofar.

had reached Goa, and no reinforcements had been dispatched, but rumours began to come in, and at the end of August a light vessel, known as a *fusta*, or "foist", was sent to Mangalor (or Mangrol), at the west end of the Kathiawar peninsula, to reconnoitre. The captain, Miguel Vaz, caught sight of the great armada, and hurried back with the news that he had seen forty-five galleys and a multitude of smaller vessels. Miguel Vaz was immediately hurried off to give the news at Goa. He was sighted by the approaching enemy, but was able to escape them as there was a break in the monsoon, and the breezes which were sufficient for his light craft were not enough for the Turks. It may be remarked here that the Portuguese were better sailors than the Turks. They were at home in the stormy waters of the Indian Ocean, while the Turks, who had been trained in the Mediterranean, and who relied more on galleys than on sailing ships, often suffered severely during the monsoons.

Sulaimān Bāshā¹ had sailed from Suez on June 22, 1538,

¹ The principal authorities for Sulaimān Bāshā's expedition are the following:—

De Barros, IV, x, chs. 1-11.

Castanheda, viii, chs. 191-7, but history stops short in the middle of the siege.

Faria y Sousa (ed. 1666), i, 354 ff. Do Conto V, iv.

Haji Khalifa, *Maritime Wars of the Turks*, O.T.F. trans., p. 65 f., and *History des Guerres Maritimes*, f. 26.

Hammer-Purgstall, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, v, 297 f. (French translation).

Firishta (Persian text, ii, 224-5) and the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī conclude their accounts with the death of Bahādur Shāh, and do not relate the events connected with the Turkish fleet. This applies not only to the translation in Bayley's *History of Gujārāt* but also to the fuller translation by Fazlu'llāh Lutfullāh Faridī (Bombay, n.d.).

The relation of the Venetian officer who was a prisoner under Sulaimān Bāshā is given in Ramusio, i, 274-80 (*Viaggio scritto par un Comito Veneziano*).

These and subsequent events are also dealt with in the introduction to Bittner and Tomaschek's edition of Sidi 'Alī's Moḥīt (*Die topographische Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Moḥīt*, by Kapudan Sidi Ali, Kātib-i-Rūmī), Vienna, 1897, and in Sidi 'Alī's own account of his expedition, *The Mirāt el Mamālīk*, which is referred to here in the French version, *Relation des Voyages de Sidi Ali*, Paris, 1827.

and after a considerable delay at Jedda arrived at Aden, where he again delayed from August 3 till August 19, in order to obtain command of that important port which was under its own Arab chief, Shaykh Ghāzī bin Dāūd. This chief, though unwilling to submit to the Turks, wished to propitiate the commander of this powerful armament, and agreed to his request to send supplies to the fleet and to pay him a visit in person, and at the same time to receive at Aden a number of invalids from the fleet. Sulaimān under this guise landed a large number of soldiers with concealed arms, who, on a preconcerted signal, seized on the defences of the town and sacked it, while the unfortunate Ghāzī and three other Shaykhs who had accompanied him on board were at the same time hanged on the yardarms of the Bāshā's galley. He then sailed for Diu, leaving a garrison in Aden. This treacherous conduct, which soon became known among the Gujarātīs, did not conduce to good relations between them and the Turks. The fleet arrived off Diu on September 4, 1538. The Turks made a bad beginning, for Sulaimān was unable to conceal his desire to treat Gujarāt as a conquered country. The troops which were landed made a demonstration in front of the Portuguese fort, but also indulged themselves in an orgy of plunder and murder in the town, and spread dismay among their allies. The break in the monsoon came to an end, and the admiral found himself obliged to seek a safer anchorage, which he found (at Muzaffarābād) some twenty miles away. In moving he lost four cargo-boats, which were wrecked, and the munitions of war they contained were scattered along the coast. Among these were a large number of saddles and other equipment for cavalry, which deepened the impression among the Gujarātīs that the expedition was intended for land operations, for cavalry could not be needed for the siege of an island fortress. After about three weeks the fleet was able to return to Diu, and the actual siege began with what was for those days a tremendous bombardment. We are told that nine, basilisks were employed throwing shot of from 90 to

100 lb. weight, and others throwing stone shot of upwards seven palms in circumference, and battering guns which could smash a solid rock. The bombardment was fully developed by October 5, and lasted till November 5. During this time numerous assaults were made without success. The Portuguese had received some small reinforcements, but were nearly at the end of their resources, when to their astonishment the Turkish fleet suddenly sailed away, and they remained undefeated. The events of this siege have been described in great detail, and occupy a prominent position in all modern histories dealing with the history of the Portuguese in India. The Turkish and Indian historians pass over its close in a very summary way, and attribute it to the failure of the Gujarātis to furnish the fleet with supplies. It is evident, however, that this ambitious scheme ended in absolute failure.

The failure of Firishta and of Sikandar, the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, to give any account of the Turkish expedition is remarkable, and the reason for it is not easy to detect. Firishta, indeed, in ch. xi of his history gives a short account, which is, as he states, taken entirely from the *Tuḥfatu'l-Mujāhidīn*, but in its own place under the history of Gujarāt he leaves a blank, as does the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, the special history of that country. This, combined with the similar omission of the naval battle of 1509 by the same writers, has the appearance of deliberate suppression. The author of the *Tuḥfatu'l-Mujāhidīn*, however, shows greater honesty and is not afraid to admit a Muḥammadan defeat, although not to be relied on for details. Like Hāji Khalīfa, he attributes the failure of Sulaimān Pasha solely to the want of supplies, and the failure of the Gujarātis to co-operate, and says nothing about the fighting. He states plainly that the intention of the Sultān Sulaimān was not only to drive out the Portuguese but to take possession of the territory himself. In the version of his history given by Firishta (Persian text, ii, 372) he says, "At this time Sultān Sulaimān

bin Sultān Salīm Rūmī expressed the desire to expel the Firangīs from the ports of Hind, and to possess himself of these regions."

Sulaimān was in no hurry to show himself to his master ; he lingered at Aden and other places on the Arabian coast, and did not reach Jedda till March 13, 1539. He found himself in disgrace at Constantinople, and as he understood that his destruction was certain he put an end to his own life. This failure was decisive. The Portuguese remained in command of the open waters of the Indian Ocean, although the Turks were still strong in the Red Sea, as was shown in 1541, when the Portuguese Viceroy, Estevão da Gama, son of the great admiral, attempted to attack the Turkish naval port of Suez. The expedition led to no valuable result, although, incidentally, it contributed to the preservation of the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia from destruction at the hands of the Muḥammadan tribes of the coast which had been furnished with firearms by the Turks. The quixotic, but heroic, adventure of Christovão da Gama, the Viceroy's brother, in this cause, has been fully dealt with in Mr. Whiteway's *Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia*. In spite of his defeat, the "Grand Turk", Sultān Sulaimān, did not give up his projects of aggrandisement in the East, but the story of the various attempts made only serves to show how decisive the defeat of the Turks had been and how strong was the hold the Portuguese had now obtained over the waters of the Indian Ocean.

Diu was besieged a second time in 1548, but the Turks took no part in this siege, which was carried on entirely by the Indian Musulmāns ; it is probable, however, that it was not unconnected with Turkish schemes. Aden had submitted, nominally at least, to the Portuguese after Sulaimān Bāshā's return, and the other parts of Hadhramaut were also under their influence. By 1551 another strong fleet had been fitted out at Suez. It was placed under the command of Pīrī Bey, a distinguished naval commander, and sailed into the Indian Ocean, visiting Aden and Shiḥr and Dhofār, on the

Hadhramaut coast. He then appeared off Maskat, and finding the Portuguese unprepared he took it without much difficulty, carrying off the Portuguese commandant, João de Lisboa, as a prisoner. He appears, according to the Turkish historians to have asked his captive for advice, and following this turned out of the Persian Gulf, after he had plundered some of the islands there but had failed to take Hurmuz. He then heard of the approach of a strong Portuguese fleet under Noronha,¹ and attempting to slip past them was engaged in a disastrous battle. He got away with three galleys only, one of which was wrecked on the Bahrain Islands, and he found his way to the Red Sea with two only. The remainder of the fleet was locked up in the Persian Gulf, and took refuge in the Shatt-u'l'Arab. Katif, on the Arabian coast of the Gulf, which the Portuguese had taken in 1550, remained in their hands.

The enraged Sultān promptly beheaded Pīrī Bey, and sent Murād Bey (who had escaped from Katif when the Portuguese took it) overland to Basra, with orders to take the fleet out of the river and bring it round to the Red Sea. Murād Bey, anxious to retrieve his reputation, sailed boldly for the Straits of Hurmuz, but the Portuguese fleet, under Diogo de Noronha, was waiting for him there. A desperate fight ensued, in which one of the Portuguese captains, G. P. Marramaque, took a glorious part. Two of the Turkish captains, Sulaimān Raïs and Rejeb Raïs, were killed, and their ships sunk. The remainder of the fleet fled and again took refuge at Basra.

Sultān Sulaimān now had to recourse to one of the best known naval commanders of the time, Sīdī 'Alī, an Egyptian Mediterranean warrior, who had served under Khairu'ddīn Barbarossa in the great naval victory of Prevesa, in which the pride of Andrea Doria had been abased. His task was to get the Turkish fleet of fifteen galleys out of the trap in which

¹ Probably Fernando de Noronha, as the Turkish account says he was son of the Governor. Afonso de Noronha was Governor, and his son Fernando commanded the fleet which fought next year against Sīdī 'Alī.

was enclosed and to bring it round into the safe waters of the Red Sea. He sailed down the Persian coast, touching the Isle of Khārak, Rī-shahr (now displaced by the more modern Abu-shahr or Bushire), Katif, the Bahrain Islands, and the Isle of Kishm (which he calls Barokht), and while turning the Cape of Musandam he encountered the Portuguese fleet, under Fernando, son of the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha. The fight which followed was not decisive, and the Turkish ships succeeded in making their way into the open sea, and followed the coast towards Maskat, where the Portuguese fleet seems to have retired to refit. It sailed out on the approach of the Turkish Armada, and a great and decisive battle was fought, which ended in the defeat of the Turkish fleet. Some of their ships were sunk and others driven on to the rocks, and Sīdī 'Alī finally escaped with nine galleys. He describes the fight himself as more terrible than any he had taken part in while fighting against Andrea Doria under the orders of the great Barbarossa. He was forced to abandon his scheme of sailing to the Red Sea, and tried to make for the coast of India, hoping, no doubt, to find safety in the ports of Gujarāt. It was now about the middle of August, 1554, and, as on former occasions, the Turks seem to have selected the monsoon season for their ventures in the Indian Ocean, and their great galleys, depending mainly on rowing power, were not well-fitted to contend with the storms they encountered. The battered fleet was driven to the coast of Mekrān; the rowers were powerless, and they were forced against their will to set sail to avoid being driven on that inhospitable shore. At last some coasting craft guided them to the harbour of Gwādar, where a Baloch Chief expressed his devotion to Sultān Sulaimān, the Khalifa, and was induced to furnish them with some pilots. Noronha's fleet had apparently remained at Maskat, but some ships had left in pursuit of the fugitives, and this had no doubt something to do with the dangerous course pursued by Sīdī 'Alī. The tempest nearly drove him into what he calls the Khor of Jakat, that is the Gulf of Kachh,

to the north of Jagat Point. Escaping this danger, and keeping away from Diu to avoid being seen by the Portuguese, he found himself at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, where the combination of the south-west gales and the dangerous tides nearly proved too much for him. Two of his galleys were pursued by the Portuguese ships, which drove them on to the rocks. The other seven ships at last found themselves at Dāmān, but the Governor of this place, no doubt through fear of the Portuguese, told them that they would be captured if they stayed there, and directed them to Sūrat. Many of the sailors deserted and got ashore to take service in Gujarāt. With the remainder Sīdī 'Alī arrived at Sūrat and was allowed to land there. The ships were blockaded by the Portuguese, who demanded their surrender. This the Gujarātīs would not agree to, but to appease the Portuguese they destroyed the ships. Sīdī 'Alī was left stranded with no means of getting back by sea. His ships were destroyed and his crews had deserted. He met with many expressions of devotion to the Khalifa, but with no active support. For a time he remained in Gujarāt, taking part in some local wars, and employed his leisure in compiling his great work, the *Muḥīt*, or *Ocean*, a guide to the navigation of the Eastern Seas. Finally, he determined to make his way back to Turkey overland. His further adventures do not concern us here, although of great interest in themselves. He travelled through Sindh and Multān to Delhi, and thence through Afghanistan, Bokhara, and Khiva to Persia, and over the Pusht-i-Kūh to Bagdad, where he arrived after about three years' wandering.

The strong position of Turkish soldiers and officials in the kingdom of Gujarāt at this period has a curious light thrown on it by this adventure of Sīdī 'Alī. He was sure of a reception at Sūrat, although other ports refused him hospitality, for the reason that it had a Turkish Governor who had himself fortified it in the Turkish fashion, and armed it with Turkish guns, which he had transported from the fort of Junāgarh. These guns were known as "Sulaimānī". The history of this

Governor may be pieced together from various incidental mentions by Firishta, and in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. The original name of the Governor was Ghazanfar 'Akā, a Turkish Ghulām of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh. He built the fort, according to Firishta, in 949 H. (A.D. 1542) (Firishta's text, ii, 226). He was then given the title of *Khudāwand Khān*, and made Governor of Sūrat. Briggs (iv, 147) gives his name as Suffy Aghā, and his title as *Khudābanda Khān*. In the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, where he is mentioned several times, he also bears the name of *Khudāwand Khān*. He is said there to have owed his position at Sūrat to another Ghulām, who had risen to a high position, 'Imādu'l-Mulk Rūmī, also a Turk, though not an Ottoman Turk. He had married *Khudāwand Khān*'s sister, and in the various distributions of appointments which the leading men made in these disturbed times he is said to have appointed his brother-in-law to be Governor of Sūrat (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, p. 270). In the year 952 (1545) we are told that he acted as executioner of the celebrated noble, Malik 'Imādu'l-Mulk (not to be confounded with 'Imādu'l-Mulk Rūmī), whom he killed after torturing him. The *Mirāt* here (ib. 235-6) calls him the fiefholder of Sūrat. Still later, in 933 H. (1559), *Khudāwand Khān* was accused of oppression by the people of Sūrat, who complained to his brother-in-law, 'Imādu'l-Mulk Rūmī. He defied 'Imādu'l-Mulk, who laid siege to Sūrat. *Khudāwand Khān* finally induced 'Imādu'l-Mulk to visit him under the pretext of negotiation, and treacherously killed him. Changīz *Khān*, son of 'Imādu'l-Mulk, carried on the attack, and obtained Portuguese assistance by ceding to them Dāmān and Sanjān. The Portuguese fleet blockaded Sūrat, and *Khudāwand Khān*, in a sortie, was killed by Changīz *Khān*. There appears to have been a man named *Khudāwand Khān*, who Firishta (l.c.) says was killed by Burhān at the same time as Maḥmūd Shāh in 961 (1554), and the *Mirāt* (p. 238) speaks of a *Khudāwand Khān Rūmī* who was killed at Diu, but it seems clear that one man bearing this title was Governor of

Sūrat till 1559, and that he was the original Turkish Ghulām who built the fort. Evidently he was the Governor when Sīdī ‘Alī landed there, and it was through his influence that Sīdī ‘Alī remained there so long unmolested in spite of Portuguese pressure. This perhaps explains the Portuguese willingness to help Changiz Khān against Khudāwand Khān.

Thus ingloriously ended the last organized effort of the Turks against the Portuguese naval power.

Sultān Sulaimān, the greatest of Turkish rulers, abstained from any further attempt to drive the enemies of Islam from the Arabian Sea, although many isolated combats took place. He died in 1566.¹ It was not till the year 1580, in the time of Sulaimān’s grandson, Murād III, that a renewal of the struggle took place. It was, however, local, being entirely confined to the coast of East Africa. The occasion may have seemed to the Turks a favourable one, for Portugal was at this time distracted by the dissensions which followed the death of the Cardinal King, Henry, which occurred only a year and a half after his succession to the heroic and romantic Dom Sebastião. The Turkish Empire was, however, not in a position to take full advantage of its opportunities. It had

¹ At this period, while the brave but unfortunate king Dom Sebastião was still reigning in Portugal, it seems that a project of carrying the war into the Persian Gulf and driving the Turks out of Basra had been discussed. The historian Diogo do Couto, in his *Soldado Prático* (a series of dialogues between a Viceroy lately appointed to India and an old soldier on affairs connected with the Eastern relations of Portugal), alludes to this project. The Viceroy asks the soldier’s opinion on the question, and the latter condemns the project, evidently giving expression to Do Couto’s own opinion. He thought they might succeed in taking Basra, but could not hold it against the great military power the Turks would be able to bring against it, and that it would be better to concentrate on strengthening Hurmuz and keeping it well supplied so that it would be able to resist all attacks. This was good advice, for the Portuguese could only dispose of a small land force quite incapable of resisting the powerful armaments of the Turks; their strength was on the sea and not on land. Such councils appear to have prevailed, for the expedition was never undertaken.

Dialogo do Soldado Prático, Lisbon, Acad. Real das Sciencias per Diogo do Couto, 1790.

rapidly deteriorated since Sulaimān's death, and though still outwardly strong, was eaten up by corruption. The attack on the Portuguese seems to have been the work of one man, 'Ali Beg, who was sent out by the Albanian Wālī of Yemen. It is doubtful whether it was ordered or inspired from Constantinople, and it does not seem to have been mentioned by any Turkish historians. All our information is derived from Portuguese sources.¹ 'Ali Beg's first exploit was a raid against Maskat in 1580. The town was at that time unfortified, for the celebrated fort which still exists was not begun till six years later, and it fell an easy prey to the raider, as it had to Piri Bey in 1553. Though this raid led to no permanent result, it gave 'Ali Beg a great reputation, and in 1584 the Wālī sent him out of the straits to go down the coast of East Africa and obtain timber for the Red Sea fleet at Malindi. He was furnished with two galleys, but one of them was unseaworthy, and had to return at once. He proceeded with the other, and as he went he got together a number of coasting craft manned by the local Arabs. He proclaimed that a great fleet was following him to expel the Portuguese from the whole coast, and this bluff, taken together with the manifest weakness of the Portuguese, gained him much support among the coast Arabs. Mogadoxo, Brava, the Lamu Islands, and Mombasa declared in his favour, and Malindi, where there was a Portuguese captain in charge, alone held out. Meanwhile, a badly organized Portuguese fleet had entered the Red Sea, but effected nothing, as it was not even able to capture 'Ali Beg's galley on its return journey with its prize, a Portuguese ship, which had been taken. The Arabs who had declared in favour of the Turks continued to defy the Portuguese, and in 1589 the Wālī sent out 'Ali Beg a second time with a better equipped expedition, consisting of four galleys and the ship captured in the first attempt. Had the Turkish rulers now been in a position to send out a strong fleet they might possibly

¹ The only full account is that given by De Couto, *Decadas*, ed. 1788, Dec. X, bk. vii, chs. 7, 8; Dec. XI, chs. 5-15.

have overthrown the Portuguese naval power. This was the year following the defeat of the great Armada, in which the greater part of the Portuguese fleet had perished, and the English seamen were now on the watch for all Spanish and Portuguese vessels coming from the East, as Linschoten has vividly described. He himself, travelling from India in a Portuguese ship this same year, 1589, was held up in the Azores, and had to spend three years there before he could reach Lisbon. But Turkey was not ready, and the opportunity passed. 'Ali Beg was received with enthusiasm by all the Arabs who had declared for Turkey, but, as before, Malindi defied him. 'Ali Beg grounded on a sandbank and was bombarded by the Portuguese. He got away to Mombasa, intending to fortify himself there.

The local commandant, on hearing of his approach, had dispatched a swift sailing vessel to the Viceroy at Goa, with the news. The latter was a man of energy, and at once sent off his brother Thomé de Souza Coutinho with all the ships he could muster. The fleet arrived on the coast of Brava, and following it to the south by the Lamu Archipelago received news that the Turks were at Malindi. He found on arriving there that they had gone to Mombasa. The fleet arrived at the entry of the port on March 5, 1589. The fight which followed ended in the destruction of the Turkish fleet and the capture of the fort which they had occupied. Many Turks who took refuge on the mainland were killed and devoured by a cannibal Bantu tribe, known to the Portuguese as the Zimbas, who had for some years been spreading desolation along the African coast from the Zambezi northwards. This completed the Turkish discomfiture. 'Ali Beg himself surrendered. He was taken to Lisbon, and is said to have become a Christian. Possibly like many other Turkish sailors he was of European origin.

Thus the last attempt of the Turks to assert their authority in the Indian Ocean ended in failure, as the others had done. Coutinho's brilliant exploit left the Portuguese for the time in

command of those seas. They had won the victory for Europe; the sea-route was established, and all serious opposition was disposed of. Yet though they had laboured others were to enter into their labours. The accession of a Spanish king to the throne of Portugal had entangled Portugal in the schemes and the wars of Spain. England and Holland perforce became her enemies, and when after the "sixty years' captivity" she recovered her liberty, only the shadow of her Eastern Empire remained to her. The Dutch had taken the greatest part of it, and the trade of India proper was passing into the hands of other nations. It is not my object here to follow the history of the decline of the Portuguese power, but I hope that sufficient has been told to make clear the nature of the task Portugal undertook. It was a single-handed struggle of a small nation against the greatest military power then existing, one which threatened to dominate both Europe and Asia. Portugal was victorious, but exhausted, and the nations of Europe should not now be unmindful of the great part she played.

The Honan Relics : a New Investigator and some Results

By L. C. HOPKINS

IT is a genuine pleasure to report the accession of another Chinese critic and investigator of the Shang dynasty writing, in the person of Mr. Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, of Hai-ning Chou 海寧州, in the Central Chinese Province of Chehkiang.

I propose to lay before the readers of the Journal one or two of the more interesting results of his decipherments, together with a few notes of my own upon these.

The particular collection of inscribed bone fragments which forms the subject of Mr. Wang's researches is to be found at Shanghai in the Chien Shou Tang building 戩壽堂. By the admirable generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Haroon of that treaty port, facsimile reproductions of the collection have appeared in Nos. 13-15 of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* magazine, which render the material available for study in any part of the world. I very gladly take the present opportunity of expressing the warmest appreciation of the great boon conferred on Far Eastern research by the financial assistance volunteered by Mr. and Mrs. Haroon towards the publication of these difficult but invaluable historical documents.

Mr. Wang Kuo-wei is a coadjutor—and a notable one—of the now well-known antiquarian Mr. Lo Chên-yü, and his present enterprise comprises the transcription into modern Chinese—so far as this is yet possible—of all the inscriptions in the above collection, and a comment accompanying them in the form of annotations, historical and epigraphic. It is from this commentary I have drawn in the present article.

First of all I would call attention to a discovery that would have greatly pleased the late Edouard Chavannes had he lived to read it and to weigh the arguments by which Mr. Wang supports it. This discovery is briefly as follows. Ssü-ma Ch'ien has enumerated the names of thirteen ancestors of the line that produced the culminating personality of T'ang the Victorious—the founder of the Shang Dynasty. Wang Kuo-wei believes himself to have identified from the inscriptions on the Honan relics no fewer than eight of these personages. The earliest is T'u, 土, representing the Hsiang T'u 相 土 of the *Historical Memoirs*; next comes the great-great-grandson of the latter, styled in the *Memoirs* Chên 振, but identified by Wang, upon grounds that must be left undiscussed here, as the Wang Hai 王亥 frequently noted on the Bones; then Wei, otherwise called Shang-chia 上甲, and then a complete sequence of the five predecessors of Ch'êng T'ang, T'ang the Victorious, always designated on these relics as Ta I, 大乙, and not T'ien I, 天乙, as in the *Historical Memoirs*.

Incidentally, the elucidations of the Chinese scholar upon these points constitute a gratifying confirmation of my own conjecture published in the *Journal* for January, 1917, pp. 83-4, that the "combinations, each consisting of a symbol closely resembling the half of a square bracket [] enveloping, respectively, the characters Ting, I, and Ping, . . . are really the Pao Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping of the *Historical Memoirs*". More than two years later Wang's similar identification appeared on p. 3 of No. 16 of the antiquarian journal *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*, dated the 2nd month of the 8th year of the Republic, viz. March, 1919, but it seems most improbable that Mr. Wang should have had any knowledge of my article. We had accordingly reached the same conclusion independently.

By what may not unfairly be called a flash of genius, working through the singularly powerful Chinese memory,

Wang has successfully reconstructed in one piece two bone fragments which do not even belong to the same collection. One of these is shown as the 10th example on p. 1 of the illustrated catalogue of the above-mentioned Chien Shou T'ang cabinet, edited by himself¹; the other is the 14th on p. 8 of Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i, Hou Pien*.² Wang points out that the style of the writing and the size of the characters on these two fragments are identical, and that the two edges of the fracture fit each other exactly.

When thus adjusted the two pieces reveal a continuous text, which may possibly have originally included one or two more names below. I give in the modern form Wang's reading of this important inscription, and in Fig. 1 of the Plate a facsimile copy of the reconstituted original—乙未酒系品甲十報乙三報丙三報丁三 卅 壬三 卅 癸三大丁十大甲十 (here follows broken edge of bone). Before adding a translation, I may explain that the 3rd and 5th characters are held, no doubt correctly, by Lo Chên-yü to be the names of special sacrifices; probably, therefore, the 4th is so too. The numerals "ten" and "three" must indicate victims or things offered in worship. "On the day *i wei* to offer at the *chiu* and *hsi* and *p'in* sacrifices, to [Shang] Chia ten, to Pao I three, to Pao Ping three, to Pao Ting three, to Shih Jên three, to Shih Kuei three, to Ta Ting ten, to Ta Chia ten."

Several points in this legend at once demand notice. Provisionally accepting Wang Kuo-wei's equation of the 6th character as 甲 *chia*, and that it stands for the full form elsewhere 上甲 *Shang-chia*, who was otherwise named Wei 微, we find that as Wang (and myself

¹ See the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編, No. 13, p. 1, verso, left-hand lower corner.

² See *ibid.*, No. 1, p. 8, verso, left-hand upper corner.

previously) points out, the three names I, Ping, and Ting (乙, 丙, and 丁), each within a half square bracket, are the Pao I, Pao Ping, and Pao Ting of the *Historical Memoirs*, while, as Lo Chên-yü had already discovered, our Shih Jên and Shih Kuei are the Chu Jên and Chu Kuei of the same work. But Wang rightly draws attention to the slight discrepancy in the order of the three Paos between this inscription and the *Memoirs*. In the latter the succession is Ting, I, Ping. Here it is I, Ping, Ting. As between this very ancient original document and the *Memoirs* we cannot doubt that it is to the former we should give our trust.

A further noticeable feature in this list of what Wang calls the six *hsien kung* 先公, or "ducal predecessors" of the Shang dynasty, is, that as now restored they correspond precisely to the order of the "Ten Stems" or "Ten Days", as Wang names them, save that four, the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, are missing. Thus Shang Chia heads the series, followed in due order by I, Ping, and Ting, and the 9th and 10th end, as they should do, in Jên and Kuei. Hence, concludes Wang, the hitherto supposed rule of the Shang that deceased ancestors were known by the name of the day on which they were born, was probably a custom only instituted after the date of T'ang the Victorious, and was due to the fact that by his time the days of the births and deaths of his ancestral predecessors were already out of memory, and hence recourse was had to the sequence of the Ten Days to provide them with retrospective names, otherwise such a coincidence as the facts now show would be impossible, 故即用十日之次以追名之否則不應如是巧合也.

This is certainly a cogent argument, but though the point is passed over by Wang it implies that a lacuna of four successors, corresponding to Wu, Chi, Kêng, and Hsin of the "Ten Days", occurs in the record, both in these relics and in the *Historical Memoirs*. Otherwise the Shih

Jên and Shih Kuei (alias Chu Jên and Chu Kuei) should have been styled Chu Wu and Chu Chi. Were there then four ducal ancestors not in the direct chain of descent by generations, and consequently not qualified to be included in the family sacrifices?

And this brings us to another curious point, which Wang Kuo-wei does not pass over. In the list of Shang rulers above given in original and translation there is one omission which is most unlooked for, that of Ta I 大乙, as T'ang the Victorious is always styled on the Honan relics, and less striking, the two sovereigns, Wai Ping 外丙 (Pu Ping 卜丙 on the Bones) and Chung Jên 仲壬 are also absent. Why are these three sovereigns, and particularly why is T'ang, not found? Wang essays to explain, and for the two less renowned rulers, I think, with success. But the matter is less clear, it seems to me, as regards T'ang.

We know from Ssü-ma Ch'ien that Wai Ping and Chung Jên were both younger brothers of T'ai Ting, the son and heir of T'ang, though T'ai Ting is declared to have died before ascending the throne.

But it is of importance to bear in mind that these inscriptions are not full records of the royal succession of the Shang dynasty, but the enumeration of those links in the catenary line of generations in family descent to whom certain ancestral worship and sacrifice must be duly offered. Hence it follows that the mention of Ta Ting does not prove that he actually reigned, nor conversely does the omission of the names of Wai Ping and Chung Jên disprove their claim to have been dynastic sovereigns. What the present recovered list of names does show is who were and who were not recognized as entitled to share in certain celebrations of the ruling family's ancestral worship.

Wang Kuo-wei's explanation is, in his own words, as follows: 大丁之後不數外丙中壬者以外丙

中壬非後世殷天子之所自出故也, that is, "The reason why after Ta Ting, Wai Ping, and Chung Jen are not enumerated, is that they were not later generations in the line whence the Yin dynasty Sons of Heaven had sprung."

"Not later generations," that is the point. Being brothers of Ta Ting they were of the same generation as he, and consequently not entitled to the same sacrifices.

But the omission of Ta I, that is Ch'êng T'ang, seems much harder to account for, nor do I find Wang Kuo-wei's explanation easy to accept, or, indeed, to follow. He says, "The reason why Ta I is not enumerated is that he being the Founder of the Dynasty, his ducal and princely predecessors were perhaps all joined in sacrifice with the Founder," 大乙爲太祖先公先王或均合食於太祖故也. Perhaps so, but how does that explain the omission of the Founder's name?

However, despite these dubieties of detail, the net result of Wang Kuo-wei's brilliant perspicacity is that Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Memoirs* have been suddenly confirmed in particulars where confirmation would have been *prima facie* regarded as almost infinitely unlikely. And here I must leave Wang's comments on this curious discovery.

Between that fragment of recovered history and the palæographic riddle which the same scholarly critic has solved, as we are now about to see, there exists a link in the character 甲 *chia*. It forms the liaison between the two discussions, the one historical, the other decipherative.

A formula that we meet with some frequency upon the Honan relics is represented in facsimile in Fig. 2 of the Plate, and *appears* to correspond in modern Chinese writing to the following text: 自一田至于多毓衣 *tzü i t'ien chih yü to yü i*. Sometimes either 一 *i* or 于 *yü* is omitted, sometimes both.

The rendering of this text would be, word for word, "From one field as-far-as to many rearings clothing." Obviously this is nonsense, and the inquirer has a choice between treating "one field" and "many rearings" as place-names or as personal names. Lo Chên-yü had accordingly inserted *To yü* ("many rearings") in his list of the latter. He also had determined, no doubt correctly, that 衣 *i*, usually meaning clothing, is one of the many designations of special sacrifices (and I venture to surmise that it here corresponds to the modern 裔 *i*, posterity), but there matters stopped for years, except that Lo had reached the further conclusion that the supposed *t'ien* 田 was in reality some other but unknown character.

For myself I had advanced some timid steps beyond this, but only in conjecture. I find a MS. note under the character 甲 *chia*, "Can the unknown 田 be this? If so, 田 = 上甲 the Shang ancestor." This was written long before I had seen Wang's notes on the subject, but a private surmise is one thing and a published decision is another. Wang's identification will be found on p. 3 of No. 16 of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*. The passage commences 田者上甲也, that is, "田 is Shang-chia." Proceeding to extract from the *Lü Yü* 魯語 division of the *Kuo Yü*, a couple of sentences to the effect that "Shang-chia Wei successfully followed the lead of Hsieh [the original ancestor of the Shang family], and the men of Shang rendered him the sacrifice of requital".¹ Wei's style was sometimes written 田, adds Wang, who then points out the distinction between this last character when correctly written and the character 田 *t'ien*, in the phrase 田狩 *t'ien shou*, to hunt [田 is also the ordinary word for fields]. In 田 *t'ien* the horizontal and vertical strokes both unite with the

¹ 上甲微能帥契者也商人報焉. A note on the text explains that 報 *pao* is the 報德之祭也 sacrifice in requital of goodness.

perimeter, whereas in the closely similar character used for a personal name [viz. the old form of 甲 *chia*] these strokes are, as a rule, not continued to the bounding lines, a clear distinction between the two signs being thus afforded, though Wang correctly enough adds that frequently this distinction is not observed. The cross thus enclosed is, he says, the ancient character 甲 *chia*, found equally on the Bones and on Bronzes. Next he adduces the *Shuo Wen*'s Lesser Seal form, see Fig. 3, and compares it with one occurring on an inscribed tally of Ts'in dynasty date, see Fig. 4, where the cross is still visible, and is, he considers, likewise the early sign 甲 *chia*, the curving caps in both being, in his words, 口之譌變也, "erroneous alterations of 口 *wei*."

Wang now proceeds to another point. "In the oracular sentences," he writes, "other examples of 甲 *chia* are always written 十. In the 甲 *chia* of Shang-*chia* alone we find the form 田. And the names Pao I, Pao Ping, and Pao Ting are written" as in Figs. 5, 6, and 7. "The 甲 [viz. 十] within the 口 *wei* is analogous with the 乙 *i*, 丙 *ping*, and 丁 *ting* within the square bracket. But why they are composed with 口 and the square bracket we cannot tell. With regard to the form 田 having the additional 一 above, this is the same as 二, the ancient shape of 上 *shang* above. In the oracular sentences the group," illustrated in Fig. 8, "sometimes occurs, and this is contracted to 田 in the same way as the characters 帝 *ti* and 𠩺 *shih*, etc., which were composed with [the ancient scriptions of] 上 *shang*, have the latter sometimes in the form 二, sometimes in 一." And Wang concludes, after some further observations upon the stages of his investigation, "that they constitute an iron proof (as he phrases it) that 田 and 田 are 上甲 *shang chia*."

There are two or three minor points in the foregoing on which I differ from this ingenious scholar, especially his

apparent view that the single character 甲 is also to be read *shang chia*, whereas surely it can only be 甲 *chia* simply. But his main thesis seems indisputable.

So then we must revise our rendering once more, and we shall now read, "From Shang-chia down to Many Rearings sacrifice will be offered."

But this still leaves the obscurity of the words *to yü*, "Many Rearings," to be cleared up. Who was he, or who were they?

It is here that Wang Kuo-wei comes to our rescue with a really brilliant flash of intuition. The arguments by which he demonstrates the truth of his discovery must be laid before the reader in full, but it will be convenient, before doing so, to state at once the net result. This result is that the two characters which I have transliterated *to yü* are, in these texts, actually 多后 *to hou*, and mean "(his) many successors". So that we have, as our final rendering of the original sentence, this: "From Shang-chia down to his many successors, sacrifice will be offered." This, of course, gives a completely intelligible and satisfactory explanation, if the reading as 后 *hou* can be vindicated. It will be well, therefore, to follow the course of Wang Kuo-wei's own demonstration, which will be found on pp. 8-9 of No. 16 of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*. This is occasioned by a short text in the collection he was engaged in deciphering and annotating, which, except for three words, need not concern us now. A copy of these, made from the photographic reproduction on p. 3 of No. 13 of the same Chinese Review, is shown in Fig. 9 of the Plate, and is deciphered by Wang as 后祖乙, Hou Tsu I.

The decipherer opens with the statement that 后與後通, that is, "后 *hou* is interchangeable with 後 *hou*." There is nothing new in that, and it need not detain us, nor need we linger over the passage immediately ensuing as to the identity of this sovereign, Hou Tsu I, in the dynastic list.

But what follows is arresting. "I find," says the writer, "that in the oracular sentences the variants of the character 后 *hou* are numerous. Sometimes it appears as Fig. 10, sometimes as Fig. 11, sometimes as Fig. 12 or Fig. 13, sometimes as Fig. 14, sometimes as Fig. 15." To which let me add from my own collection a still more striking instance for his argument, seen in Fig. 16.

"All these characters," he continues, "are composed of 女 *nü*, woman, and 𠂔, the figure of a child, 子 *tzü*, inverted, being the *Shuo Wen*'s character 𠂔 or 𠂔 *t'u* [so, according to Chinese authority, but not found as an independent character]; sometimes with 母 *mu*, mother, replacing 女 *nü*. They depict childbirth 象產子之形. The groups of two or of three dots depict the amniotic fluid at the moment of birth, 象產子時之有水液也. Sometimes the character is formed with 𠂔, analogous in function with *mu*, mother, and *nü*, woman."

Strictly this last figure is a slightly altered scription of 人 *jén*, man, and has usually survived in the *li* or modern script as 尸 *shih*, corpse.

"Accordingly," adds Wang, "speaking as regards the form of the character, this is the *Shuo Wen*'s 'occasional variant' (或體 *huo't'i*) 毓 of the character 育 *yü*, to rear, produce, the former being composed with 每 *mei*, viz. 母 *mu* [for these are mere variants] and 𠂔, the inverted ancient shape of 子 *tzü*, son, and corresponding exactly to these [Bone] forms. Accordingly the act of childbirth is the original significance of this character." (The significance of the character, let us note in passing, not the meaning of the word.)

So far so good. The analysis of the character shows the outline of the mother, and below her the infant at delivery appearing in the natural or normal head presentation, while the dots represented above, at the side of or below it, symbolize the amniotic fluid. And

here I may perhaps suggest a truer view of the element 流, usually believed after the *Shuo Wen* to represent the character 子 *tsü* inverted, and exhibiting the hair of the new-born babe. But the hair at that time is not so marked a feature that it is likely to have been specially indicated, and Figs. 14 and 16 seem rather to point to the amniotic liquid as the real origin of the three strokes at the foot of 流.

And now returning to the main subject, all the foregoing refers to a variant of the character 育, the spoken word corresponding to which is *yü*, not *hou*. How, then, does Wang Kuo-wei account for this discrepancy? "Furthermore," he proceeds, and we are reaching the vital links of his argument, "the figures," Nos. 17, 18, and 19, "all depict an inverted child behind a person," 皆象倒子在人後. He uses the odd words *tsai jén hou*, and not *tsai jén hsia*, "beneath a person," because his argument requires the word "behind", and continues: "Hence, by extension of meaning, was developed the sense of the word 'after, later, posterior', in the phrase 先後 *hsien hou*, earlier and later, before and after, anterior and posterior. And by a further extension was evolved the sense of 'successor', or 'Prince who continues the body', 繼體君也. The *Shuo Wen*'s entry under 后 *hou* is, 'A prince who continues the body. Depicts a human figure. [The wise prince, 后 *hou*] distributes his commands and thus informs the Four Quarters [a quotation from the *I King*]. Hence the element 尸 *i* [*sic*] is composed with 一 *i*, one, and 口 *k'ou*, mouth.'" The meaning of this sentence of the *Shuo Wen*'s text as it now stands, being obscure and inconsistent, I have made shift with the English rendering as well as I could. Tuan Yü-ts'ai says the text has been garbled and added to.

Wang Kuo-wei now resumes his own explanatory comments. "Thus, the character 后 *hou*, originally depicting the human figure, the element 尸 should be an

erroneous alteration of 𠂔 [viz. 尸 *shih*, a modification of the character 人 *jén*, man], while 一 口 are also an erroneous alteration of the figure of an inverted child [viz. of 𠂔]."

This reconstruction of 后 *hou* from Fig. 19 is very attractive, and to me convincing, all the more so as no other example of the character of older date than the Han dynasty can be brought forward in competition.

The argument now proceeds, "The constructive significance of the character 后 *hou* having originally followed that of 毓 *yü*, to rear, produce, in the course of development the later form of the sign for childbirth was specialized in the two shapes 毓 and 育 *yü*, while the character for the word *hou*, Prince Successor of the Blood, was specialized in the shape 𠂔, whereupon two characters had been created,¹ and by a further erroneous change the latter form became 后 *hou*, while for the syllable *hou*, in the expression 先後 *hsien hou*, before and after, a further and separate type was used [viz. one constructed of quite other graphic elements]. The *Shuo Wen* then entered these forms under three different radicals [viz. under its 528th, 335th, and 34th], but the fact is that the three characters 毓, 後, and 后 were originally one character, 其實毓後后三字本一字也." [I have translated this literally, rendering 字 *tzü* by "character" in both instances. But in that form it is not true, nor is it what Wang really wishes to say. If we rendered 字 by "word" in each case, the statement would be true, but would not adequately convey what the writer did wish to say. This is clearly that three now different characters, two of which are derived from the same original graphic type, while one, 後, is not, all

¹ 引申其後產子之字專用毓育二形繼體君之字專用𠂔形遂成二字。

represent the same original word *hou*, meaning "after, later, successor". The translation given above is therefore faithful to the words and false to the intention of the writer. But such a result is inevitable if Chinese scholars will not learn to distinguish between things so vitally unlike as written characters and spoken words.]

We need not here follow Wang in the succeeding paragraphs, in which he seeks to identify the 后祖乙, Hou Tsu I, or "Later ancestor I", with the Shang sovereign 武乙 Wu I. But afterwards he resumes, "In the oracular sentences the character 后 [viz. that shown in Figs. 10 to 15 of the Plate] is also used for the word Hou, Prince Successor of the Blood. There frequently occurs the sentence 自上甲至于多后, 'From Shang-chia down to his many successors.' And, again, 丁丑之于五后, 'On the day *ting ch'ou* approached with offerings the Five Sovereigns (or Princely Successors)'" [see *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, vol. i, p. 30]. Wang then corroborates these uses of 后 *hou* from the *Book of History* and the *Odes*, and concludes his argument by the statement, "Thus the men of Shang designated their forebears as 后 *hou*. Hence the expression 多后 *to hou* is similar to the expressions 多子 *to tzu*, the numerous children, 多士 *to shih*, the numerous officers, and 多方 *to fang*, the numerous regions, that occur in the *Book of History*. And the expression 五后 *wu hou*, the Five Princes, resembles the passage in the *Odes*, 三后在天, *san hou tsai t'ien*, 'The Three Princes were in Heaven,' and that in the *Book of History*, 三后成攻, *san hou ch'eng kung*, 'When the Three Princes had accomplished their work.' These passages are now adduced as equivalents in their significance, through their connexion with the *hou* of the phrase *hsien hou* 先後, earlier and later, predecessors and successors."

In the foregoing masterly little essay (so it seems to me), there are two points passed over in a regrettable silence by the Chinese scholar. One is that he ignores the fact that at some period there must have been a transfer of the character 毓 from the word *hou* to the word *yü*, to rear, to which it was already attached at any rate at the date of the *Shuo Wen*. The second is his silence on another fact recorded in Kanghsi's Dictionary, namely, that the characters for this syllable *yü*, to rear, have also an exceptional sound *chou* 冑, together with the special sense of 胤 *yin*, descendants, successors. What bearing has this exceptional sound and sense of 育 on the group of facts discussed above? The sense accords with that of 后 or 後 *hou*, but the sound is irreconcilable with the sound of either *hou* or *yü*, and could not have had a common phonetic parentage with either. Yet there would seem to be some unexplained relation.

But apart from these matters of detail, Wang Kuo-wei's researches have been most fruitful. Let me summarize what he has brought to light on this topic alone.

In the first place he has deciphered and made fully intelligible a hitherto inscrutable text frequently recurring.

2. In doing so, he has determined a new variant of the character 上 *shang*, identical in its abraded shape with 一 *i*, one.

3. He has also identified a sign sometimes not to be distinguished from, and always suggesting, the character 田 *t'ien*, fields, and to hunt, with the well-known character 甲 *chia*, as to which I shall have something to say later.

4. He has discovered that a sign which, according to the *Shuo Wen*, is a variant of 育 *yü*, to rear, was in Shang times the written form of the word *hou*, after, later, successors; and

5. He has disclosed the true pictographic origin of the character 后 *hou*, and shown the stages by which the present misleading graphic wreck was reached.

To a fellow-ploughman in the stiff and stubborn clay of Chinese palæography these successes perhaps appear more signal than they may to other people, but in any case they well deserve to be made known to Occidental students.

There are a few supplementary observations that I should like, in conclusion, to put on record in connexion with these decipherments of Mr. Wang Kuo-wei.

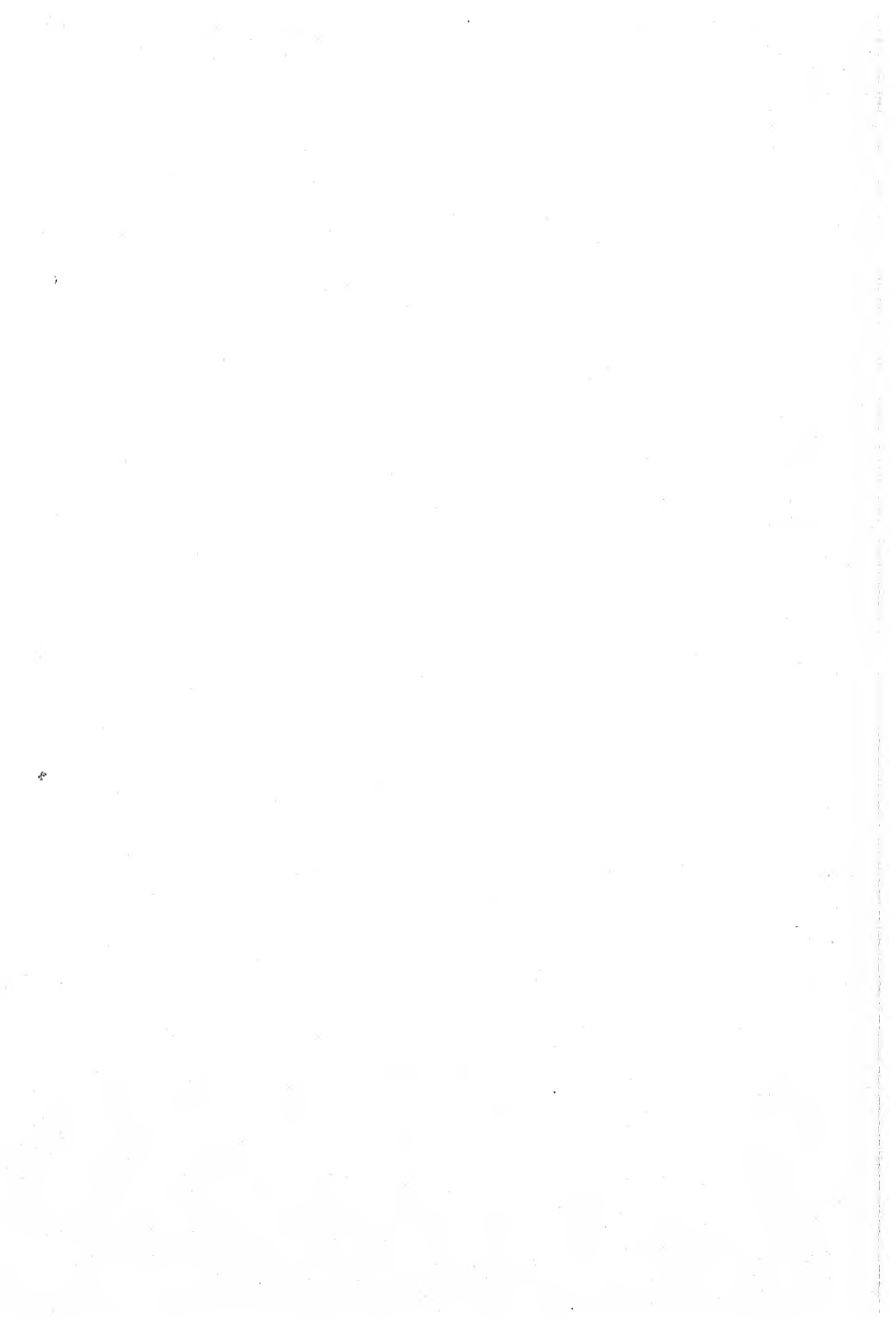
The latter, in his equation of the apparent 田 *t'ien* character with what is now written 甲 *chia*, has offered no suggestion as to its constructive significance. I propose to do so now.

I believe the designer of the earliest character for the word *chia* drew a crude outline of a hide cuirass, which, as Laufer has described at length in his *Chinese Clay Figures*, p. 174 et seq., "was a cuirass made in imitation of a coat." There exists a variant of the character, seemingly unknown to either Lo Chên-yü or Wang Kuo-wei, several examples of which occur in my collection, one, H. 227, figured in the Plate, Fig. 20, being Shang-*chia*. This may perhaps be regarded as a transition form between the cross-in-a-rectangle variants and the figure—earlier in type, if not in time—about to be described, the original of which appears on a bronze styled the Ch'ü I 虞彝, with an inscription reproduced in facsimile in the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*, vol. vii, p. 16. The character stands second in Fig. 21 of the Plate. This passage Wu Shih-fên, the author of the above work, transcribed as 錫衰冕干戈, *ts'ü* [sic] *kun mien kan ko*, "(I) bestow on you the robe and cap of ceremony and the shield and halberd." But a later and very sound critic, Sun I-jang 孫詒讓, in his *Ku Chou Shih I* 古籀拾遺, pt. 中, p. 17, has proposed an admirable emendation, much approved by some subsequent scholars, by reading 甲冑 *chia chou*, "cuirass and helmet," in place of "robe and cap of

ceremony", a change which conforms better to the form of the characters and the spirit of the text. Sun analyses the second character as from 衣 *i*, clothing, and the contained T-shaped element which he considers to be 甲 *chia* contracted. If that be so, the sign would correspond to the modern character 裈, read both *chia* and *hsia*, a jacket, rather than to 甲 alone. The relationship of form between this example from the Ch'ü I Bronze and the cross-in-a-rectangle compound of the Bones is not altogether clear. Can it be that whereas the old script of 衣 *i*, clothing, shows the two sleeves, the ancient corslet or cuirass was made like a waistcoat, and being sleeveless was represented by a simple diamond-shaped or oval outline?

However this may be, it seems tolerably certain that the ancient pictographic form of 甲 *chia* was modelled upon a cuirass or corslet rather than upon a flower-bud, as the author of the *Shuo Wen* asserts in the statement that the character *chia*, Fig. 3, 從木戴孚甲之象也, "is composed with wood capped with the figure of a bud-scale." And strong confirmation of the corslet view is furnished by the character 戎 *jung*, arms, military equipment. The Lesser Seal of this is Fig. 22, composed of the two elements 戈 *ko*, halberd, and 甲 *chia*, cuirass. As neither of these elements can be used as a phonetic in a character pronounced *jung*, it is obvious that they are both present for their ideographic value, and in that capacity they serve very appropriately, whereas the combination of *halberd* and *flower-bud* is meaningless.

Here we must stop, but it is to be hoped that we have not heard the last of Wang Kuo-wei's revelations. Meantime, more insight to his penetrating eye; more power to his hermeneutic elbow!



15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

11. 12. 13. 14.

8. 9. 10.

3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 22.

2. 21.

20.

1.

2.

LIST OF REFERENCES FOR FIGURES IN PLATE

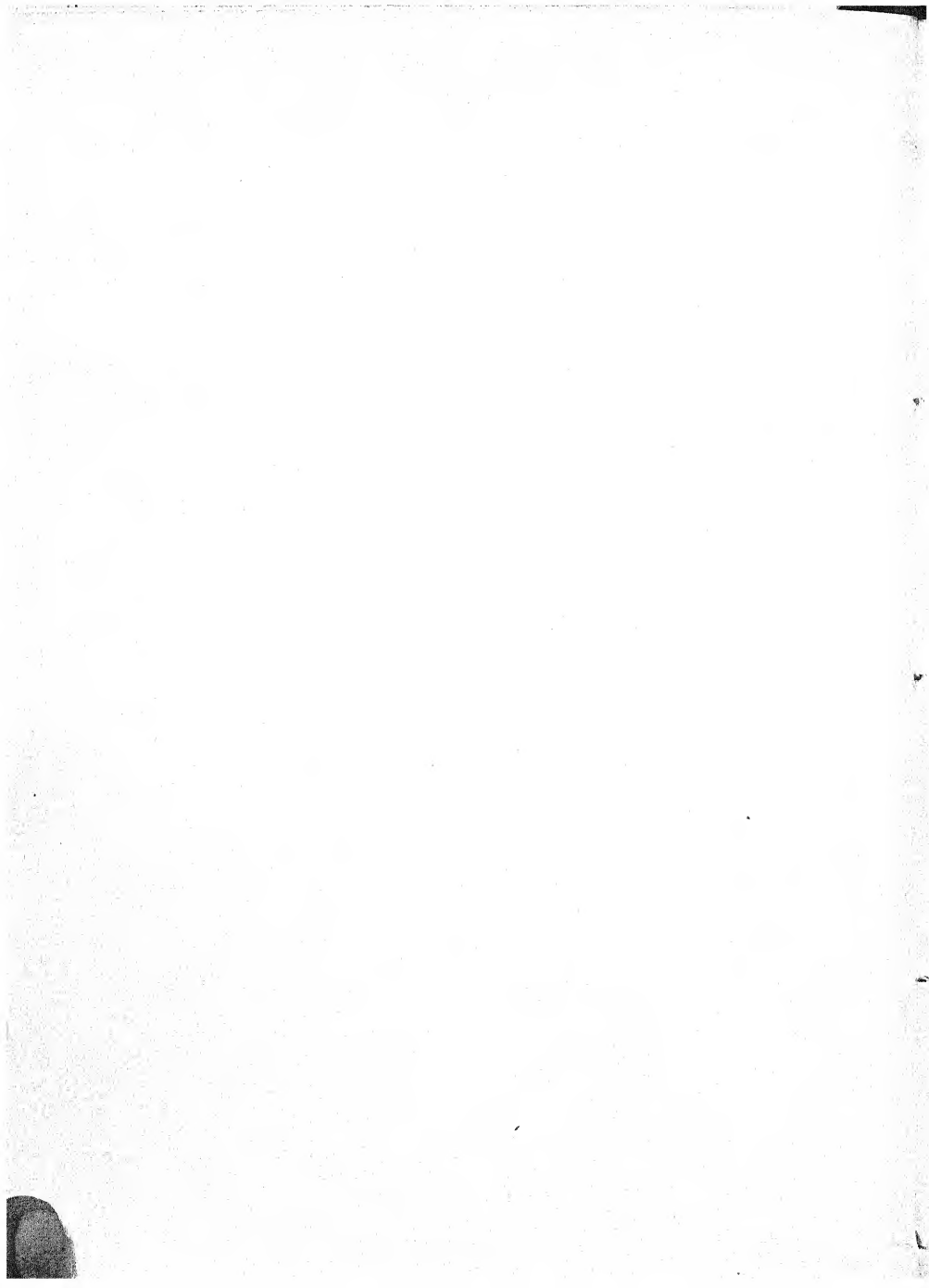
Abbreviations

C.K.L.C.W. = *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wén* 攋古錄金文.

H. = Hopkins Collection.

I.S.T.P. = *I Shai Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編.Y.H.S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契.

- | FIG. | | FIG. | |
|------|--|------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | (Upper half) I.S.T.P., No. 1,
p. 8; (lower half) I.S.T.P.,
No. 13, p. 1. | 11. | Y.H.S.K., ii, 25. |
| 2. | Y.H.S.K., iii, 28. | 12. | .. ii, 25. |
| 3. | Lesser Seal. | 13. | .. ii, 25. |
| 4. | As cited by Wang Kuo-wei.
I.S.T.P., No. 16, p. 3. | 14. | .. ii, 24. |
| 5. | I.S.T.P., No. 13, p. 1. | 15. | .. Hou Pien 上,
p. 20. |
| 6. | .. No. 1, p. 8. | 16. | H., 550. |
| 7. | .. No. 1, p. 8. | 17. | } Parts of the above characters. |
| 8. | Y.H.S.K., Hou Pien 下,
p. 42. | 18. | |
| 9. | I.S.T.P., No. 13, p. 3. | 19. | |
| 10. | Y.H.S.K., vi, 26. | 20. | H., 227. |
| | | 21. | C.K.L.C.W., vol. vii, p. 16. |
| | | 22. | Lesser Seal. |



Geographical Notes

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

WAS OROPUS THE CLASSICAL NAME OF CARCHEMISH?

THE name of the important Seleucid city which occupied the site of the ancient Carchemish is still uncertain. German scholars have identified it with the Oropus or Europus of classical geography, but as is pointed out by Commander Hogarth, who has discussed the question very fully in *Carchemish*, pt. i, pp. 19 sqq. (1914), if Oropus is identified with the town placed by the Peutinger Table between Birejik and the Sajur, and this again is identified with Carchemish, the mileage attached to it will not agree with the actual facts. There is the further difficulty that, although one of the modern names given to the site is Jerabis, which could be derived from Oropus, or rather its later Greek deformation Europus, the more usual and probably older name is Jerablûs, which is Hierapolis.

But there is yet another difficulty. Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv, 8) states that one of the chief cities of Northern Syria in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates was Hierapolis, which was also called Ninus. The codices (Vaticanus and Petrensis) read *Hierapoli veterennino*, which has hitherto been wrongly emended. But it is evident that the first *n* should be *u*, as is so frequently the case in MSS., *u* or *v* standing here, as elsewhere, for *v(el)*. Hence the original text will have been *Hierapoli vetere v(el) Nino*, "the older Hierapolis or Ninus." The later Hierapolis was the modern Membij, where the archæological remains are not earlier than the Seleucid era, and which after the foundation of its temple inherited the traditions and name of the more ancient city. This explains why Membij (Mabug, Bambykê) is unknown to the Assyrian inscriptions.

My decipherment of the so-called Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions (which are really those of the Kaskians and Cilicians) has cleared up the origin of the name Ninus. Nana or Nina was the water-goddess (*ni* signifying "water" in Hittite); hence Nana, the mother of Attys, is said to have been a water-nymph, the daughter of the River Sangarios, a name which appears in that of the Sajur, Assyrian Sagura, Sangura, south of Carchemish. In the Carchemish texts the name of Nana is frequently replaced by the picture of a horse's head, with or without the phonetic complement *ana*. The belief in a water-horse has spread from the country where the horse was first domesticated throughout Western Asia and Europe, and in our own island has produced the kelpie or water-spirit of the Highlands, which assumes a horse's form. The Greek hippocampus or water-horse has played a conspicuous part in art, and the old belief is still embodied in the name of the hippopotamus of Egypt. Carchemish was not only situated on the banks of the Euphrates, it also commanded the chief ford of the high road from east to west, and it was therefore appropriate that it should have been called "the city of Nana". In the texts a synonym of *Karkamisiyas*, "a Carchemishian," is *Nanā-tis* and *Ninā-tis*, "a Ninian." The statement of Ammianus Marcellinus has thus been fully verified.

And now to return to Oropus. In the geographical list of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, the names of Mitanni and Carchemish are followed by Uru with the determinative of place. Uru is the Assyrian *uru* "the city", which with the Mitannian definite suffix *-pi* would be written Uru-pi. The suffix is found in a good many geographical names in that part of the world—Tunip, for instance, by the side of Tuna, Til-Barsip, by the side of Tulburs, etc. In Uru-pi, accordingly, I see the origin of the Greek Oropus.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium Oropus was "formerly called Tel-missos". Is Tel-missos intended for Carchemish, *tel* taking the place of *karka*, which was identified

with the Aramaic כרמא "the citadel"? In WAI. iii, 66, Ob. d 33 the name of Carchemish is actually written *Karku-(AN)mas*, "the citadel of (the god) Mas,"¹ and we know from the Old Testament that such etymological puns were common in the ancient Semitic world. In this case it would appear that the *Karkamish uru* of the Egyptian List was interpreted as meaning "the city of Carchemish", and not that Carchemish and "the city" were separate places. On the other hand, according to Shalmaneser III, Pitru, the Pethor of the Old Testament, called Pdri in the geographical list of Thothmes III, lay a little to the south of Carchemish, between that city and the Sajur, and Pitru may be a Mitannian or Asianic word for "city". In Vannic *patari* signifies "city", and seems to be the same word as the Pteria of Herodotus, usually supposed to be the district of Boghaz Keui, though we are told that it was near Sinôpê. At all events, the word *teira* in one or more of the Asianic languages had that signification; thus we have Teira, Thya-teira, by the side of Thyia, Adrianu-thêrai, Têmeno-thyra, Grimenothêra, Das-teira, by the side of Das-Tarkon and Das-menda, etc.,² to which must be added the Khata-tirra of the Assyrian inscriptions. Some of the coins of Tarsus, again, have the inscription *ορτυγο-θηρα*, which cannot signify "quail-hunt", but must be a Greek form of some such name as Artuga-teira. Artug is named in the geographical lists of the eighteenth and nineteenth Egyptian dynasties. Since the ideograph of "city" has the phonetic complement *-ri* in the cuneiform texts of Boghaz Keui, we may conclude that in the Hittite language spoken there the full word was either *teiri* or *patari*.³ The Greek Kybis-tra always appears as

¹ Nin-lil is said to be "the queen of heaven of Carchemish". Her Hittite name was Khebe or Khiba.

² Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 144.

³ The name of the Lycian city Patara would not be connected if Stephanus of Byzantium is right in saying that it was the Lycian word for "a chest". Pteria reappears, letter for letter, in Puterias, which an inscription of the Vannic king Menuas (Sayce, xxxiii) gives as the

Khubis-na, "the land of Khubis," in the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghaz Keui and Assyria; in a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription found at Andaval (Messerschmidt, *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, xxxi, C) it is written *Ku-bi-is-sa mias*, "the city of Kubis," where the compound ideograph *mias* would have been read *teiri* in the language in which that word was used. The lengthened form *teirya* would have become *τερα* (for *τερρα*) in Greek, and so the *-tra* which we find in Asianic geographical names of the later period.

All this leads me to the conclusion that the name Uru-pi was employed in a double sense. Originally it would have denoted the township south of Carchemish, known to us as Pethor, but since Carchemish was *par excellence* the city of that region the title came to be attached to it, and eventually passed to the Greeks under the forms of Orôpus and Eurôpus. The double employment of the name would explain why the Peutinger Table (1) does not name the station between Birejik and the Sajur, and (2) gives a mileage which suits the site of Pethor but not the site of Carchemish.

In the sixth century Europus, which "popular etymology" substituted for Oropus, appears as Aghropos and Aghripos in Syriac documents. Aghripos could easily have yielded an Arabic Jerabas or Jerbas by assimilation to Jerablûs, i.e. Hierapolis, which must therefore have been the more customary name of the place, and Jerabas would naturally pass into Jerabîs, the normal plural of a word Jerbas. Dr. Trowbridge, the head of the American College at Aintab, told me many years ago that some of his converts who lived in the neighbourhood of Jerablûs had informed him that

ancient name of Palu on the northern bank of the Euphrates (the modern Murad-su), about midway between Malatiyeh and Van. It lay near Gupa, the Assyrian Kuppu, Khuzâna (new Khozan), which is probably the Khuzarina of the Assyrians, and Aassa, called Aassata in the inscriptions of Boghaz Keui. A variant form of the word *teira* probably recurs in Qulbi-tarris, one of the cities of Melitene conquered by the Vannic king Sarduris II (Sayce, l). Qulbi-tarris must be the Kholma-dara of classical geography, Qulbi or Kholma being the deity Khalmis of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Jerablûs was the "Arabic" and Jerabis the "Turkish" name. Many of the places in that part of the world bear double names, as I learned when I was travelling there; the first village I passed after leaving Bab, for instance, was called Kebêsîn by the Arabs and Bash-Keui by the Turks, and an old city site near the ford across the Sajur was known as Tel Mansûr to the Turks and Tel el-Yansûl (also pronounced Yansûr and Yansûb) to the Arabs.

By way of conclusion I must add that the Mitannian *-pi* was also pronounced *-wi*, and could therefore be represented in cuneiform by *-mi*. In fact, the non-Semitic absence of distinction between *m* and *w* in Assyrian is one of several examples of Mitannian or Hittite influence that can be indicated upon Assyro-Babylonian. Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown that *m*, *b*, and *w* are interchangeable in the geographical names of Asia Minor, and in the cuneiform texts the same name can be written with *m*, *w*, *b*, and *p*. The character 𐎶 has the various values of *mi*, *pi*, *wi*, and *yi*. Consequently, Uru-pi could also appear in script as Uru-mi, Uru-ma, and the question, therefore, arises whether "the Hittite soldiers, Kaskians and Urumians", mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I as having occupied Subarti or Northern Syria—not to be confounded with the Supria of the Assyrian period¹—did not come from Carchemish. 'Urma (the modern Urûm), a little north of Carchemish, is already named in the geographical List of Thothmes III (No. 208 and perhaps 313),² while in the Hittite hieroglyphic texts the writers describe themselves as Kaskians. Thus, in the earliest text yet found at Carchemish, Yakhanas, who gave his name to the conquered district of Yakhan, calls himself not only "a Hittite" (*Khat-tu-wias*), but also "a Kaskian" (*Ki-is-ka-a-ni-is*), and he further takes the titles of a follower of the god Tarkus and of "the Sun-god of the Kaskian land".

¹ In a Boghaz Keui text (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi*, i, 22, Rev. 6) the land of Subari comes between Aleppo (Khalba) and Kinza.

² Maspero identifies it with the Greek Urma Gigantos. Gigantos is probably an echo of the old name of the district Gagati.

THE CITY OF BURSAKHANDA

In the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, December, 1915, I have transliterated and translated an interesting cuneiform text discovered in 1913-14 by the German excavators in the house of the Hittite Resident at Tel el-Amarna. The text, which is in the Hittite form of cuneiform script, contains a semi-legendary account of a campaign of Sargon of Accad in the later Cilicia, and was the first tablet of a series which seems to have been devoted to the earlier history of Asia Minor. The chief objective of Sargon's campaign was the city of Bursakhanda, which was situated on a mountain, and from which he brought back to Babylonia two species of fig-tree, vines, roses (*wurtinnu*), and other northern plants, as well as the *ulpanu* or *lupanu*, the nature of which is unknown. That the campaign of Sargon was a fact is now proved by Dr. Forrer's discovery of a tablet from Boghaz Keui, at present at Berlin, which records the invasion of eastern Asia Minor by a king of the dynasty of Akkad, and its repulse by the combined forces of the kingdoms of Kanis, Khatti, and Kursaura, the Garsaura of classical geography.

Another Boghaz Keui tablet, which embodies the annals of the Hittite king Telibinus, and has been translated by Professor Hrozný, informs us that Khattusilis I, the founder of the Khattu empire, conquered the Cilician cities of Khubis-na, Tûwanuwa, Nenassa, Lânda, Zallara, Barsukhanta, and Lu . . . na. Khubis-na is known to us from the Assyrian inscriptions, which show that it was the classical Kybis-tra; Tûwanuwa is the neighbouring Tyana; Lânda may be the Leandis of Ptolemy; and Nenassa reminds us of the classical Nanessos. Lu . . . na may be the Lamena of Shalmaneser III, which lay between Tanakun (Thanakê) and Tarsus, and was probably the Lapana of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Barsukhanta is evidently the Bursakhanda of the Sargon legend, and will have been in the vicinity of Kybistra and Tyana, that is to say on one of the northern heights of

the Bulgar Dagħ. Unnamisu, where Sargon is said to have spent his third year, will have been on the coast of the Gulf of Antioch, possibly where the Iônê of Stephanus Byzantinus was situated. It is possible that Barsukhanda should be identified with the city of [B]arrukhunda, which Tiglath-pileser I places in the province of Qumani. In KAB. iv, 13, Obv. 47, the name is written Barsukhuntas.

JAVAN

In Gen. x, 2, 4, Javan is the brother of Tubal and Meshech in Eastern Asia Minor, and the father of Elishah—the Alasia of the cuneiform records, whose name was preserved in that of the Aléian (= Alêsyian) plain of Greek geography, as well as of Tarshish or Tarsus, of Kittim and of Rodanim, that is to say Cyprus and Rhodes. The geographical position assigned to him is confirmed by notices in Greek writers. Stephanus of Byzantium tells us that the Syrian Antioch was built on the site of the ancient Iônê, and the *Periplus Maritima* states that the town at the mouth of the Pyramus, afterwards known as Kephalos, was also called Ionê. In accordance with this Kedrenos states that the older name of Antioch was Iopolis. The Egyptian officer Amon-em-heb in the time of Thothmes III describes “the land of Mount Uan” as being to the west of Aleppo, and in the “Second” Arzawan letter in the Tel el-Amarna collection Labaia calls himself *memis-ta Uanwannas*, “thy spokesman of the land of Uan” (Knudtzon, 32, 2). In an Assyrian geographical list the name appears as Yaêna (WAI. ii, 53. 8), the country of Yaêna being preceded by the country of Cilicia (Khilakku) and followed by the country of Malatiyeh (Melidi). Yaêna by the side of Uan presents the same vowel-change as the Heb. *yâyin*, “wine,” Assyrian *înu*, by the side of *ôivor*, *vinum*. In fact it is possible that the country took its name from the vine; there was a city of Oinoandos somewhere in that part of the world. Mr. Tomkins was probably right in

identifying the Uanai of the geographical list of Thothmes III (No. 145) with Uan.

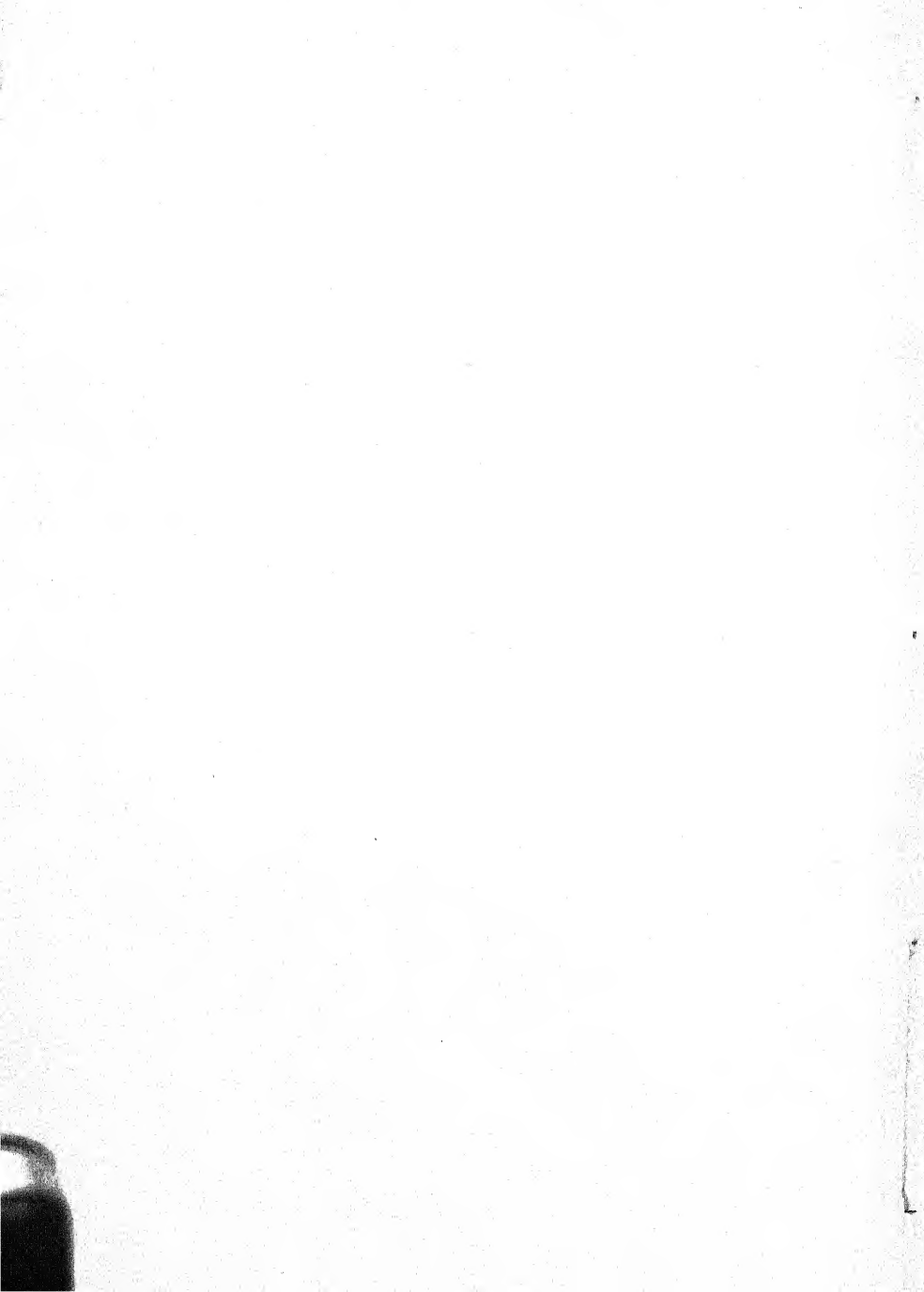
KAS AND KUSA

The "country of Kasi", also written Kaśi and Kasse, in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, has been erroneously identified with the Kassite people of Babylonia, and supposed to represent Babylonia. Babylonia, however, is always called Karduniyas in the tablets, and the name of Kasi is given only (1) to Cush or Ethiopia (Knudtzon, 49. 20; in 131. 13 it is *matditi Kasi*, "the lands of Cush"), and (2) to a district which adjoined Mitanni, Naharaim, and the Hittites. Thus, in Knudtzon 76. 15 it is coupled with Mitanni, in 116. 71 we have Mitanni, Kaśi, and the Hittites, and in 288. 36 it is joined with Nakhrima or Naharaim. It thus corresponds with "the country of Kusâ" of the Assyrian texts. A letter published by Dr. Pinches in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1881, p. 13, informs us that the cities of Qarnê—the Karna and Atu-geren of the Egyptian geographical lists—Dâna, Kullania (the Biblical Calneh), Arpad, and Isana, were all situated in the country of the Kusâ or Kusæans, which must, therefore, have comprised that part of Northern Syria which lay immediately to the north of Naharaim. In the larger "Hittite" hieroglyphic inscription from Hamath, line 1, as copied by myself from the original stone, the king calls himself "king of the land of Kus" (*Kusi-mia*), and in the Carchemish inscriptions one of the royal titles is king of "Kas" or "Kus" (*Kusannas*). It is worth notice that the first part of the name of the conqueror from Naharaim who subjugated Palestine in the twelfth century B.C. was Chushan (Judges iii, 8), which would exactly correspond with *Kusanna(s)*, "of the land of Kus." In any case, the name of the Kusâ was preserved in classical times in that of Mons Casius.

THE LEAD-MINES OF EARLY ASIA MINOR

The Cappadocian tablets, which belong to the age of the Third Dynasty of Ur (B.C. 2400), show that the mining and

export of lead was one of the chief industries carried on at Ganis, now Kara Eyuk, 18 kilometres N.E. of Kaisariyeh. According to a tablet in my possession the lead was exported to Assyria (*mat A-sur*), and from thence distributed throughout the Near East. The names are given of a good many of the places in which the metal was found. Among them are Abê, Amas, Nakhur (evidently the Semitic Nahor), Sasakki, Sarniga, and perhaps Luši and Niri, to which a fragment in my possession adds Zanuki. Another fragment belonging to myself refers to "a man of Abê" (*A-be-im*).



A Short Anthology of Guran Poetry

By MAJOR E. B. SOANE, C.B.E.

THE Anthology is a manuscript furnished by Dr. Sa'id, of Sina, to the British Museum, numbered Or. 6444; the writer is working from a photographic reproduction made for him in 1908 by order of Mr. A. G. Ellis.

The distance from the Oriental Department of the British Museum and absence of sufficient books of reference—this article is being written in Sulaimania, South Kurdistan—is a handicap on adequate comparison of words.

The Anthology is a collection made at Sina by Abdu'l Mu'min, son of Jamālu'd Dīn, Mubayyinu'l Mulk, between the years of A.D. 1783 and 1785, and contains specimens of the work of twenty-seven poets, and a number of fragments classified according to the final letter of the rhyme.

It has not been possible to ascertain the dates of any but a very few of the poets, who were all natives of Sina and the district of Aorāmān on the Perso-Turkish frontier, which secluded mountain mass is still the home of the Gūrānī language, and where many more interesting manuscripts are still to be found.

The period during which the collection was made was that of the semi-independent Vālī of Ardalān Khosrū Khān, who, like his predecessors, encouraged an entourage of poets and littérateurs, in which he was imitated by the Sultāns of Aorāmān-i-Takht, who, though subject to him, were semi-independent, as they are to-day.

After the rise of the Qājār dynasty, Ardalān fell from its high estate, and as the family grew effete, married Persian ladies, and lost power, the Court was dispersed and the writing of the Gūrān language (which had for years been only artificially kept alive in Sina by its recognition as the official language) fell into disfavour and ceased.

Gūrānī is a dying language. It was in all probability but a dialect of Persian at the Arab conquest, and owing to its location in the mountainous districts of the Kermānshāh and Ardalān provinces, escaped both the grafting of Arab words and the development and change which ensued in Modern Persian.

It was not, however, to exist undisturbed. The seventeenth century saw the rise to power of the Kurdish princes of Rawāndiz, Bitlis, Amādiā, and the Kurd Sardārs of the Mukrī. The tribes on the Turkish side shared in the spirit of conquest exhibited at the time by the Turks, and took the opportunity to spread westwards and southwards into Persia, absorbing some populations and driving others farther into the mountains. The most notable historical example of the Kurd invasion is Zuhāb. Here Abdāl the Bājilān from the Khoshnāw district, at the head of a body of tribesmen, emigrated to Zuhāb and the lands now known as Jūānrūd. They found living there a confederation of tribes which they promptly reduced and gave them the Kurmānjī name of Gūrān, meaning "bondmen" and "peasants", which name is to-day that of a large heterogeneous collection of tribal elements in the locality. As time went on sections of Kurd tribes adopted the habits of the newly named Gūrān and shared with them their winter and summer habitats. The result is to-day that the so-called Gūrān tribe of Zuhāb and Jūānrūd contains two distinct elements—the Kurd sections, all Sunni Muslims, speaking their own Kurmānjī, and the "Gūrān" original sections, mostly Ali Allahī, non Muslim by faith, and speaking the "Gūrānī". The Bājilān family itself has so well preserved the original condition that to-day the members of "begzādas" of Bājilān speak Kurmānjī, while the tribe formed of the original inhabitants of Zuhāb plain speak a dialect of Gūrānī.

In Ardalān gradual penetration was more the rule, and it is a matter of history that by A.D. 1650 the bulk of the population already spoke Kurmānjī, which is now the language

of the capital, Sina town. In short, to-day the Gūrānī is spoken only by the tribes of Aorāmān, Rījāb, Kandūleh (near Kermānshāh), and the original sections of the Sinjābī, Gūrān, and Bājilān tribes, representing but a small fraction of the population, and among these it is dying out, Kurmānjī taking its place.

The Gūrānī language itself has been termed a Kurdish dialect. It is, however, not so at all. Kurmānjī has its characteristic grammatical forms, vocabulary, and idiom which have nothing in common with Gūrānī. The latter, however, shows in its grammatical forms that it is but a Persian variant, long separated from the mother tongue, and having borrowed widely in more recent times both from Kurmānjī and from Persian. It is the most northerly of the group of Persian dialects represented by Luristān and comes very close to the Lur languages of extreme northern Luristān. At the same time it is the least affected by later Modern Persian, or else split earlier from the original mother tongue.

The dialect of Gūrānī spoken by the "Gūrān" tribes varies in some numerous minor details, but preserves the main characteristics, the most conspicuous of which is the aversion to initial *kh*-, which it turns to *w*-, or has, perhaps, never used at all.

Houtum Schindler, who made extensive studies on Aryan dialects in Persia, mentions the Gūrānī language as spoken by the tribe and by the people of Kerind and Bīwanj. He, however, erroneously includes among the Gūrānī-speaking tribesmen the Nairzhī and Tāishāi ("Nirizi Taischi"), who are Kurds speaking Kurmānjī.¹ The words and sentences he quotes show that the modern Gūrānī tends increasingly to absorb Modern Persian and Kurmānjī words and to lose its individuality. The Gūrānī of the Anthology is very much less influenced by outside languages.

A further proof of the relation of Gūrānī to Modern

¹ "Beitrage zum Kurdischen Wortschatze," in the Journal of the Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Persian is the resemblance seen here and there with such dialects as that of Sō and other well-preserved Persian dialects in the interior.

Still more interesting than its connexion with the dialects of Persia are some important features it shares with the peculiar Zāzā language of mid-Kurdistan. This latter, a non-Kurmānjī language, while it has borrowed very widely from Kurmānjī, is of the same class as Gūrānī, but unaffected by New Persian, and in some features represents a better preserved specimen of what Gūrānī may once have been. With Gūrānī it shares the repugnance to initial *kh*-, giving initial *w*-where Avestic and Old Persian have initial *hw*, *hv*. Unlike Gūrānī, however, it is archaic in its numerals, particularly giving such words as *hīrye* for "three" and *das* for "ten".

ABBREVIATIONS.—The following are adopted in the text:—

OP	Old Persian.
Av	Avestic.
Phl	Pahlavi.
NP	New Persian.
Kur	Kurmānjī, the language of the Kurds.
Kan	Kandūlāī, a Gūrānī dialect spoken near Kermānshāh.
GuT	Tribal Gūrānī.
R	Rijābī and Bīwanjī dialects of Gūrānī.
A	Modern Aorāmānī.
Lk	Lekī of Kermānshāh district.
L	North Lurī.
Z	Zāzā.
S	Dialect of Sō near Isfahan.
M	Māzanderānī.

The specimens quoted are taken at random from the Anthology. The verse form throughout is the same; couplets, some series of which rhyme. The poem form does not fall into any of the categories of conventional Persian poem form, being but a succession of couplets with internal rhyme, though the rhyme occasionally persists through several

couplets. A feature of the poems is the introduction in some cases by a defective couplet, the first line of which forms part of the second line, as :—

Yārān lālī dīm
Ārū je lālān ajab lālī dīm
Shīrīn nīshteran
Na dōr i dīdash hazār nīshteran
Shīrīn nēāwā
Pai sufta dīlān purr shang nēāwā

The metres are natural ones, and, like the poem forms, do not conform to Persian rules, which gives the verse a freer swing and more natural cadence. Like most Lur and Kurd songs, they should be heard sung for the metre to be appreciated.

SPECIMEN 1.—Folio 11 of manuscript. Shaikh Ahmad Takhti of Aorāmān i Takht, circa A.D. 1640. Three verses to Autumn.

Hawr i nō āmā kham pōsh o namīn
Mīn dūrīn wilāt o dard muhtamīn.
Tā je hawr mabū yek qatra rēzān
Mīn je dīdam sēl hūnāw horēzān.
Nam i nō pāīz o kham hijrān bakht
Magīrān bi gird jastaī sang sakht.

Translation

New clouds have come, grief enveloping and moist
 I [am] from a far land, overwhelmed with sorrow.
 No sooner will the clouds let fall a drop
 Than from my eyes a torrent of blood-tears will outpour.
 The dews of new autumn and the griefs of the exile
 Close around one's soul a hard rock.

Notes on Text

I have only noticed words calling for attention as different from NP. Ordinary NP words or Arabic loan-words are assumed to be known.

Verse 1, line 1.

hawr, "cloud." This form is met with throughout Kur and L. Cf. Av *awra*, Phl *avar*, S *awr*, R? A, Lk *hawr*.

āmā. 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *āmān*, "to come." A purely Gūrānī and L word. Kan, R, A, GuT *āmān*, Z *āmē*. *kham*, "grief." Hardening of initial *gh-* to *kh-* is common to L Gūrānī and Kur; cf. *bākh*, *dākh*, etc.

namīn, "possessing moisture." The attributive suffix *-īn* is common to Gūrānī as to NP.

Line 2.

wīlāt, Arabic *wīlāyat*, the usual Gūrānī form of the word.

Verse 2, line 1.

je, "from." NP *az*, OP *hacha*, Av *hacha*, Phl *aj*, Kan *zhe*, R *je*, Z *sa*, *se*. Kur does not use the word except in the northern dialects in the form *zhe*, meaning "for".

mabū. 3rd pers. sing. pres. ind. of *būin*, "to become." No non-NP dialect uses the NP root *shav*, every one has preserved the use of root *bū*, Av *bū*, Phl *bū*.

Line 2.

hūnāw, "bloodwater." NP *khūnāb*. The use of initial *h* and *w* where NP shows *kh* will be frequently remarked, Av *voḥūni*, GuT *hūn*, A, Lk, R *khūn*, Z *goen*.

horēzān. 3rd pers. pl. pret. ind. from infin. *horēzān*, "to rise, come up, and forth." This verb, which is non-existent in NP, is common to many dialects, but does not exist in Kur. It is a compound of *hor* and *ēzān*. The prefix *hor*, though an uncommon variant of Av *fra-*, Phl *far-*, is met with in various forms in other dialects. The root *ēz* is apparently the Gūrānī variant of Av root *sta*. Cf. NP *bar khāstan*, Kur *hal stān*, Lk *horesān*, Kan, R, A *horēzān*, Z *weristān*, L *virisan*, Maz roots *pares*, *ores*, *vores*, *virisht*.

Verse 3, line 2.

magīrān. 3rd pers. pl. pres. ind. of *gīrān*, "to take." In conjunction with the next word, *bigird*, means "to close

round, envelop". The use of the tense particle *m-* is characteristic of Gūrānī and L, as opposed to the Kur *da-*, *a-*.

jasta, "being, entity." I can find no parallel in NP for this word, which is frequently seen in Gūrānī. Kan does not use it. Justi, in a note on Houtum Schindler, suggests the comparison with NP *khajastah*, for which I can see no justification.

SPECIMEN 2, by the same author as 1. Two verses to Autumn.

Ārū khazānī zārd bāmam wīnā

Kafta bī na tīw ī tāf gūl mīnā.

Aksash dīār bī na gūlāw ī tāf

Chimān mīn madīām na rūī jān ī sāf.

Translation

To-day, of yellow-crested autumn I could see,
Fallen on the lip of the torrent pool, a picture.

Its likeness was visible in the pool of the torrent:
Thus could I see it on the surface of the smooth plane.

Notes

Verse 1, line 1.

ārū, "to-day." Most L dialects use *ī* for the demonstrative in the words "to-day", "this year", etc. Kur uses its characteristic *am-*. Av *ā*, *hā*, Phl *ē*, S, R, Kan *ārū*, A, Z *aro*. The Gūrānī has lost the final consonant of Av *raoch* and Phl *roj*, *roch*. Kur *roj*, *roz*, *roch*.

khazānī zard bām, "yellow-covered autumn."

-am wīnā, "to me visible." *wīnā* is probably a loan-word from NP *bīnā*, though the initial *w* is more faithful to the original *v-* of Av *√vaēn*, OP *√vain*.

Line 2.

kafta, "fallen." Part. past of *kaftīn*, which is common to Kur and Gūrānī. Where NP, following Phl, has adopted the particle *ō* with the significance "down", plus *√fat*, pat

"fall", Kur has taken a prefixial *k-* with the same root. Possibly Gūrānī has borrowed it from Kur.

bī, 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *bīan*, "to be." Kur inf. *būn*. The form *bīan* is common to all the non-Kur languages, Kan, L, Lk, R, Z, GuT, $\sqrt{bī}$.

na, "on, by, at." Common to all Gūrānī and some L dialects. A connexion is suggested with the Av *ni-*, OP *niya-*, "down," used in connexion with verbs. Kur *la*.

līw, "lip." Kur, GuT, R, A, *līw*, S *lew*, NP *lab*.

tāf, "torrent, spate." Cf. Phl *topānik*, "violent, strong." A, R *tof*, Kur *lāf*.

gūl, "a pool." A word commonly used in all L, Gūrānī, and South Kur. Apparently a loan-word from Turkish *geul*.

mānā, "a likeness," from \sqrt{man} , "remain, resemble." Parallel to NP *mānand*.

Verse 2, line 1.

aksash, *aks-ash*, "its likeness." *Aks* is an Arabic loan-word through NP. *Ash* is used by all Lur and NP dialects, as well as by NP. It does not exist in Kur. The consistent use of enclitic *-ash* is one of the features of Gūrānī which lead to its classification with, and as relation of, NP, as opposed to connexion with Kur, whose independence of NP and its allies becomes increasingly evident on close study. In this case the adherence to OP *-shaiy*, *-sh*, by NP and allied languages is little more faithful in form to origin than the Kur *-ī*, *-ē* to the Av *-hī*, *-hā*.

dīār, "visible." NP *dīdār*.

gūlāw, *gūl-āw*. Water lying in a hollow. See *gūl* above.

Line 2.

chīmān, "thus." Cf. NP *chinān*. Kur has no similar word.

madīām. 1st pers. sing. ind. past imper. from \sqrt{di} , "see." NP *mīdīdam*. Gūrānī and L form the imperfect tense by the addition of *-īā-* to the root and before the enclitic pronominal ending.

rūi jāmi sāf, "the face of a smooth plane." NP metaphor borrowed entire.

SPECIMEN 3.—Folio 12 and 13. Muhammad Qulī Sulaimān, date unknown. Six verses to Autumn.

Khazānī bi chākh
Ārū dīm bi cham khazānī bi chākh.

Rangish pai nabī dardīnash dākh
Mīn dar sāt je dīl kīshām āir ākh.

Pirsām hai khazān rang i baqam wēna
Zarrī dākh i dard i jefā i mīn pai na.

Sā biwācha paim tū je chī kārī
Pēsa rang i sāf i bīdardān dārī.

Wātish hai lēwa i dīl i pakhm pāra
Mīn hūn i zāmam kaftan na chāra.

Tu māchī bī dard har kas bī dard bī
Shā allah chanī garr bi zukhāl gard bī.

Translation

Autumn wounded :

To-day I saw with my eyes Autumn wounded.

It had not its colour, because of its painful scar.

I then from my heart heaved a fiery sigh.

I asked : " Oh, Autumn, of hue like logwood dye,
Apply to it a little of the pains of my suffering."

Then said he to me : " What, then, art thou ?
Thou hast a clear colour like that of the care-free."

He said : " Oh, Deceiver of the torn-hearted,
The blood of my wound it is fallen on my face.

Thou callest care-free whoever hath this ill ?
Please God ! with flames may he be burned to charcoal ash."

Notes

Verse 1, line 1.

chākh, "a wound." An unusual word.

Line 2.

ārū. See Specimen 2.

dīm. 1st pers. sing. pret. ind. from infin. *dīan*, "to see."

cham, "eyes." Cf. S, R, Lk *cham*, Z *chim*, A *cho*, Kur *chaw*, *chāf*.

Verse 2, line 1.

rangīsh, *rangī-sh*, "its colour."

pai nabī, "to it" or "on it", "was not". Cf. Av *paiti*, OP *apiy*, Phl *pat*, Kan, GuT, A, Lk *pai*, Kur *pē*.

dardīnash dākh. An inversion which would be in prose *dākh i dardīnash*, "its painful wound," the word *dākh* (NP *dāgh*), "a scar," being used in this meaning.

Line 2.

min. 1st pers. pron. NP alone of Aryan languages in Persia and Turkey shows *man*, all others *min*, except Kur, which preserves Av *azem* in the form of *az*, with dative and accusative *min*, *me*; and Caspian Talish dialects, *as*, *az*.

dar sāt. Borrowed from NP *dar sā'at*, "instantly."

kīshām. 1st pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *kīshān*, "to pull, draw, suffer, etc." NP *kashīdan*, Kan, L, GuT, A, Lk, R *kīshān*, Z *√kīsh*, Kur *kēshān*.

āir, "fire." Av *atār*, *atarsh*, OP *ātar*, softened in obsolete NP to *ādar*. R, Kan, GuT, S *āir*, A *āgir*, Z *ādir*, Kur *āgir*.

ākh, "woe!"

Verse 3, line 1.

pīrsām. 1st pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *pīrsān*, "to ask."

rang i baqam, "the colour of log-wood, or red dye."

wēna, "like." Cf. NP *gūnā*, Kan, GuT *wēna*.

pai na, "put on it!" *Na* is the imperative of *nīān*, "to place." Cf. NP *nihādan*, GuT, Kan, R, A *nīān*.

Verse 4, line 1.

sā for NP (*Ar*) *sā'at* in the meaning "then".

biwācha. Equivalent of NP *biguft*. From infin. *wātin*, "to speak." Kan, R, L, Lk *wātin*, Maz *bwātin*. The first four use the stem *wāch-* in all tenses except preterite and tenses

formed from it, and the imperative. S uses *vaj-* and Z *vāj-*, a good preservation of the Av *√vach* and Phl *√vāj*. The Kur shows variations of the root in *vezh*, *bezh*, though it uses more generally a number of other roots peculiar to itself. Gūrānī does not appear to possess the *gu-*, *guf-* stem of NP from OP *√gub*.

paīm, *pai-m*, "to me." *Pai* here is not the same derivative as *pai* in verse 3, line 1, but is the same as NP *bi*, cf. Av *aiwi*, *aiḇī* (Gatha), OP *abi*y becoming Av *upa*, OP *upā* with accusative following. In the meaning of "to", *pai* occurs in Kan, Lk, Kur, A, R.

tū je chi kārī. A parallel of the NP colloquialism *Tu chi kāra ī* ? "What art thou ?"

Line 2.

pēsa, "whitish, white." Cf. Phl *pēseh*, NP *pēsī*, *pēs*, *pīsī*, "leprosy." Parsi *pīsk*. The rest of the line is as NP. The use of *dārī*, "thou hast," is for metre's sake ; the true Gūrānī should be *madārī*.

Verse 5, line 1.

wātish, 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *wātin* as above. The use of the enclitic *-ish* in this part of the verb is common to Kan, R, Lk, A. Cf. colloquial NP *guftash*, "he said," not "he said to him".

pakhm pāra, "torn and rent." *Pakhm* may be a loan-word from Kur ; it is in daily use among the Jaf nomads of the frontier.

zāmam, *zām-am*, "my wounds." A, R, Lk, GuT, Kan *zām*, NP *zakhm*. *Zām* is also used by the Kurds of the extreme south, but not is a Kurmānĵi word.

kaftan, 3rd pers. sing. perf. of infin. *kaftin*, "to fall." *kaftan* is strictly *kafta-an*.

The use of *-n* as part of the verb "to be" is very widely spread all over Persia in dialect. Cf. *khuban*, "it is good." Kur does not use it. Cf. GuT *bīn*, "he has been." Kan

han, "it is," R *an*, "it is," R and A both the *han*-, as the stem in pres. ind. of "to be" throughout the six persons.

na chāra, "on the face"; *chāra* = NP *chihra*.

Verse 6, line 1.

tu māchī, "thou sayest." A and R show the complete form *mawāchī*, S *awajī*, GuT *mawāzhī*. Kan follows Gūrānī.

bī dard, "without pain."

bī dard, "with this pain," *bi ī dard*.

bū. In next line also, "may he be." NP *bāshad*, *buvad*. Common to L and Gūrānī. Kur has its own form.

chanī, "with, like, by." Kan, A, *chanī*. Kur does not use it.

garr, "flames." The word is not generally used in other Gūrānī dialects, nor in Lk. It appears to be a loan-word from Kur.

zukkāl-gard, "charcoal dust." See note on hardening of *gh* to *gk* in previous specimen. Kur does not use this word.

SPECIMEN 4.—Folio 32. Mulla Tāhir Aorāmānī, date unknown. Fourteen verses on the Basil, explaining how it came by the black marks on its leaves.

- 1 *Tilīw je rēhān purr shān shīwa*
Lāf madā bi zulf i kasīwa.
- 2 *Mawātish qatra i qatrān bīzanān*
Hām rang hām būyī zulf rīzanān.
- 3 *Min wātīm, "Rēhān, zaid i sārāi*
Bī tu chi lāiq lāf bīnāi ?"
- 4 *Rēhān wāt, "shart i īma wa tu wa yār,*
Bīnīshīmī wa ham jāī bī aghyār.
- 5 *"Rū bi rūm kara chanīw zulf dustit*
Chanī qiblagāī khās āwāt wustit.
- 6 *"Agar khelāf bar shūm lāf bīnāī*
Bīmālā na rūm rang i sīāī."
- 7 *Ima wa gul i rēhān har dū bo wāna*
Shīmī, kirdmān sijdaī āstāna.

- 8 *Bimāla i dīlsūz lālām lāl wēna*
Pai chandī tāī zulf i tughrāī meshkēna.
- 9 *Wātim, " Muruwwatan, Shāī Perī Pāya*
Bā pakhsb bū na rūt zulf i mishk māya."
- 10 *" Dā īma wa rēhān dāwā wa jastimān*
Bar shū bi rāstī bēn o bastimān."
- 11 *Nakird darīkhā hājat kird qabūl*
War dā bi wardā dasta i zulf i lūl.
- 12 *Sā rēhān nāshaī zulfash khās zānā*
Pai rū sīā ash " Aī Wallāh! " ash wānā
- 13 *Zāmen bird wa zīd i sāya i dirakhtān*
Tā bizānū khāk chūn sīa bakhtān.
- 14 *Parī paikīārī lāf wardish nidāmat*
Rū sīārīsh mand tā rūī qīāmat.

Translation

- 1 A sprig of basil, full of pride and coquetry,
 Was mocking at the tresses of a personage.
- 2 It said, " Drops of pitch, should they sift [them],
 Like hue and like smell of her locks would pour down."
- 3 I said, " Basil, thou art desert born,
 Wherefor art thou fitted for such mockery ? "
- 4 The Basil said, " A pact be it that I and thou and the
 beloved
 Sit down together in a place with no others.
- 5 " Confront me with the locks of thy beloved,
 And with the adored exercise thy wish.
- 6 " If my mockery turn out an error
 Rub on my face the colour of black."
- 7 I and the Basil both to the house
 Went, and prostrated ourselves on the threshold.
- 8 With heartbreaking cry I wailed like the dumb
 For a few locks of the musk-scented, curled tresses.

- 9 I said, " 'Tis but justice, fairy-footed Queen,
Let your musk-endowed locks scatter over your face.
- 10 "Contention hath struck the souls of me and the Basil;
Let the truth of our argument come out."
- 11 She tarried not, but granted our request,
And loosed before her a handful of her curly locks.
- 12 Then the Basil knew the intoxication of her locks,
And cried "Ai Wallah!" for its blackened face.
- 13 It took refuge under the shade of the trees
Till it should know dust, like the unlucky.
- 14 For the result of its mockery it ate repentance,
And its face has remained blackened till the Day of
Judgment.

Notes

Verse 1, line 1.

tīlīw, indefinite singular of *tīl*, "a branch, sprig, shoot." The word does not occur generally in Gūrānī or L, and may be a loan-word from Kur, the southern dialects of which use the word *tīl* to signify a shoot, or a low hill-spur. Cf. also North Kur, *tīlī*, "a finger." No equivalent in NP.

rēhān. The sweet basil, much prized in the mountains for its sweet smell. It is often referred to as *gul i rēhān*, though its flower is insignificant.

purī shān shīwa. The conjunction *o*, "and," is omitted between the second and third words for metre's sake, a common feature of this type of poetry. Both words are Arabic, in common use in NP.

Line 2.

lāf. In NP *lāf* usually means "boasting" simply. In Gūrānī it always means "belittlement, mockery".

madā. 3rd pers. sing. ind. imperf. of infin. *dān*, "to give."

kasīwa. Indefinite sing. of *kas*, "a person."

Verse 2, line 1.

mawātish. 3rd pers. sing. imperf. ind. of *wātin*, "to say," for note on which see above. Kan, A, R, GuT *mawātish*.

bīzanān. 3rd pers. pl. pres. subj. from inf. *bīzanin*, "to sift."

Line 2.

hām. NP *ham*, "equal, like." The lengthening of the vowel is common to Gūrānī and Kur.

rīzanān. Same form as *bīzanān*, from inf. *rīzanin*, "to pour." The Gūrānī does not use the $\sqrt{b}ikh$ and $\sqrt{r}ikh$ as in NP.

Verse 3, line 1.

wātin. 1st pers. sing. pret. of infin. *wātin*, "to say."

zaid i sārā ī. Equivalent either to NP *zād i sahrā ī*, "thou art desert born," or *zaid i sahrā ī*, adopting the NP use of *zaid* in the meaning of "an one". The first interpretation appears more likely. Lk gives *zai*, R *zaid* for "born", though the infin. in all cases is *zāin*. *-āi-* in all the L and Gūrānī dialects often becomes *-ai-*; cf. *bain* for *bāin*, "come here," *main* for *māin*, "a mare."

lāf bināi. The equivalent of NP *lāf-zanī*, in this case meaning traduction. The word *bināi* is NP used idiomatically.

Verse 4, line 1.

wāt. 3rd pers. sing. pret. of infin. *wātin*, "to say."

īma, "we." Used for the singular. Common to all Gūrānī, L, and South Kur. Correct Kur *am*.

bināshīmī. Equiv. of NP *bināshīmīm*, "let us sit." Gūrānī infin. *nīshīn*. This is common to all Gūrānī, Lk, and L. Kur uses it also, but never without an adverbial prefix *dā* or *rū*. The form *-īmī* for the plural pronominal enclitic is peculiar to Gūrānī and allied dialects. The mongrel language of Kerman-shah uses the form *-īmīn* in this place. Lk also gives *-īma* and *-īman*, R *-īma*, Maz *-īmī*.

Line 2.

wa ham. NP *bā ham*, "together." All allied dialects use *wa* for NP *bā*. The use of this phrase is one of the many

links between Gūrānī, and NP. Kur uses *biyek*, *layek*, *lagal*, *digal*, *tgār*, etc.

Verse 5, line 1.

rū bi rūm. A NP phrase, "face to face." This also is used by all allied dialects in common with NP. Kur has a variety of phrases of its own, such as *diberyek*, *laberyek*, etc.

kara. Imperative of *kirdin*, "to do, make." Gūrānī and allied dialects do not use the *kun* stem of NP. GuT, A, R, Kan, imperative *karo*. Kur uses stem *ka-* in place of NP *kun* and Gūrānī *kar-*, except in a few northern dialects, which also use stem *kar-*.

chanūw, and *chanī* in next line. See previous notes.

dustit, for *dūstīt*, "thy friend."

Line 2.

khās, NP *khub*. This Arabic word is used by all Gūrānī and allied dialects to signify "good, well".

āwāt, "desire, wish." Verbal noun from infin. *wastin*, "to wish." As a rule the secondary stem is *wāz-*, used in ind. pres., imperative, and subj. pres. GuT, Kan, *√wāz*, Maz (Tālish) *√wē*, *√wāz*, Kur *√wē*, *wāz*, and loan-root from NP *√khwāz*, Av and OP *√was*, Phl infin. *khvāstann*. Lk and L follow NP with *√khwās*.

wustit. 2nd sing. pers. pret. ind. from infin. *wustin*, "to throw, scatter, deposit, arrange." The use of the preterite to express the future is a well-known feature of NP and Kur. R, Kan, GuT *√wus*, *√was*, Z *√esh*, Kur *√wēzh*, *√kha*. The first Kur root and the Gūrānī, etc., invite comparison with Av *√as*, and the Kur *√kha* with Av *√ah*. The only parallel suggested in NP is *hashtan*, "to leave, let fall, suspend."

Verse 6, line 1.

bar shūm, *bar shū-m*, "should go out-to me." *Shū* is the equivalent of the NP *ravad*, from infin. *shīan*, "to go," see later.

Line 2.

bimāla. Imp. of infin. *mālīn*, "to rub." Final -a in imperative is characteristic of all *Gūrānī* and *Kur*.

sīārī. NP *sīākhī*, "blackness."

Verse 7, line 1.

īma. See Verse 4, line 1.

wa. See verse 4, line 2, *wa ham*.

bo, "to, for." R uses *bo*, but most allied dialects use *wa*, NP *bī*.

wāna, "house." The loss of the *kh*- is conspicuous here. A, R, GuT, Kan *yāna*. All apparently from NP *khāna* or Phl *khānak*. Z, Maz use variants of *kad*, *kai*, etc., the origin of which is obvious. Kur uses *māl*,¹ the word *khānū* in Kur signifying a house built of stone or brick. It is a loan-word from NP.

Line 2.

shīmī. 1st pers. pl. pret. ind. from infin. *shīan*, "to go." Lk, L, GuT *√shū*, *√shī*, Maz *√shū*, Tālīsh *√shē*, Z *shē*, Kur *√chū*. A and R use *√lua*; cf. NP *√ru*, *rav*.

kirdmān. 1st pers. pl. pret. inf. from infin. *kirdīn*, "to do." The enclitic -*mān* is as seen in L and Lk. Kermānshāhī uses it indiscriminately with -*īmin*. It is also met with in South Kur.

Verse 8, line 1.

lālām. 1st pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *lālāin*, "to wail, implore," an onomatopoeic in general use in *Gūrānī*; cf. South Kur infin. *lālīnawa*, "to wail."

Line 2.

tughrāī meshkēna. A very Persian-like metaphor, comparing the locks to the Turkish imperial sign manual of convolute letters.

¹ Nearly all writers on Kurmānжі give the derivation of *māl* as Ar *māl*, "property," for which there is no reason. It would be curious at least that Kur, which does not borrow except to fill gaps in the language, should adopt a foreign word for the commonest object of life. The derivation is Av *nmāna*, Phl. *mān*.

Verse 9, line 1.

muruwatan, muruwat-an. *An-*, "it is." See specimen 3, verse 5, line 1, *kaftan*.

Line 2.

bā, "Let it be! allow!" Common to all Gūrānī and S. Kur. N.P. *bād*, *bādā*

bū, "that it become." From infinitive *būan*, "to become." Common to all Gūrānī and L dialects. Not in Kur.

Verse 10, line 1.

dā. 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *Dān*, "to strike." Apparently a loan-word from Kur, which, throughout its southern dialects, uses no other word in this meaning.

dāwā, for NP (Ar.) *da'wā*, "argument."

jastimān, "our being."

Line 2.

bar shū. See verse 6, line 1.

bēn o bastimān. A borrowed NP idiom.

Verse 11, line 2.

war dā. 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. from infin. *war dān*, "to scatter, loose." Infin. *dān*, "to give." The word *war* is represented in a few of the Gūrānī dialects and Lk, and is possibly a loan from Kur. The L and Lk word is *nūā*. *War* is equivalent to Kur *ber*, *bar*, which is no other meaning than "front, breast," from Av *vara*, Phl *bar*, "the breast," whereas the meanings "up, on, into," etc., of the better-known NP *bar* from Av *uparō*, *parō*, OP *upariy*, are not found in Kur. Z also gives *ver dāe*.

bi wardā. For effect the Kur inflexion *-dā* has been borrowed. The phrase means "in front".

Verse 12, line 1.

nāshai. NP *na'sha* in its colloquial meaning "headiness, intoxication".

zānā. 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *zānin*, "to know." It is worthy of notice that this root $\sqrt{zān}$ is common to all the languages and dialects used for purposes of comparison

here, except Maz, of whose dialects *Semnānī* alone shows $\sqrt{z}ūn$.¹ The Caspian dialects of Lenkorān and Tālīsh also show $\sqrt{z}ūn$. It is interesting to note that it is supposed that Pahlavi was spoken comparatively recently in Mazānderān (not including Lenkorān and Tālīsh), and that Phl had changed the Av $\sqrt{z}an$ to $\sqrt{d}an$.

Line 2.

pai, "for." Common to all Gūrānī, used alternately with *parī*.

Verse 13, line 1.

zāmen, "refuge." This word appears in R and A in this sense. Probably from Ar. ضامن with a difference in meaning.

zīd, "under." NP *zīr*. This change of final *r* after *ī* is seen in other instances in Gūrānī. Cf. also Z *shīd* for *shīr*. Kur does not share this peculiarity.

bizānū. NP *bidānad*. Infin. *zānin* as above.

Verse 14, line 1.

parī, "for, because." NP *barāyī*. A, R, Lk, Kan *parī*. Not used by Kur.

paikīāī, "the result, outcome." A, R, Kan use the word, which is composed of *paikī*, subsequent, and *āī*, coming.

wardīsh, 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *wārdīn*, "to eat, suffer," with enclitic *-ish*. R, A, GuT, Lk, infin. *wārdīn*, Z *wārde*, Av $\sqrt{h}var$, Phl $\sqrt{k}hor$.

mand. 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *mandīn*, "to remain." Common to all Gūrānī dialects, also L and Z. Av and OP $\sqrt{m}an$.

SPECIMEN 5.—Folio 32. Mahzūnī, a clerk of the Court of Khosrū Khān Wālī of Ardalān, A.D. 1783. A commination on the Basil in continuation of the foregoing.

Raqīb sīā bū

Rūt bi wēna i zulf i qūblīm sīā bū.

¹ Semnānī appears to be a stranger among the Maz dialects.

Ghazab je āsmān parīt awrā bū
Band bandit bi tikk je ham j'ā bū.
Bī qālīb i mirdā bi sar zinda bāī
Kharīk wa kharikāw ārā manda bāī.
Khudā tu nakushū parī khalāsī
Tā khās khudāī wīt bi haq bishnāsī.
Bī tor bēyu pīt tū je nāsāzī
Har dam marg i wīt b'āwāt biwāzī.
Sā ki tū hijrān i yārān selā bāī
Kāfir i mutlaq, gīr i belā bāī.

Translation

May the envious be blackened !
 May thy face become black as the locks of my beloved !
 May wrath from Heaven descend upon thee !
 May thy stalks be sundered with a blade !
 With body dead and head alive
 May thou remain caught and fixed !
 May God never let thee die for release
 Till thou hast well recognized thy God to be the Right !
 In this wise may it come to thee, that thou from thy
 frowardness
 Shall ever long for thine own death as a desire !
 Whenever thou thinkest well to separate lovers,
 Absolute Infidel ! may thou be caught in misfortune !

Notes

Verse 1, line 1.

raqīb, for Ar *raghīb*, in its meaning of " envious, covetous ".
bū. NP *bishavad* ; see previous notes.

Line 2.

rūt, rū-t, " thy face."

wēna. See previous notes.

Verse 2, line 1.

parīt, parī-t, " for thee." For note on *parī*, see previous notes.

awrā, "down, descending." A variant of *wārā*, also seen as *wālā*. R, A, Kan, Lk *wār*, *wārā*, Kur *khwār*, NP *khwār* in a different meaning.

tīkh. NP *tīgh*. All allied dialects of Gūrānī give *tīkh*.

jīā. NP *jīdā*. All Gūrānī, L, and Kur *jīā*, "separate."

Verse 3, line 1.

bāī. NP *bāshī*, from infin. *bīan*, "to be." This is characteristic of L, Lk, A, R, Kan, and GuT, also Kermānshāh mongrel dialect. Not Kur.

kharīk, "caught, involved." A loan-word from Kur. Most of the Gūrānī dialects use it. L, Lk use mutilations of Ar *mashghūl*.

kharkāw. This is the intensive form of *kharīk*. *Kharīk wa kharkāw* is a phrase borrowed from Kur, meaning "utterly involved", "inextricably caught or stuck".

ārā, "arranged, fixed." Cf. NP *ārāstan*, with a slightly different modern meaning.

Verse 4, line 1.

nakushū, "may he not kill." The line reflects upon the duration of the torment prayed for in the previous line. The enclitic *-ū* in 3rd pers. sing. is common to all Gūrānī and Lk, but is not used in Kur. It is also seen in the quatrains of Bābā Tāhir of Hamadan.

Line 2.

wīt, "thyself." This is one of the characteristic Gūrānī words. The reflexive pronoun throughout its six persons is *w-* in place of NP *khud*, Kur *kho*, Kan, R, A, GuT, L *w-*, Z *kho*, Av *hvā*, *khvā*, OP *uwa*, Phl *khud*.

Verse 5, line 1.

bēyu. NP *bishavad*, "may it become," for *bībū*. It is characteristic of Gūrānī and allies. Kur *bibē*, *bē*.

pīt, "to thee," *pai-t*. Common to all Gūrānī, also Kermānshāhī, Lk, L.

āwāt. See Specimen 4, Verse 5, line 2.

biwāzī. NP *bikhwāhī*. Characteristic absence of *kh-* from infin. *wastīn*, "to wish." All Gūrānī dialects show variations of *√wā* and *√wāz*, in common with Kur. *√wa*, *√wāz*, *√wēs*. Z *wēsh*. The initial *kh-* of NP is seen in Phl *√khvās*, cf. L *√khās*, and Kermānshāhī *√twās*. Av *√vas*, OP *√vas*, which Kur, Gūrānī, and Z appear to have perpetuated regardless of Phl.

Verse 6, line 1.

selā, for Ar *ṣalāh*, in the meaning "desiring, seeing good".

SPECIMEN 6.—Folio 33, by Mahzūnī, 6 couplets.

Sāī sahand ī sang
Subhdam washan sāī sahand ī sang.
Bilā shartī raqīb ī bad rang
Naganu na wandit sad hazār farsang.
Chanī dūst ī wīt binīshī bi shād
Werda ī sālān bāwarī bi yād.
Ga nīāz je tū gā nāz je dīlbar
Tū pai ū sūzān ū je tu batar.
Har tā ki umrit yāwū bi anjām
Na sāī o sangdā wa yārī ayām.
Īdan sarmāya ī īdīnyā ī fānī
Mā baqā pūchan ar chīw mazānī.

Translation

In the shade of a beautiful rock,
 Early morning is pleasant in the shade of a beautiful rock.
 Conditionally that the evil-hued envier
 Approach thee not within ten thousand farsangs.
 With thine own lover to sit in happiness
 The tales of the years to bring to mind.
 Sometime advances from thee, then coyness from the beloved,
 Thou burning for her, and she yet worse than thee.
 And so till thy life arrive at its end,
 In the shade of the pleasant rock with the beloved (spending
 thy days).

This is it—the capital of the transient world;
All else is hollow, didst thou but know.

Notes

Verse 1, line 1.

sāī, *sāi-i*, “the shade of.”

sahand. A loan-word from Kur, meaning “a place well endowed with trees, water, and coolness”. In Kur as here only applied to a pleasant nook or outlook in a hill.

Line 2.

washan, *wash-an*, “it is pleasant.” For *an*, see previous notes. *Wash*, with characteristic initial *w-*, where NP shows *khw-*, is common to all Gūrānī, also *Z*.

Verse 2, line 2.

naganū. Cond. “that he arrives not,” from infin. *gain*, “to arrive,” a very unusual word in Gūrānī. Cf. Kur *gaishtin*, “to arrive,” not the same theme as NP *gashtan*, but *ga*, “a place,” + *√sh*, “go.”

na, “to,” see previous notes.

wandit, *wand-it*, “thy neighbourhood.” This meaning is quoted on the authority of an Aorāmānī poet at present in Sulaimania, who, however, cannot produce any parallels in other dialects.

Verse 3, line 2.

werda, “the things past.” Although this is probably a loan-word from Kur, it is interesting to note the etymology. The Kur *√būr*, “pass over, away,” and the NP *√guzar*, show the different developments in two parallel languages. Av gives *vī*, “apart,” and *tar*, “across, over.” In Phl this has become *vīḍar*, and also, with the characteristic *v* to *g* change of Phl, *gūḍar*. Kur has preserved the Av *vī-tar* with erosion, and disappearance of medial *d* softened from *t* (one of its commonest features), while NP shows its descent from Phl by adoption of the typical Phl *g-* for Av *v-* with *gū-dar*, *gūzar*.

bāwarī, “that thou may bring.” All Gūrānī dialects preserve the full *√āwar* throughout the verb, not using

the abbreviated \sqrt{ar} of NP. Not used in Kur, which has its own \sqrt{en} , \sqrt{an} , \sqrt{in} , $\sqrt{hēn}$.

Verse 4, line 1.

gā. NP *gāh*, "time."

Line 2.

batar, "worse." Cf. Phl *vatar*.

Verse 5, line 1.

yāwū. Aorist, infin. *yāwān*, "to arrive." Common to R, A, GuT, Kan. Comparison with Av \bar{a} -, \sqrt{v} is suggested.

sangdā. Use of the Kur dative $-dā$.

wa yārī, "with a friend."

Verse 6, line 1.

īdan, "this is." The use of the apparently euphonic $-d$ between \bar{i} , "this," and *an*, "is," is characteristic of Gūrānī and L.

Line 2.

pūchan, "is empty, vain."

ar chīw. NP *agarchi*, though not used in exactly the same sense. The phrase *ar chīw mazānī* is idiomatic in Gūrānī.

mazānī. 2nd pers. sing. ind. pres. of infin. *zānin*, "to know."

SPECIMEN 7.—Folio 34. Farrukh Palangānī. Three verses

Maūlām bīqarār

Sipī tāfī dīm bī hadd i bī qarār.

J'o mäh i barza wīsh mawazū wa wār

Tan pāra mabū hazārān hazār.

Dīsān je gūldā makhurōshīwā

Chani dākh i ishq majōshīwā.

Translation

My master ! Confusion !

I saw a white spate, unlimited and unruled.

From that high moon it threw itself downwards,

Becoming body-rent in thousand thousand (pieces).

Then, again upheaving in the pool,
With the pain of love boiling.

Notes

Verse 1, line 1.

maulām. This address as an introduction is common to Gūrānī poems, and it is said means little more than the introductory *b'ismillah* of NP words. In a case such as the present the first line is but the name of the poem, *bī qarār*, "Unsettlement, Confusion."

Line 2.

sipī. NP *sipūd*, *sifūd*. The -*t* of Av and -*d* of Phl have been lost by Gūrānī and Kur alike.

tāf. See Specimen 1.

dīm. 1st pers. sing. pret. ind. of infin. *dīan*, "to see."

Verse 2, line 1.

j'o, *je-o*, "from that."

wīsh, "itself." See previous note on *wīt*.

mawazū. 3rd pers. sing. pres. ind. of infin. *wustin*, "to throw, etc." See Specimen 4, verse 5, line 2.

wa, "to."

wār, "down." See Specimen 5, verse 2, line 1.

Line 2.

mabū, "it becomes." See previous notes on *būan*.

Verse 3, line 1.

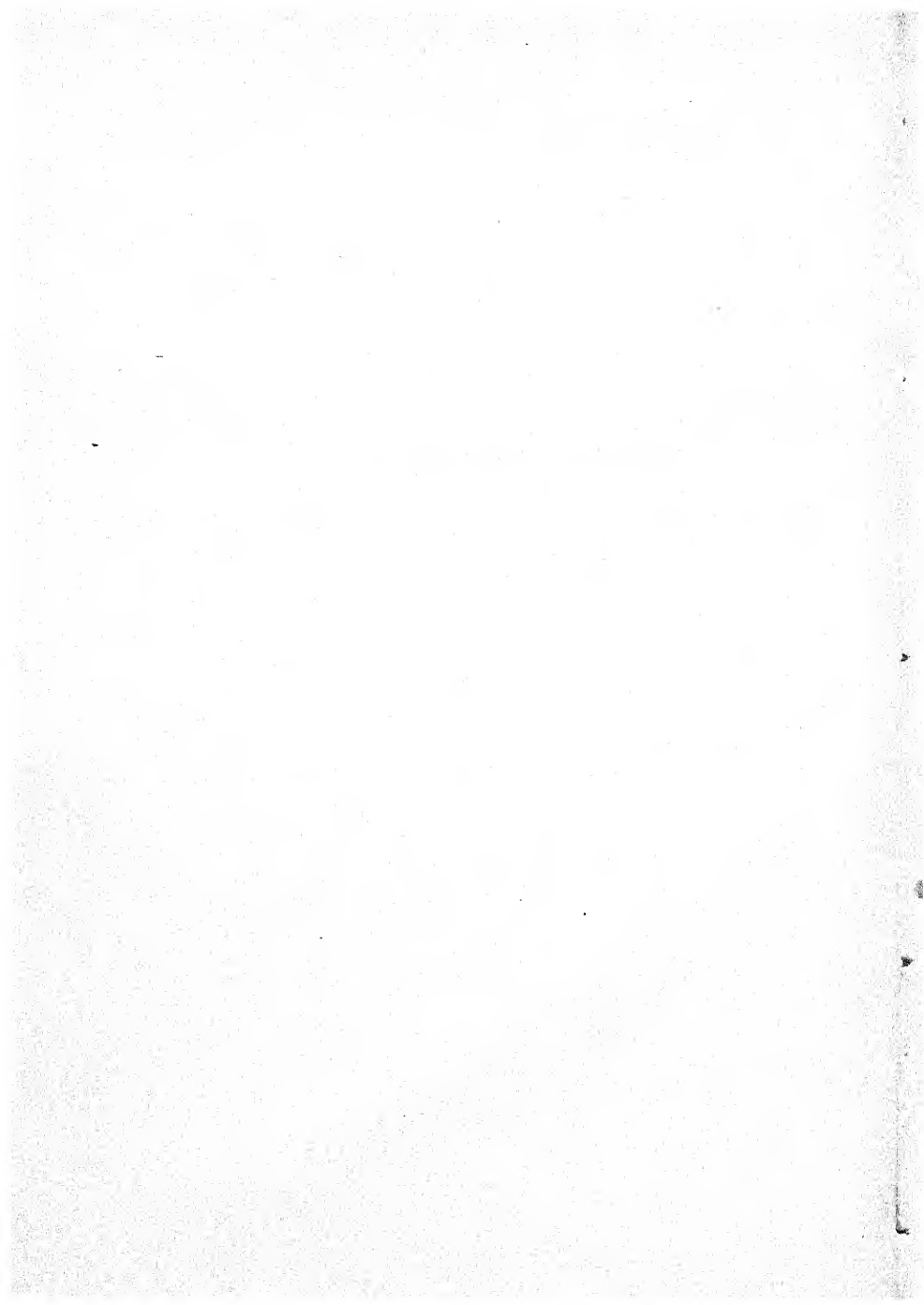
dīsān, "once again." A Kur loan-word, compound of *dī*, "again," and *sān*, "manner." Gūrānī usually employs *duwāra*, *dujāra*, *dūtir*, etc.

guldā. Locative of *gūl*. Kur inflexion borrowed.

makhurōshīwa. More correctly *makhurōshūa*, from infin. *khurōshin*, "to be tumbled, confused." Cf. NP *khurūshīdan* in a different sense, that of "noise, tumult".

Line 2.

majōshīwa, or *majōshūa*, from *jōshīn*, "to boil."



The Minor Friars in China

By A. C. MOULE

IN July, 1914, the *Journal* printed the Latin text, with English translation, of various documents relating to the Minor or Franciscan Friars in China. Of these the most important were three letters written from China and other extracts from a fourteenth century chronicle, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (MS. Latin 5006). On p. 555 of the article referred to I wrote: "Monsieur H. Cordier tells me that he knows of no other copy of the Chronicles, but at the same time is inclined to doubt that the Paris MS. (Latin 5006) is the copy used by Wadding." Wadding, readers may be glad to be reminded, was the author of a great work called *Annales Minorum*, in which the three letters from China were printed for the first time, and, indeed, for the only time until 1914 from a manuscript. All the other Latin texts with which I am acquainted and all the versions are obviously based on Wadding's text. In spite of M. Cordier's opinion I continued to think that it was at least possible that Wadding had copied rather carelessly the MS. which is now at Paris.

It was then a shock to me to learn from Professor Pelliot that the letters in question and the Paris MS. had been dealt with before 1914 by Jerome Golubovich, and, on turning to the latter's work, to find that the actual MS. used by Wadding was still preserved at Rome.

What Golubovich has to say will be found in his *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della terra santa*, etc., tom. ii, 1913, pp. 116-142, which appeared after M. Cordier's new edition of *Cathay and the way thither* was in print. Very briefly summarized, his opinion is that he can prove that Wadding did not use the Paris MS. Latin 5006—had not, indeed, seen it—"but another codex now almost unknown which is kept in the

private library of the Chigi at Rome." This Chigi MS., which is marked I, vii, 262, is, Golubovich says with repeated emphasis, identical with Wadding's text. After quoting one of the most difficult passages in the second letter of John of Monte Corvino (July, 1914, p. 555), he says: "Tutto questo passo è letteralmente identico nel Waddingo" (p. 140), and again, after dealing with Andrew's letter (July, 1914, pp. 564-567), "identica è nel Wadd." (p. 141). Golubovich devotes pp. 131, 2, 3, 7 to a collation of the Paris MS. with Wadding's text, and then gives a careful summary of the contents of the Chigi MS. with many quotations (pp. 139-141), and of a copy of the same Chronicle dated 1586, which is in the Corsini Library at Rome (p. 142).

Golubovich's reading of the Paris MS. is often different from my own, but after showing the rotographs with which I worked in 1914 to Mr. A. Rogers of the University Library at Cambridge, I am satisfied that there is only one place where the text printed in 1914 need be changed, with possibly one or two other words which are practically illegible. Having had my suspicions of Golubovich's accuracy thus aroused, I naturally wanted to see the Chigi text for myself, and now, through the quite extraordinary kindness of Mr. J. A. Twemlow and the courtesy of the Librarian, rotographs of the necessary pages have been obtained. And the text is so wonderfully different from what Golubovich supposed, that it seems to be well to print it entire. It is as follows:—

MS. CHIGI I, VII, 262, fol. 98r^o.¹

FRater uero Johannes de ipso ordine minorum de monte coruino Apulie cum litteris, & priuilegijs domini pape in persidam perueniens, & de Taurisio ciuitati in indiam

¹ See *Journal* for July, 1914, pp. 546-51; *Annales Minorum*, vol. iii, 1636, pp. 44, 5 (or 2nd ed., vol. vi, pp. 69, 70). In the footnotes the Paris MS. Latin 5006 is called *P.*, and Wadding *W.* Except in the second letter, not nearly all the various readings of *P.* and *W.* are noted; and when the two agree in word, the spelling of *P.* is given. I am immensely indebted to Mr. Rogers, who has most kindly taken the trouble to read through and correct my transcript.

pertransiens deinde in regnum Kathay¹ in Gabaliensem urbem perueniens, imperatorem maximum omnium Tartarorum cum litteris domini pape ad fidem xristi inuitauit, & ab ipso letanter receptus locum ei, & sedem in curia concessit, & predicandi licentiam concessit. Qui multos ibi ad xristum conuertit sicut in sequenti epistola declarat.

Epistola

Reuereudis in xristo patribus, & fratribus &cetera. Ego frater Johannes de monte coruino de ordine fratrum minorum recessi de Taurisio ciuitate persidis anno domini 1291, & fui in contrata indie, & in ecclesia sancti Tome mensibus xiiij. & ibi baptizaui circa centum personas in diuersis locis. Et sotius uie mee fuit frater Nicolaus de pistorio ordinis fratrum predicatorum qui mortuus est ibi, & sepultus in predicta ecclesia. Et ego ulterius procedens perueni in Kathay regnum imperatoris tartarorum, qui dicitur magnus chan. Jpsum uero imperatorem cum litteris domini pape ad fidem catholicam inuitaui, qui tamen quia nimis inueteratus est in ydolatria non potui reducere. set multa beneficia prestat xristianis. Et ego sum apud eum iam est annus xij^{us}. Nestoriani xristiani quidem titulum preferentes, set a xristiana religione plurimum deuiantes tantum inualuerunt in partibus istis quod non permiserunt quempiam xristianum alterius ritus habere quantumlibet paruam oratorium. nec aliam quam nestorianam puplicare doctrinam. Ad has siquidem terras non aliquis apostolus, uel apostolorum discipulus peruenit Et ideo prefati nestoriani per se uel per alios pecunia corruptos persecutiones mihi grauissimas intulerunt. asserentes quod non essem missus a domino papa. set essem explorator magus, & dementator hominum. Et facto aliquo temporis interuallo produxerunt alios falsos testes dicentes quod alius numptius fuerat missus deferens imperatori maximum thesaurum. & quod ego illum occiderim in india, & abstulerim que portabat. Et durauit

¹ The initial of Kathay is in most cases almost identical with R, and the word ought perhaps to be printed Rathay.

hec machinatio circiter quinque annis. ita quod sepe ad iudicium fui tractus cum mortis ignominia. Tamen per quorundam confexionem deo disponente, Imperator cognouit meam innocentiam, & malitiam emulorum & ipsos cum vxoribus, & liberis exilio relegauit. In hac peregrinatione fui sine confexione annis xj donec ad me uenit frater Arnoldus Alamannus de prouincia colonie nunc est annus secundus. vnam ecclesiam edificaui in ciuitate Cabaliech, vbi est precipua residentia regis, quam ante annos sex compleui. vbi etiam feci campanile, & ibi tres campanas posui. Baptizaui etiam ibidem usque hodie ut extimo circa sex milia personas. Et nisi fuissent supradicte infamationes baptizassem ultra xxx milia, & sum frequenter in baptizando. Item successiue emi quatragesima pueros filios paganorum etatis circa .vij, et xj annorum qui nullam adhuc cognoscebant legem, & baptizaui eos, & informaui eos litteris latinis. & ritu nostro scribens eis psalterium cum ymnarijs triginta duo¹ breuiaria scripxi, . . . Ex quibus xij pueri iam sciunt officium totum nostrum, & tenent chorum, & edomadas sicut in conuentu, siue sim presens, siue non Et plures ex eis scribunt psalteria, & alia oportuna, & dominus imperator delectatur in cantu eorum. Campanas ad omnes horas pulso & cum conuentu infantium quasi lactentium officium facio. Tamen secundum consuetudinem cantamus quia notatum officium non habemus

[*Margin*: De magno rege Georgio xristiano :

Quidam Rex illius regiones Nestoriane secte nomine Georgius de genere illius regis magni qui dictus fuit presbiter Johannes primo anno quo huc veni mihi adhesit. & ab errore ad ueritatem uere fidei conuersus catholice per me minores ordines suscepit. mihique celebranti sacris²

¹ P. : Item emj successiue .xl. pueros filios paganorum etatis infra .vij. et .xj. annorum qui nullam adhuc cognoscebant legem. & batticzauj eos & informaui eos litteris latinis & ritu nostro. & scripssi pro eis psalteria cum ymnarijs .xxx. & duo W. : Item enim successiue 150. pueros, filios paganorum etatis infra 7. & 11. annorum, qui nullam adhuc cognoscebant legem, & baptizaui eos, informaui eos litteris Latinis, & Græcis ritu nostro, & scripsi pro eis psalteria, cum hymnariis 30. & duo

² W. regiis

uestibus indutus ministravit, ita quod alij nestoriani ipsum de apostate¹ accusauerunt. Tamen ipse magnam sui populi partem ad ueram fidem catholicam adiunxit. & ecclesiam pulcram se cum regiam magnificam construxit ad honorem dei nostri, & domini pape. & nomine meo uoca[n]s ecclesiam romanam. Qui nobilis rex² ante sex annos migravit ad dominum relicto herede filio in cunabulis, qui nunc est annorum . . . Fratres tamen ipsius regis cum essent perfidi in erroribus omnes quos ipse conuerterat, post regis obitum subuerterunt.³ Et quia ego fui solus non potui recedere a prima ecclesia, & ab imper[at]ore chan. & ad illam ecclesiam que distat per xxx dietas non potui accedere. Tamen si uenerint boni coadiutores spero in deo quod totum poterit reformari. Nam adhuc habeo priuilegium predicti regis defuncti.⁴

Iterum dico quod si non fuissent infamationes supradicte magnus fructus fuisset sequutus, si habuissem duos uel tres socios coadiutores meos, & forte imperator fuisset baptizatus Tales fratres uenient, si uenire aliqui uolunt qui studeant se in exemplum dare, & non suas finbrias magnificare. De uia notifico quod per terram Chothay canis imperatoris aquilonarium, & securior,⁵ ita quod cum numptijs

¹ *P. W.* Apostasia

² *P.* adduxit. Et ecclesiam pulcra[m] secundum Regiam magnificentiam construxit. ad honorem deij nostrj sancte trinitatis; & dominj pape. & nomen meum vocans eam ecclesiam Romanam. Qui Rex Georgius *W.* adduxit, & Ecclesiam pulchram secundum regiam magnificentiam construxit, ad honorem Dei nostri, sanctæ Trinitatis, & Domini Papæ, vocans eam Ecclesiam Romanam. Qui Rex Georgius For *nomen meum*, words which are very obscure in *P.*, Golubovich reads *nominavit*.

³ To the above 27 words *P.* adds 9 (uerus xpistianus, nouem, Georgij, Nestorij, ad scisma pristinum reducendo), all of which *W.* has copied exactly.

⁴ *P. W.* Et quia ego fui solus nec potui recedere ab Imperatore Chaan ire non potui ad illam ecclesiam que distat ad .xx. dietas. Tamen si uenerint aliquj boni coadiutores & cooperatores spero . . . Nam . . . Regis Georgij defunctj.

⁵ *P.* Cothay Imperatoris aquilonarium tartarorum est via breuior & securiorum. *W.* Gothorum Imperatoris Aquilonarium Tartarorum est via breuior, & securior; The omission of *Tartarorum* . . . *breuior* from the text looks like an accident, and leaves the sentence imperfect.

infra quinque uel sex menses poterunt peruenire. Via autem alia est longissima, & periculosissima habens duas nauigationes quarum prima est secundum distantiam inter Achon, & prouinciam prouincie. Alia uero est secundum distantiam inter Achon, & Angeliā,¹ & posset contingere quod in biennio vix perficeret uiam illam. quia prima uia secura non fuit a multo tempore propter guerras Ideo sunt xij anni quod de curia romana. & de nostra religione rumores, & noua non recepi.² Jam sunt [fol. 98 v^o] duo anni quod venit quidam medicus ciruicus³ qui de romana curia, & nostro ordine, & statu occidentis populi xristiani istas partes incredibilibus blasfemijs infecit propter quod multum desidero percipere ueritatem. Rogo fratres ad quos littera hec peruenerit⁴ ut ita studeant quod eius continentia possit peruenire ad notitiam domini pape, & cardinalium, & procuratoris nostri ordinis in curia romana. Ministro generali ordinis nostri supplico pro antiphonario, & legendis sanctorum gradualis, & psalterio cum nota pro exemplari, quia non habeo nisi breuiarium portatile cum lectionibus breuibus, & paruum missale. Si habuero exemplaria pueri predicti scribent. Modo sum in actu edificandi aliam ecclesiam, &⁵ diuidendum pueros in pluribus locis. Ego iam senui. & canus factus sum, potius laboribus, et tribulationibus quam etate. sunt⁶ enim annorum lvij. Didici competenter linguam, & litteras tartarorum⁷ que est lingua vsualis tartarorum. & iam trastuli in lingua illa & littera totum nouum testamentum, & psalterium que feci scribi in pulcerrima littera eorum. & teneo, & lego in patenti. & manifesto quasi in testimonium⁸ legis xristi. Et tractaui cum supradicto rege

¹ P. Angliam.

² P. W. de nostro ordine & statu occidentis non suscepi noua.

³ P. Cyurgicus lombardus W. chirurgicus Lombardus. The word in the text is hard to read, and may be *ciriuricus* or *ciriacus*.

⁴ or perueniet

⁵ P. W. ad

⁶ P. W. sum

⁷ P. W. Tartaricham

⁸ P. teneo & lego & predico in patenti & manifesto quasi in testimonium W. scribo, & lego, & prædico in patenti manifesto in testimonium

georgio si vixisset totum officium latinum trasferre ut per totam terram suam cantaretur in dominio suo Et eo vivente in ecclesia sua celebrabatur missa ¹ secundum ritum latinum in littera, & lingua illa tam verba canonis quam prefationes. Et filius dicti regis Georgij uocatur Johannes propter nomen meum. de quo spero in domino quod adhuc immitabitur ² uestigia patris sui. Credo secundum visa, & audita quod nullus rex, aut princeps mundi domino chan imperatori omnium tartarorum potest equari ³ in latitudine terre, in multitudine populi & magnitudine diuitiarum. Finis. Datum dicebat littera ipsa in ciuitate cambaliech regni Kathay, anno domini millesimo ij^c.v.⁴ die viij mensis Januarij.

HAs litteras⁵ trasmisit frater Johannes predictus cuidam fratri predicatori spirituali, & bono viro qui zelo fidei kristiane, & salutis animarum in partibus orientalibus peregrinabatur indicando gentibus, & baptizando. Et iste frater per quosdam mercatores de uenetijs qui a Tartaria redibant trasmisit has litteras in pluribus locis citra mare, & in partibus occidentis fratribus minoribus, & predicatoribus. Et hic frater significauit in suis litteris quod plures fratres predicatorum qui litteras grecas tartaricas, & linguas optime didicerant & adi[r]e tartarina parauerunt portantes libros, & calices, & paramenta. Et illi mercatores veneti dederunt predicto fratri predicatori in signum ueritatis huius tabulam descriptam magni chan imper[at]oris. Et fratres predicti ceperunt viam, & peruenerunt usque Gazariam tartarorum aquilonarium. set non potuerunt transire propter guerras. vnde in eadem ciuitati permanserunt predicantes & baptizantes ibidem quousque guerra cessaret

¹ W. celebrabam missam

² P. W. & spero in deo quod ipse imitabitur

³ P. W. Secundum uero audita & uisa credo quod nullus Rex nec princeps in mundo possid equari domino Chaan

⁴ P. W. Data. in ciuitate Cambaliech Regni Katay (W. Catan). anno dominj m^o. ccc v^o

⁵ For this paragraph of the Chronicle compare July, 1914, pp. 551, 2.

ET dum rumor felix, & gaudio plenus per occidentales ecclesias, & ad ordines fratrum minorum, & alios peruolaret, & fratres quam plurimi incitati diuino spiritu ad predicandum tartaris —arent, frater iohannes uerus dei seruus secundas litteras trasmisit ad vicarios fratrum orientis, ita continentes. Copia littere ¹

Reuereudis in xristo patribus fratri + vicario generalis ministri, ordinis fratrum minorum. & vicario magistri ordinis fratrum predicatorum, & fratribus omnibus ordinis ² utriusque in prouincia persarum manentibus. Frater Johannes de monte coruino de ordine minorum inutilis xristi seruus predicator fidei xristiane, & sancte romane ecclesie. & apostolice sedis numptius salutem, & caritatem in eo qui est uera caritas, & omnium salus.³ Ordo exigit caritatis ⁴ ut longe, lateque distantes, & maxime qui perigrinantur pro lege xristi cum reuelata facie se inuicem intueri non possint,⁵ saltem verbis & litteris consolentur. Cogitauimus non sine causa mirari, quod tot annis prouincia tam longinqua consistens ⁶ nunquam meas litteras recepistis. Set miratus sum non minus ⁷ quod nunquam nisi anno isto recepi ab aliquo fratre uel amico litteram, nec ⁸ salutationem, Nec uidetur quod aliquis mei recordatus fuerit,⁹ & maxime quia audiui ad uos peruenisse rumores¹⁰ quod ego mortuus essem. Nunc autem notifico vobis quod anno preterito in principio

¹ Compare *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1914, pp. 552-7; *Annales Min.*, tom. iii, pp. 45, 46, 60; 2nd ed., tom. vi, pp. 71, 72, 91.

² P. Reuerendo in xpisto Patri . . . fratrj. fratrj. vicario . . . Et vicario fratrum & magistri ordinis predicatorum. & fratribus ordinum utriusque. W. Reuerendo in Christo Patri Fratri N. N. Vicario generali Ministro Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, & Vicario fratrum & Magistro Ordinis Prædicatorum, & Fratribus ordinis utriusque

³ P. W. fidei sacre xpistiane. legatus & nuntius sedis apostolice Romane . . . salus omnium.

⁴ W. Ordo eximie charitatis inuitat,

⁵ P. W. uidere non possunt

⁶ W. consistentes,

⁷ W. Sed & ego miratus sum,

⁸ P. litteram uel W. litteras, vel

⁹ P. W. recordatus fuerit mej.

¹⁰ P. W. quia (W. quando) audiui quod rumores ad uos peruenissent

Januarij per quendam amicum meum¹ qui fuit ex sotijs domini Cothay canis qui uenerunt ad dominum Chan de Kathay,² ego misi litteras patri vicario, & fratribus prouincie Gazarie de statu, & conditione mea in paucis verbis.³ in quibus litteris rogaui eundem uicarium quod exempla illarum uobis trasmicteret.⁴ Et iam mihi constat per bonas personas quod⁵ nunc peruenerunt cum numptijs predicti domini chanis cothay ad dominum chanem Kathay⁶ quod mee littere peruenerunt, & quod ille idem numptius qui portauit litteras meas postmodum de Sara uenit⁷ taurisium propter quod de factis, & contentis in illis litteris⁸ cogitauim non fore necesse⁹ iterato scribere. Et primum est de persecutione nestorianorum. Secundum de ecclesia, & domibus completis vbi picture facte sunt¹⁰ ueteris, & noui testamenti. Et ad doctrinam rudium scripta sunt litteris persicis tarsicis, & latinis¹¹ vt omnes lingue legere ualeant, & inteligerent ationes diuerse.¹² Tertium est quod ex pueris nutritis & baptizatis¹³ aliqui migrauerunt ad dominum Quartum est quod a tempore quo fui in tartaria in Kathay¹⁴ baptizaui iij millia.¹⁵

¹ P. W. nostrum

² W. Kathan Chamis, qui venerat ad eundem Dominum Chamem,

³ W. mea, paucis verbis exaratas,

⁴ P. transmitterent [?].

⁵ P. iam mihi per bonas personas que W. iam intellexi per aliquas personas, que

⁶ P. omit chanis; read de Cathay. W. Domini de Kathan ad Dominum Chamem,

⁷ P. W. Sara ciuitate uenit (W. uenerit)

⁸ W. omit litteris

⁹ P. W. non facere mentionem nec

¹⁰ P. W. vj (W. Sex) picturas feci fieri It seems to be quite possible that *ubi* is the true reading. *Six* is an inadequate number, and no number is named by the Pope (cf. *JRAS.*, July, 1914, p. 560, quod ecclesias construxerit. & picturas noui et ueteris testamenti *in eis* depingi fecerit; and below p. 93. *In qua* . . . ystorie noui, & ueteris testamenti ad doctrinam rudium depingi). This, of course, assumes the possibility that Chigi is independent of P.

¹¹ P. W. testamenti. ad doctrinam rudium. & scripta (W. sculpta) sunt litteris latinis. Tursicis (W. & Tarsicis). & persicis

¹² P. W. omit & . . . diuerse. ¹³ P. W. pueris quos emj & battizauj

¹⁴ W. omit in Kathay

¹⁵ P. plura milia W. vltra quinque millia

In isto autem anno m.¹ iij^c. v^o ego incepti unum² alium locum nouum coram hostio domini chanis. & inter curiam, & locum tantum³ via sola est distans per iactum lapidis a porta domini chanis. dominus petrutius de lucagango noster mercator fidelis qui fuit meus sotius de Taurisio emit⁴ terram pro loco quem dico,⁵ Et debet mihi amore⁶ dei, & diuina gratia operante. quia in imperio domini canis non posset haberi locus utilior, & congruentior pro sancta ecclesia⁷ catholica construenda in principio agusti locum accepi, &⁸ usque ad festum Sancti Francisci fuit completus cum muro in circuitu, & officinis, &⁹ oratorio qui¹⁰ est capax ce personarum. Set propter yemem ecclesiam perficere non potui. Set habeo ligna congregata in domo. & per misericordiam dei, perficere intendo¹¹ in estate. Dico uobis quod mirum quoddam uisum est omnibus aduenientibus de Custate,¹² & aliunde quia non habebant adhuc rumores ex hoc, & uidentes locum¹³ de nouo factum, & crucem rubeam desuper in sublimi positam.

ET nos in oratorio nostro secundum vsum officium cantamus sollempniter. quia notas non habemus.¹⁴ Dominus kanis in camera sua vbi dormit¹⁵ potest audire uoces nostras. Et hoc factum mirabile diuulgatum est longe, lateque.¹⁶ & pro magno erit, sicut disponet¹⁷ diuina clementia. A prima

¹ P. W. add domini

² W. omit unum

³ P. W. nostrum

⁴ P. W. Dominus Petrus de lucalongo (W. Lucolongo) fidelis xpistianus & magnus mercator qui fuit sotius meus de thaurisio ipse emit

⁵ P. W. dixi

⁶ W. pro amore

⁷ P. W. quia (W. puto quod) utilior & cogmentior locus haberi non posset (W. possit) in toto imperio dominj Chanis pro ecclesia

⁸ P. W. add assistentibus benefactoribus & iuuantibus

⁹ P. & domibus officinis planis. & W. & domibus, officinis, plateis &

¹⁰ P. W. quod

¹¹ P. W. perficiam

¹² P. W. ciuitate

¹³ W. qui adhuc non audierunt quidpiam de hoc : videntes enim locum

¹⁴ W. vsum (quia notas adhuc non habemus) officium cantantes solemniter amplius admirati sunt. Quando cantamus :

¹⁵ P. W. omit vbi dormit

¹⁶ P. W. mirabile factum longe lateque diuulgatum est inter gentes.

¹⁷ P. W. add & adimplebit

uero¹ ecclesia, & loco nostro usque ad istam² secundam³ sunt duo miliaria & dimidium,⁴ & pueros diuisi in partem. partem⁵ in prima, &⁶ partem in secunda constitui. & faciunt officium per se ipsos. Set ego sicut capellanus per edomadas celebros in utraque⁷

DE regionibus orientalibus⁸ uobis significo, & precipue de imperio domini kanis quod non eo maior⁹ in mundo Et ego habeo in curia¹⁰ locum, & viam ordinariam sedendi, & intrandi¹¹ sicut legatus domini pape. & me habet¹² super omnes alios prelatos quocunque nomine censeantur. Item licet predictus¹³ dominus kam audierit multa magna de curia romana, & statu latinorum, desiderat tamen multum uidere numptios uenientes de partibus illis. In partibus istis¹⁴ sunt multe secte¹⁵ ydolotrarum¹⁶ diuersa credentium. igitur¹⁷ multi religiosi de diuersis sectis, diuersos habitus habentes, sunt¹⁸ multo¹⁹ maioris autoritatis²⁰ [fol. 99r^o] & obseruantie²¹ quam sint²² religiosi latini;

DE india maiorem partem ego uidi [?] & quesui de alijs partibus indie. Et esset magnus profectus predicare eis²³ si fratres uenirent. Set non essent mictendi nisi viri solidissimi. Nam regiones sunt pulcerrime plene aromatibus, & lapidibus pretiosis. Et fertiles.²⁴ set de nostris fructibus²⁵ parum habent. Et propter temperiem, & calorem quasi

¹ P. W. omit uero

² P. W. ecclesiam

³ P. W. add quam edificaui postea

⁴ P. add intra ciuitatem. que multum est magna. W. add intra ciuitatem, quæ valde magna est,

⁵ P. W. diuisi & posui partem

⁶ W. omit &

⁷ P. add quia pueri non sunt Sacerdotes. and rubric de magno imperio tartarorum. W. add quia inter hos pueros non sunt Sacerdotes.

⁸ P. orientalium

⁹ P. sit ej maior W. sit eo maius

¹⁰ P. W. add sua

¹¹ P. W. intrandi & Sedendi

¹² P. W. honorat me

¹³ P. W. Et licet ipse

¹⁴ P. W. istis partibus

¹⁵ P. septe and so in all cases

¹⁶ W. idololotrarum

¹⁷ P. W. et sunt

¹⁸ P. W. & sunt

¹⁹ W. omit multo

²⁰ P. W. austeritatis. The text has & obseruantie, like a catch-word at the foot of the page.

²¹ W. abstinentiæ

²² P. W. omit sint

²³ P. W. add fidem xpisti

²⁴ P. W. omit Et fertiles.

²⁵ P. W. fructibus nostris

continuum nudi, & discalciati incedunt, & propterea artibus, & artificijs non indigent. Ego baptizaui ibi circa c. personas Jbi semper est estas, & nunquam hiems.¹ Jtem dicit dictus frater Johannes in quadam sua epistola quod numptij² uenerunt sibi ex ethiopia rogantes amore dei ex parte illorum a quibus missi erant ut ibi ad predicandum iret uel miceret. Nam postquam B. matheus ibi fuit & discipuli eius propter hostiles incursus populi consumti, & dispersi sunt. & sic defecit ecclesia fidelium. Et qui remanserant predicatorum non habuerunt qui eos instruerent Et quia multum desiderant redire ad fidem xristi quam antiqui eorum tenuerunt, omnes conuerterentur si predicatorum irent [?] de romana ecclesia qui eos docerent. Et dicit in eadem epistola quod post festum omnium sanctorum baptizauit cccc. personas. Et quia ipse audiuit quod plures fratres vtriusque ordinis ad persas, & ad Gazariam accesserant ortatur eos ad predicandum feruenter fidem. Data in chambalieth ciuitate uetere Katay anno domini. 1306 in dominica quinquagesime³

¹ P. W. propter magnam temperantiam & caliditatem aeris & regionis nudi uadunt. modico coopertorio (W. medio corpore) uerenda cooperientes. Et propterea artibus nostris sartorum & cordonum. & artificijs non indigent. Jbj (W. quibus) est semper estas & nunquam hyemps Battizauj ibj circa centum personas. Wadding adds (after personas) &c. *Deest finis*. Alia dabimus huius argumenti anno 1307. quo creatus est Archiepiscopus.

² P. In eadem epistola dicit ipse frater Johannes. quod sollempnes nuntij W. Ultra ea quæ scripsit anno superiori Fr. Joannes à Monte Coruino (inquit B. Odoricus) hoc anno narrat in alia à se scripta Epistola, quod solemnes Nuntij

³ P. W. uenerunt ad eum de ethyopia (W. quadam parte Æthiopiæ), rogantes ut illuc pergeret ad predicandum uel mitteret predicatorum bonos. Quia a tempore Beati Mathej euangeliste & discipulorum eius. predicatorum non habuerunt qui eos instruerent in fide xpisti. & multum desiderant ad ueram xpisti fidem peruenire. Et si fratres ibj (W. illuc) mitterentur omnes conuerterentur. ad xpistum. & fierent ueri xpistianj. Nam sunt plurimj in oriente (W. ciuitate) qui sollo nomine cristiani dicuntur. & in (W. omit in) xpistum credunt. Set de scripturis & sanctorum (W. sanctis) doctrinis aliud nesciunt (W. non sciunt) simpliciter uiuentes cum non habeant predicatorum & doctores. Item dicit (W. dixit) frater Johannes quod post festum omnium sanctorum baptizauit. cccc. (W. quadringentas) personas. & quia (W. quod) ipse audiuit quod plures fratres utriusque ordinis ad persas & ad (W. omit ad) Gazarariam accesserunt ortatur (W. hortantes) eos ad predicandum feruenter fidem domini nostri Jhsuxpisti. & ad

The problem of these last sentences is perplexing. YULE, who seems to have used no text but Wadding's second edition, was sure that the passage from *Item dicit dictus frater* to the end was really the end of the second letter, and his view is, of course, confirmed by *P.*, which, without any break, introduces the passage with "Brother John himself says *in the same letter*". That Wadding should have closed the first part of this second letter with "*The end is missing*" makes it, at first sight, unlikely that he had seen or used *P.*; but he may mean no more than that the actual text of the letter after that point is lost; and when it suits him, fifteen pages later, to introduce the substance of the lost sentences as reported by *P.*, he does so with the words: "Besides what Brother John wrote the year before [viz. 1305], he tells this year [viz. 1306] in another letter which he wrote that . . .,"¹ and he then proceeds to copy *P.* very nearly, both in the letter (p. 94, note 3) and in the paragraphs which follow it (p. 109 below).

In the Chigi text this passage follows the first part of the letter without even the break of a new paragraph (as in *P.*), beginning with "Likewise the said Brother John says in a certain letter of his", words which leave us in doubt whether the scribe thought it belonged to the same letter or not. The substance of the sentences which follow is the same as in *P.*, but the words, except in two sentences, are very different. It looks as if the writer had copied, or perhaps had made for himself a summary of the last sentences different from that in *P.*, or had tried to reproduce *P.* just here from memory. The Chigi text has 131 words, *P.* 153, *W.* 167; or, omitting the introductory words before *quod*, the numbers are Chigi 122, *P.* 146, *W.* 147. This one passage is sufficient

faciendum fructum animarum. Data dicebat littera. ipsa. in Cambaliech ciuitate regnj Katay (*W.* Kathag). Anno dominj .m°. cccvj°. (*W.* 1306) in dominica quinquagesime. mensis februarii.

¹ The italic type, which makes these words look like an actual quotation from the Chronicle, is only found in the second edition of the *Annales*, and was not used by Wadding himself.

to show that Wadding did not copy this Chigi text exactly, without reference to *P.*, and it is just this passage that Golubovich was misled into saying was "literally identical in Wadding". It is perhaps now impossible to find out the reason why these last sentences of the letter were reported in indirect speech, instead of being copied, in full or with omissions, from the original, and why each transcriber in turn has introduced them with a different phrase; and it is useless to guess.

The text proceeds:—¹

ET cum predicte littere in italiam apportate corda omnium fratrum, & fidelium laycorum ad zelum fidei cum letitia excitarent, Seruus dei fidelis de Tolentino cum sotijs rediens a tartaria cum predictis litteris ad curiam domini pape Clementis, ultra montes accessit. Et dominus frater Johannes de murro episcopus cardinalis de ordine minorum, cum gaudio fratrem Tomam recipiens ad dominum papam Clementem, & ad cardinales introduxit Et quia ipse frater Tomas feruebat spiritu dei, & facundissimus erat sermone scripture omnia ista noua dissertissime explicauit, rogans ut fauorem, & auxilium in tam magno opere comodaret Et dominus papa clemens & omnes cardinales repleti letitia celebrantes consistorium generali ministro commiserunt ut vij. bonos fratres minores eligeret qui episcopi consecrarentur. Et cum priuilegiis suis copiosi ad indiam pertransirent. Et fratrem iohannem presulatu dignissimum archiepiscopum consecrarent, & ita factum est

NAm electi sunt vij. Scilicet frater Guilielmus Gallicus. frater Nicolaus de Apulea qui fuerat minister in prouincia sancti francisci. Frater Andreas de Guidonis de perusio lector frater peregrinus de castello, & alij tres fratres episcopi per sanctam obedientiam domini pape & generalis ministri ad tartariam missi fuerunt. Et per dei gratiam peruenientes ipsum fratrem Johannem archiepiscopum

¹ Fol. 99 r°. Compare *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1914, pp. 557-9; *Ann. Min.*, vol. iii, p. 60.

consecrauerunt Que autem in priuilegijs continebantur infra describuntur.

[margin: Bulla¹ dominus papa clemens ad dominum fratrem Johannem archiepiscopum

Clemens episcopus seruus seruorum dei dilecto filio fratri Johanni de monte coruino ordinis fratrum minorum, per nos in Archiepiscopum cambaliensem electo salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Prouidentiam summi, & eterni regis regnantis in celum qui pro dispositione temporum celestia pariter, & terrena recti iudicij censura disponit in supreme speculationis preheminentia presidentes, & si multis, & arduis que in apostolicum romane sedis aluum undique confluunt quasi torrens pregrauemur negotijs, curis excitemur innumeris, & agitationibus pluribus distrahamur, Id tantum inter cetera desideria nostra feruenter appetimus, uotis feruentius affectamus in missarum sollemnijs incessanter a domino petimus. & ad hoc operose. sollicitudinis studium diligentius impertimur, vt vbicumque terrarum fides catolica vigeat. cunctis mortalibus xristi sanguine pretioso redemptis, celestis, gratie splendor inradiet & salus proueniat animarum, quatenus & ipsi astuti nequitia primeui seductoris elisa, qui semper circuit, ut offendant, Eterne beatitudinis gloriam, quam humanus non sufficit capere intellectus quamque diligentibus se celorum dominus pollicetur in suauitatis dulcedine perfruantur. Cuius quippe salutis affectande comoditas ex operibus fidei orthodoxe producitur. cum sacre scripture tesstatur eulogium nullus deo qui absque fidei interuentione non colitur, placere ualeat sine fide. hec est igitur sacra fides que hostem de arce mentis expellit. que corda purificat. (& sue lucis radio tenebras infidelitatis expurgat. hec est uirtutum omnium fundamentum. hec est stella matutina solem iustitie, intelligentie que preueniens. per eam dies oritur gratie, quam dies glorie subsequetur. Sane nuper ad notitiam dicte sedis fide digna relatione

¹ Compare *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1914, pp. 559, 560, 564, 588, note.

perducta est quod tu olim zelo orthodoxe fidei caritatis accensus de mandato sedis apostolice eiusdem ex premissis consensu, ac ordinis tui generalis ministri licentia speciali, ut lucrifaceres animas infidelium deo. Ad ipsos ¹ infidelium partium orientalium te personaliter trastulisti. & in terris domini Tartarorum quam plures infidelium per lauacrum sacri baptismatis ad ipsam fidem xristi fauente gratia tibi spiritus sancti reduxisti fideliter, & actente. Et deinde ad superiores partes quam [?] principis magni regis tartarorum perueniens post multas, & uarias persecutiones, & insidias, & iniurias tibi per nestorianos heretecos inrogatas, & non nullas falsitates impositas, ac tribulationum concussiones iniurias[?], tu tanquam fidelis xristi atheleta, & fortissimus propugnator faciente. illo fidem cuius imperio reges regnant, & principes dominantur in magnam dicti magni regis gratiam ob amorem dicte fidei ueritatem, comperta merito deuenisti. Sicque dextra domini te cum miram agente & dirigente salubriter actus tuos quandam ecclesiam in honorem dei, & catholice fidei in ciuitate Cabalech [fol. 99 v^o] vbi magna, & honorabili ² regni dicti magni regis de uoluntate eiusdem regis construi procurasti. In qua erecto campanili, & campanis positis in eadem ystorie noui, & ueteris testamenti ad doctrinam rudium depingi faciens, conuentum puerorum quos in eorum pueritia de elemosinis a fidelibus tibi irrogatis emeris, & per baptismatis sacramentum fidelibus agregaueras vnitati, quosque in lingua latina, & literarum latinarum doctrina per te sufficienter edoctos in ecclesiastico officio iuxta romane ecclesie instituta competenter & laudabiliter instruxisti, & promouente domino salubriter ordinasti. Qui quidem fratres siue clerici diuina eis subministrante gratia in obseruantia mandatorum dei feruenter intenti. laudes deo referunt in ipsa ecclesia. hymnumque de canticis syon in terra aliena resonant, & faciunt resonare. Ac tamen tu, quam ipsa nonnulla in illis partibus exercetis opera pietatis,

¹ P. ipsas Note that both MSS. read partium

² Perhaps read honorabilis sedes

& caritatis que fidem augent. & magnum promouent fructum, & comodum animarum. Nos uero quos zelus salutis animarum excitat, ad hoc tam pium sicut inceptum negotium salubriter promouendum ad premissa tibi[?] sancte sedis oppiniones merita circumspectionis apostolic- aciem extendentes, & considerantes actentius quod in predictis partibus ponendus est angelus qui amictus sit nube scripture uidelicet prophetarum irim gestet in capite .s. sancti spiritus donum habens per misticum intellectum, omnes conuincat adversarios ueritatis, & confutet. librum que apertum tenens in manibus, tanquam scriba doctus in regno celorum commissos sibi populos erudiat ad salutem. Et quod per hec alia tui ministerij pia studia que inspirante deo circa incrementa fidei non sine magnis laboribus, & detractionibus, ac turbarum concussionibus fideliter, & assidue operaris in eisdem partibus ammotis ex toto perniciosis erroribus in ipsis partibus producentur hereses. scismata euellantur. & magna qui ymo permaxima dicto magno regi, & regno eius bona prouenient, & plurima optata succedent, vt gloria ipsius fidei orthodoxe sicut speramus tanta ibidem potentiori uirtute uallabitur, quanto predictus rex ad laudem diuini nominis & regnum eius predictum feliciori decorabitur ueritate. Te ordinem fratrum minorum profexum quem de litterarum scientia, religionis obseruantia, vite munditia, honestate morum, & aliarum uirtutum donis testimonia fide digna commendant In predicta ciuitate cambaliensi de fratrum nostrorum consilio, & apostolice potestatis plenitudine Archiepiscopum ordinamus & preficimus in pastorem. Curam, & sollicitudinem animarum existentium in partibus supradictis, ac omnibus alijs que subduntur dominio tartarorum tibi plenariam commictentes. Tibique exercendi omnia que ad iura archiepiscopalia spectare noscuntur, prout permittunt canonice sanciones. Nec non tuis successoribus, Archiepiscopis Caballensibus qui erunt pro tempore vtendi omnibus, & singulis gratijs, & concessi[oni]bus quas pridem per litteras nostras de ordine fratrum minorum tuo in terras saracenorum, paganorum, ac aliorum infidelium

proficiscentibus autoritate apostolica duximus indulgendas. Eandem autoritatem concedentes tibi plenam, & liberam potestatem in illo qui dat gratias, & largitur premia. Confidentes per tue prouidentie studium, & prouidentie operationis exercitium quod commissus tibi populus suorum errorum tenebras profugabit. & ad xristum dominum viuum, & saluatorem suum sua corda perfecte conuertet. & conuersus preseruabitur a noxijs, & optate prosperitatis spiritualiter, & temporaliter perficiet incrementis. Suscipe igitur incrementem (*sic*) iugum domini. & suauis eius honori colla submice. ac sic tue sollicitudini commissam curam predictam exequi studeas diligenter, ut per hec eterne felicitatis premia cum electis accipere merearis, datum &c. Alia Bulla

[*Margin*: Aliud priuilegium ad fratrem Johannem

Clemens episcopus seruus seruorum dei. dilecto filio. Fratri Johanni &cetera. Volentes itaque personam tuam prosequi prerogatiua fauoris, & gratie spiritualis, tibi principaliter autoritate concedimus, vt quiuis ex fratribus dicti ordinis per quem per nos autoritate apostolica episcopos ordinatos, & pro maiori animarum salute in adiutorium huius tibi commisse sollicitudinis per nos specialiter deputatos ad te principaliter [?] mictimus asscitis sibi duobus uel tribus alijs ex dictis episcopis, uel eorum successoribus tibi consecrationis munus uice nostra ualeat impertiri: Quicumque post huius consecrationis munus persone tue impensum pallium in signum uidelicet pontificalis officii pro te a nobis, & in ea que decuit instantia posculatus, & de corpore B. petri sumtum quod tibi per eosdem episcopos destinamus Jniungentes eis tenore presentium ut id fideliter faciant, & assignare procurent sub forma quam sub bulla nostra mictimus interclusam. Recepturi a te postmodum nostro, & ecclesie romane nomine sub forma quam sub eadem bulla dirigimus fidelitatis debite iuramentum. Formam autem iuramenti quod te prestare contigerit de uerbo ad uerbum nobis per tuas litteras tuo sigillo ligatas idem episcopus qui tibi munus consecrationis impertietur huius, & pallium assignabit prefatum per proprium

numptium mictere non preponat. Tu uero predicto pallio illis diebus utaris, quibus tibi de iure uti licebit. Vt igitur signum non discrepet a signato, set quod geris exterius serues in mente discretionem tuam monemus, & ortamur actente, per apostolica tibi scripta mandantes quatenus humilitatem, & iustitiam dante domino, qui dat premia, & munera elargitur obseruare studeas. & suum seruent & promoueant seruitorem. Datum &c.¹ Alia Bulla [*Margin*: aliud priuilegium quod frater Johannes possit episcopos consecrare.

CLEMENS episcopus, seruus seruorum dei. Dilecto filio fratri Johanni &c Quod si plures quam dictos sex episcopos ad tam pium, & salubre opus necessarios fore cognoueris, Tu alias personas uita scientia, & etate ydoneas ubi, & quando expedierit uice nostra, & nomine ipsos episcopos consecres, ordines, & preficias in pastores eis curam animarum, & solitudinem commissi sibi populi plenarie committendo. ac ipsis preter eos qui de mandato nostro iam consecrati sunt consecrationis munus impendas. ascitis duobus uel tribus episcopis iuxta consuetum, & necessarium in hac parte. Ac omnia alia, & singula facias que in his fuerint oportuna. Sic te in omnibus habiturus, quod post diem retributionis premium, nostram, & dicte sedis gratiam vberius consequi merearis. Datum &cetera

¹ These two Bulls are alluded to in what is, perhaps, the earliest printed reference to John. In a list of cases where the pall has been sent "to the ends of the earth", John Magnus writes in his history of the Church of Upsal: CLEMENS V. anno 1305. fecit fratrem Ioannem de monte Caluino, ordinis Minorum, existentem in dominio Tartarorum, Archiepiscopum Cambalnensem, fecitque consecrari in curia IX. fratres eiusdem ordinis in Episcopos, quos misit ad partes illas Suffraganeos, & in auxilium ipsius Archiepiscopi, missum est sibi palleum de curia, ordinatumque quod esset propter loci distantiam pro successoribus. *Metropolis Ecclesiae Upsalen.* 1557, p. 45. The date is 23 July, 1307. It must be left to experts to decide whether this text of these and the following Bulls, which have hitherto been thought to have been lost, is of any value. The style seems to be unusually weak in grammar; and the supposed author of the Chronicle was specially noted for his forgery of such documents. See p. 107, note 1 below, and Allacci's *Animadversio* there quoted, pp. 281, 288, 289.

Aliud priuilegium est quod dicti episcopi, si frater Johannes obisset possint alium eligere, & consecrare autoritate domini pape. Et sic de omnibus alijs archiepiscopis uenturis, & successuris in archiepiscopatu cambaliensi fiat, ne ecclesia pastore careat. quia propter longitudinem itineris, & periculosa discrimina ad romanam curiam cito recurri non poterit [fol. 103 r^o]

Alia uero testimonialis epistola serui dei fratris Andree episcopi inferius scripta annotatur de statu fidei, & conditionibus orientis.

FRater¹ Andreas de perusio de ordine fratrum minorum. divina permissione uocatus episcopus. Reuerendo patri. fratri. N. guardianio perusini episcopatus,² salutem, & pacem in domino sempiternam. & infra. Nam propter immensa terrarum, & marium discrimina³ inter me, & vos interiecta vix sperare possum quod littere ad uos per me trasmissae ad manus uestras ualeant peruenire. Noueritis me itaque cum bone memorie fratre peregrino coepiscopo, & mee peregrinationis indiuiduo comite post multos labores langores, & inedia variaque incomoda atque pericula in terra pariter, & in mari ubi fuimus rebus omnibus, & etiam tunicis, & abutibus spoliati. Demum deo iuuante ad cambalensem ciuitatem que sedes est imperij magni canis anno dominice incarnationis M^o. ccc xvij⁴ ut credo peruenisse. ubi secundum mandatum a sede apostolica nobis datum archiepiscopo consecrato moram ibi per quinquennium ferme contraximus Infra quod spatium temporis procurauimus alapha ab imperatore magnifico pro uictu, & vestitu octo personarum. Est autem Alepha impense quas imper[at]or tribuit numptijs magnatorum oratoribus bella-

¹ Compare *Journal* R.A.S., July, 1914, pp. 564-7; *Ann. Min.*, tom. iii, pp. 335, 6. Another, perhaps the earliest, copy of this letter exists at Assisi (a 14th century MS., No. 341 in the library of the Convent of S. Francis, fol. 136), but I have not yet been able to consult it.—Golubovich, *op. cit.*, tome ii, pp. 103, 115.

² P. W. conuentus

³ P. W. mariumque distantiam

⁴ W. 1308.

toribus, & diuersarum ¹ artium artificibus, & ioculatoribus pauperibus, & diuersarum conditionum personis. Que impense plurium latinorum regum introitus, expensasque transcendunt. De diuitijs, magnificentia, & gloria huius magni imperatoris, de uastitate imperij multitudine populorum, & numerositate ciuitatum, & magnitudine earundem. & de ordinatione imperij in quo nemo aduersus alium ausus est leuare gladium transeo. quia longum foret scribere. & audientibus incredibilia uiderentur Nam ego ipse qui presens sum, talia audio que ² uix credere possum. Est quedam magna ciuitas iuxta mare oceanum que uocatur in lingua persica Cayton ³ in qua vna diues domina Armena ecclesiam erexit pulchram satis, & grandem quam quidem de ipsius uoluntate per Archiepiscopum catredalem effectam ⁴ cum competentibus dotibus fratri Gerardo episcopo, & fratribus nostris qui cum eo erant donauit in vita, & in morte reliquit qui primus eandem catredam suscepit. Mortuo autem dicto episcopo, inibique sepulto uoluit archiepiscopus in eadem ecclesia me facere successorem. Set ego huiusmodi locationi, & successioni non assentiui vnde illam ⁵ contulit fratri peregrino ⁶ qui illuc habita oportunitate se contulit. Et postquam paucis annis rexit eandem anno domini 1322 [?] ⁷ in crastino ⁸ apostolorum petri, & pauli diem clausit extremum, ante cuius decessum per quatuor fere annos ego quoniam in cabalech non eram consolatus ex aliquibus causis procuraui quod dictum alapha elimosina imperialis mihi daretur in prefata ciuitate Zayton, ⁹ que distat a cambalech itinere fere mensium trium. ¹⁰ Et cum octo equitaturis ab imperatore mihi concessis ad eandem ciuitatem cum magno honore perrexi, & applicui adhuc fratre peregrino episcopo uiuente. Et in

¹ *P. diuersorum*² *P. quod*³ *P. Cayton*⁴ *W. in Cathedralē erectam,*⁵ *P. W. me non prebente assensum ipsam — W. omitting ego above.*⁶ *P. W. add Episcopo memorato*⁷ *P. m°. ccc. xxij°. W. 1322.*⁸ *P. W. add octaue*⁹ *P. Cayton. W. Caytonis*¹⁰ *P. W. mensium (W. hebdomadarum) fere trium ut dixi sollicite procuraui.*

quodam nemore proximo ciuitati ad quartam partem vnus miliaris ecclesiam conuenientem, & pulcram edificari feci cum omnibus officinis sufficientibus pro xx fratribus, & cum quatuor cameris quarum quelibet esset pro quocunque prelato sufficiens. In quo quidem loco moram traho continuo, & viuo de elimosina regia memorata, que iuxta mercatorum Januensium estimationem ascendere potest annuatim ad valorem c. florenorum aureorum, uel circa. Et de hac elimosina magnam partem in edificatione loci predicti expendi cui similem in hermitorijs nostre prouincie nullum scio quo ad pulcritudinem, & omnem comoditatem. Denique non longo elasso tempore post obitum fratris peregrini recepi decretum archiepiscopi de locatione nostra ¹ in memorata ecclesia catredali, cui ² assensum prebui causa memorata ³ rationabili suadente Et nunc in loco uel ecclesia ciuitatis, & in hermitorio moram traho iuxta mee arbitrium ⁴ uoluntatis. Et sum sanus ⁵ corpore. & quantum longeuitas uite patitur vigorosus, & agilis, nil que preter canitiem habens de ⁶ defectibus naturalibus, & proprietatibus senectutis. San[e] in isto uasto imperio sunt gentes de omni natione que sub celo est & de omni secta. & conceditur omnibus, & singulis uiuere secundum sectam suam. Est enim hec oppinio apud eos, seu potius error quod vnus quisque in sua secta saluetur. Et nos predicare possumus libere, & secure. Set de iudeis, & saracenis nemo conuertitur. De ydolatrjs baptizantur quam plurimi. Set baptizati ⁷ non recte incedunt per viam xristianitatis sicut deceret. Quatuor nostri fratres martirizati fuerunt in india a saracenis, quorum vnus bis in ignem missus inlesus euasit. Et tamen ad tam stupendum miraculum nullus est a sua perfidia permutatus.⁸ Omnes

¹ P. mea² P. W. add locationi³ P. W. omit memorata⁴ P. W. facio iuxta mee libitum⁵ P. W. sano⁶ W. patitur, aliquibus adhuc annis in hac messe laborare potero, licet canitiem habeam ex P. agrees exactly with the text, except that it has nihil quidem for nil que⁷ W. multi ex baptizatis⁸ P. W. add hec omnia—fratribus uniuersis.—58 words, in which W. has discesserunt for P. decesserunt, but otherwise agrees exactly with P.

episcopi suffraganei facti per dominum papam Clementem cabaliensis sedis migrauerunt in pace ad dominum. Ego solus remansi. frater Nicolaus de Banthra olim minister provincie sancti Francisci,¹ & frater Andratius² de Asisio, & vnus alius episcopus frater mortui fuerunt in ingressu indie inferioris, in terra quadam calidissima vbi plures alij fratres nostri mortui fuerunt, & sepulti. Valeat in domino uestra paternitas nunc & semper. Datum in Zayton³ anno domini m^o ccc xxvj in mense Januarij.

A careful examination of the three texts (*P. W.* and *Chigi*) of this letter shows that *P.* contains 796 words. Of these about 77·5 per cent are the same in all three texts; *P.* and *W.* agree in 13·5 per cent; *P.* and *Chigi* in 5·5 per cent; *W.* and *Chigi* agree in about 1 per cent, and in omitting 6 words which *P.* includes; and in 7 words all three texts differ. The nine cases where *W.* follows *Chigi* against *P.* are *que* for *quod*, *nostra* for *mea*, *diuersarum* for *diuersorum* (a mere slip), *Çayton* for *Çayton*, *secta* (thrice) for *septa*, 1322 for *m ccc xxij*, and *quatuor* for *iiiij*. Of the 6 words in *P.* which *W.* and *Chigi* omit, 4 are in rubrics or notes outside the real text and 2 are apparently a mere blunder (in *Çaito*). *Chigi* omits 79 words, or nearly a tenth part of *P.*, and of these Wadding has inserted 77 exactly as in *P.* and 2' with slight differences (subsequitur, sequitur; decesserunt, discesserunt). It will then be obvious that the text here printed from the MS. in the Chigi Library is not the one which Wadding used; and that he did use either *P.* (the Paris MS. Latin 5006) or some very similar text. Of the 796 words of *P.* Wadding reproduces 730 exactly, omits 15, differs in 51, the differences being often quite trivial and including differences of order, and adds 7 words. An analysis of the first letter of John of Monte Corvino shows an even greater degree of agreement between *P.* and Wadding. On the other hand, it will be noticed that

¹ *P. W.* omit olim . . . Francisci

² *P. W.* Andrutius

³ *P.* Data in Çaito in Çayton *W.* Data in Cayton

while the cases in which *P.* differs from *Chigi* are about three times as many as those in which *P.* differs from Wadding, yet *Chigi* has hardly ever changed the sense of *P.* in any serious degree, though Wadding has done so frequently.¹

Besides the conclusive evidence of the text itself that the *Chigi* MS. was not used by Wadding, there is some external evidence to the same effect. Amongst Golubovich's conclusions from the data before him we read (p. 139) "that the *Chigi* codex is, *paleographically*, an evident forgery of Ceccarelli, and so clever a one as to have deceived the learned Wadding, who calls it *vetustissimus codex ms.*" The first part of this statement I am not prepared to dispute, though it rests, *as far as I yet know*, on nothing better than these words of Edouard d'Alençon in the Introduction to his edition of T. de Celano's *Life of St. Francis*: "I have used the Codex Chisianus I, vii, 262, which seems to be in the hand of the aforesaid forger (Ceccarelli), for you would say that Leo Allacci had this MS. before him when he described another fictitious work of the same man."² The *Chigi* MS. I, vii, 262, is said to be entitled *Chronica S. Johannis a Capistrano*, and this, if true, gives great interest to the references to Leo

¹ Wadding's changes include *iam ante duos annos* for *iam est annus duodecimus*; *magnus explorator* for *explorator magus*; *sine socio* for *sine confessione*; *CL pueros* for *xl. pueros*; *Latinis, & Græcis ritu* for *latinis & ritu*; *regiis vestibis* for *sacris vestibis*; *Gothorum* or *Kathan* for *Cothay*; *scribo* for *teneo*; *eximiae* for *exigit*; 1308 for *m^o.ccc. xviij*; *iaculatoribus* for *ioculatoribus*; *hebdomadatum* for *mensium*; 22. for *.xx.*; *aliquibus adhuc annis* &c. for *vigorosus & agilis* &c. (p. 104, note 6). On the other hand, the most important differences between *Chigi* and *P.*, apart from large omissions, are perhaps XXX for XX; *millesimo ijc. v.* for *m^o. ccc. v^o*; *vbi picture* for *vj picturas*; *nutritis & baptizatis* for *quos emj & battizauj*; *ij milia* for *plura milia*; *petrutius* for *Petrus*—mostly occurring in the space of a few lines, p. 91 above.

² *adhibens Codicem Chisianum* (Biblioteca Chigi), I, vii, 262, qui videtur autographum praedicti falsarii, nam hoc manuscriptum ante oculos habuisse diceret Leonem Allatium, quum aliud fictitium opus eiusdem describeret. ED. ALENCONIENSIS *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita*, Rome, 1906, Proleg. p. lxxvi. I owe this reference and the following to Golubovich. Alfonso Ceccarelli (1532–83) seems to have been a prolific forger, who was ultimately executed for his pains.

Allacci, who in the seventeenth century devoted himself to exposing Ceccarelli's forgeries. Of these he gives a very long list, including five purporting to be by John of Capistrano, as follows: *Ioannis de Capistrano Chronica, De Originibus Urbium, Ciuitatum, & Oppidorum totius Mundi. ait Ciccarellus in ea laudari Chronicam Dominorum de Brunforte, & alios. . . . E[iusdem]. De vitis Sanctorum, & rebus Ecclesiæ. E. De Episcopatibus, & Archiepiscopatibus. . . . E. De origine, & religione militantium pro fide Iesu Christi, atque Ecclesiæ Romanæ defensione. E. De vera Donatione Constantini Imperatoris.* "When," adds Allacci, "I spoke about these works of John of Capistrano to Luke Wadding, he burst into laughter at the mere hearing of their names." The next day Wadding wrote a letter, which Allacci prints, in which he says: "Your conversation yesterday and your note to-day about the works ascribed to John of Capistrano fill me with wonder." After describing John's legal training and writings, he proceeds: "The few little theological tracts which he mingled [with the legal], and the sermons which he preached, savour less of the theologian than of the lawyer. His manuscripts, brought from Capistrano to the City, I have had in my keeping, and have been at great pains to find out the titles, which I add to this note. . . . Those added by Ceccarelli are spurious. (He here repeats the five titles given above.) You will find nothing of this kind ever written by Capistraninus, *nothing historical did he ever plan; no trace of it, certainly, occurs in the rest of his works.* . . . 5 Oct., 1641."¹

¹ Cum de hisce Ioannis Capistranii monumentis sermonem haberem cum doctissimo . . . Luca Waddingo, sola eorum auditione in risum effusus est; . . . *Leoni Allatio . . . F. Lucas Waddingus. Hesternus tuus sermo, & hodierna pagella de speciosis Ioanni Capistranio adscriptis Operibus vehementer admirari faciunt, . . . Pancula, quæ intermiscet Theosophicæ argumenta, & quos e rostris dixit sermones, stylo, & methodo non tam Theologum sapiunt, quam Iurisconsultum. Autographa Capistrano, Aprutorum oppido, in Urbem aduecta penes me habui, & diligenter excussi ipsos comperi titulos, quos literulis istis subiungo, . . . spurii sunt, & degeneres, quos addit Ciccarellus, De Originibus Urbium . . . Imperatoris. Nihil unquam in hoc genere a Capistranio scriptum, nihil usquam comperies de re historica meditatam: nullum prorsus in reliquis operibus occurrit vestigium.*

If our MS. (I, vii, 262) is the same as the *De Originibus Urbium*, we have here the proof that both Allacci and Wadding himself (*who does not seem to have seen the book*) condemned it as a Ceccarellian forgery; but if, on the other hand, it is not the same,¹ Wadding assures us that he knows of no such historical work among the rest of John's writings. The argument is not conclusive; but it seems to make it reasonably certain that Wadding, who had published the three letters from China from some Chronicle, which he attributed to Odoric, in 1636, and had made a special study of the works of John of Capistrano, had never heard of any *Chronica S. Johannis a Capistrano* until 4 October, 1641.

Turning again to the manuscripts themselves, a careful examination of the passages printed in 1914 from *P.* and now from the Chigi MS., other than the letters themselves, will give even better reason for thinking that Wadding did not use *Chigi* and may well have used *P.* To take the passages in order as printed in 1914, the introduction (p. 546) to the first letter is very much altered in *Chigi* and is omitted by Wadding, who substitutes for it words which have a bearing on the question of the last paragraphs of John's second letter. "Certainly in this very year [1305] he wrote two letters, the first in January. . . . The second he wrote near the end of the year to the brothers living in Persia and India. Both of them I have copied from a very ancient manuscript of the Blessed Odoric of Friuli."² The next passage (pp. 551-2, *Has litteras . . . archiepiscopo*) also is altered, but not seriously,

. . . 3. *Non. Octob. 1641.* Leonis ALLACII *Animaduersione in Libros Alphonsi Ciccarelli, Rome, 1642*, pp. 318, 19, 321, 2. Cf. WADDING, *Scriptores Ord. Min.*, 1650 (ed. 1806), pp. 134, 5. The 45 works of Ioannes Capistranus (1385-1456) here enumerated contain nothing historical. At the end of the list Wadding notes that the five works named above were attributed to Capistrano by Ceccarelli. *Sed haec spuria sunt, & conficta ab insigni mendaciorum architecto, qui sub Gregorio XIII. tot imposturas . . . poenalluit capitali.*

¹ The words *ait in ea laudari Chronicam . . . Brunforte*, afford an easy test of the identity of the two Chronicles for anyone who has access to the Chigi library.

² *Ann. Min.*, iii, p. 44.

in *Chigi*, and omitted by Wadding. Coming to pp. 557-9 (*Frater vero . . . interiorem et in yndiam*) Wadding will be found to reproduce this long passage very exactly, adding 9 unimportant words, changing a few (of which *praecepis* for *propinquis* and *Petrus* for *Peregrinus* are the most important) and omitting two or three; while *Chigi* shortens and changes the whole. The Pope's Bull (pp. 559-61) Wadding gives from *Dilecto to ammiranda opera eius* even more exactly, including the notes *infra sequitur*, and *&c. quae sequuntur*, while *Chigi* professes to give the complete text. Wadding then gives the letter *Magno Regi omnium Tartarorum . . . Splendor patris . . . ending deest finis*, which corresponds to *&c.* in *P.* (not printed in 1914); omits the paragraph *Illi uero septem*, but gives the story *de fratribus minoribus uisitantibus captiuos* in the right place according to *P.*

Whether the writer of the *Chigi* MS. used *P.* is not easy to decide from the few pages of either MS. which I have seen; but occasional coincidences of phrases or spelling (see p. 98, note 1, and the clumsy sentence *Et hic frater . . . paramenta* on p. 89 above and 1914, p. 551) incline one to think that Golubovich is right in saying that *P.* supplied those parts of the *Chigi* MS. which are common to both.

For our present purpose the most interesting addition to the documents hitherto known is the following letter from Bishop Peregrine of Zaitun. It is, of course, easy to suspect it of being spurious. The style is awkward and unnatural, though not so ungrammatical as that of the papal Bulls already given; and the fact that its existence seems never to have been suspected by any of the historians of the Minor Friars until this century is a very serious objection to its being genuine. If it is proved that the compiler derived all the rest of his Cathay material from *P.* the case against this letter will be even stronger. A considerable part of the subject-matter might have been invented with no great ingenuity from the letters of John and Andrew; the passage about King George, who had been murdered twenty years before, seeming specially

clumsy. But it is fair to remember that it was John's letters about King George which had caused Bishop Peregrine to be sent to Cathay; he calls him "*that* King George", and seems hastening to assure his friends that John's wonderful story was really true. The passages about the Armenians and the Alani could not be derived directly from any document known to me, but they are not either impossible or improbable, and the general truth of what is said about the Alani is confirmed by an extant letter from their own Chiefs.¹ The date, which seems to have surprised Golubovich, is perfectly possible and natural, and the fact that no attempt is made to conceal its glaring inconsistency with the same date (1318) wrongly written in Andrew's letter a few lines lower down on the same page is in its favour. Of the persons named in the letter John, and Andrew, and King George would lie ready to the forger's hand; Peter of Florence would need far wider reading for his discovery, but he is a real person and might easily have been in Khanbalig in 1317/18; Johannes Grimaldi, Emanuel de Monticulo, and Ventura de Sarezana do not seem to be in Wadding's Index, list of martyrs, etc., nor in the *Bullarium Franciscanum*, though that does not prove that their names are invented. It is clear that many besides the few whose names we know reached China during the first half of the fourteenth century.

The letter begins on fol. 102 vº:—

Epistola

REuerendis in xristo patribus fratri .N. vicario generalis ministri, Ceterisque fratribus vicarie orientis frater peregrinus paupertatis episcopus in mundo alio constitutus Reuerentiam, & salutem, cum desiderio noua de mundo fidelium audiendi. Et si sicut prodigus filius fecissemus ego, & sotij mei fugientes ad terram longinquam sicut ceteri debuisset saltem pia mater religio recordari de filiis quos ad inauditum exilium destinauit. materna enim

¹ Cf. this *Journal*, Jan. 1917, pp. 13, 31.

viscera contra filium rigorem iustitie non admittunt. & infra. Episcopus sum licet indignus. & infra. Et pater frater Andreas de perusio episcopus, & ego peruenimus Gabalech. Dico igitur primo de Archiepiscopo fratre Johanne. Vita eius exterior bona, & dura, & aspera. De illo uero rege Georgio certum est quod ipsum plene, & laudabiliter conuertit ad ueram fidem, cum ante cum nestorianis misceretur. Et ipse rex vna die de suo populo plura milia conuertit. Et si vixisset uere totum populum eius, & regnum humiliassemus ad xristum. Et etiam magna canis mutatio facta fecisset. Ante uero quam frater Johannes archiepiscopus predictus ueniret ad imperium magni canis nullus xristianus cuiuscumque conditionis, & nationis esset preualere poterat erigere quantumcumque paruum oratorium, & signum xristi propter potentiam nestorianorum prohibentium. Et sic uel eos sequi cgebantur in ritu scismatico, & erroneo, uel quasi viam infidelium capere. postquam uero uenit frater Johannes deo ipsum iuuante malo uelle nestorianorum ecclesias plures erexit. Et alie nationes xristianorum qui odiunt nestorianos scismaticos, ipsum fratrem Johannem secute sunt. & precipue armeni qui sibi nunc notabilem construunt ecclesiam. & dare illi intendunt. vnde & ipse continue est apud eos, relicta ecclesia latinorum alijs fratribus. Item Quidam xristiani boni qui dicuntur alani pro xx milibus a rege maximo stipendia accipientes, ipsi, & familie eorum ad fratrem Johannem recurrunt. Et ipse eos confortat, & predicat. Nec uidemus. & istis predicare possumus, & sacramenta ecclesie ministrare. Circa infideles uero libere possumus predicare, et in moscheta saracenorum pluries predicauimus ut conuertantur. Ydolatrīs uero similiter in magnis ciuitatibus eorum per duos medios interpretes. Multi congregantur, & ualde mirantur. & diligenter inquirunt de istis. Et quia nunc inceptum est spem bonam habemus uidentes populos intentos ad audiendum, & currendum vbi nos predicamus. Vere credimus quod si linguas eorum haberemus mirabilia dei apparerent. Messis multa valde.

set operarij pauci, & sine falce. Nam pauci fratres sumus, & senes admodum & inabiles ad discendas linguas Parcat deus illis qui fratres impediunt ne ueniant Vere credo quod inimicus hoc operatur ne inuadamus eius imperium quod sine molestia possidet. In cambaliech sunt archiepiscopi, & frater Andreas de perusio, & frater petrus de florentia episcopi. & eis nil deficit in temporalibus. In spiritualibus uero credo quod nunquam tantum habuerint. Irruit enim & uenit spiritus Sanctus in istos duos episcopos. & in tantum orationibus insistunt, & sanctis meditationibus. Et spiritus dei qui eos visitat, & consolatur, & fouet in tantum quod omnium uidentur esse obliti die ac nocte in sanctis uigilijs domino assistentes. Ego autem cayfensis episcopus factus ibi cum tribus fratribus deuotis pacifice, & tranquille deo uacare possum [fol. 103 r^o] Et ipsi serui dei frater Johannes grimaldi, frater emanuel de monticulo, & frater uentura de Sarezana qui in istis partibus qui in istis partibus est frater factus, qui in omni uirtute bene fortificati deus honoratur per eos vtinam tales haberemus centum nobiscum. In ciuitate Cayton bonam habemus ecclesiam cum loco. quam quedam domina Armenie nobis reliquit. & necessaria uite pro nobis & pro alijs si uenerint assignauit. & extra ciuitatem locum pulcrum habemus cum silua vbi cellas facere cupimus, & oratorium. Nulla alia re indigemus, quantum fratribus quos desideramus. Frater Gerardus episcopus mortuus est. & alij fratres non possumus diu uiuere. nec alij uenerunt remanebit ecclesia sine baptismo, & sine habitatoribus. Noua & condiciones istius magni imperij si scriberem non crederentur. quanta sit potentia ipsius, quanti exercitus. latitudo terre. quot redditus, quot expense, quot elimosinas faciunt. Comparauerunt eam nostri latini in hijs, ad omnes alios reges mundi. set excessum non scribo. Ciuitas maxima Cayton vbi sumus super mare est. & distat a maxima Cambalieth itinere fere trium mensium. datum in Zayton iij kal ianuarii anno domini 1.318

I take this opportunity of making some corrections in the earlier article of July, 1914.

Golubovich speaks of certain notes on the flyleaf of *P.* (B.N. MS. Lat. 5006) which I have been able to verify on rotographs obtained through the kindness of Monsieur H. Omont. They are (1) *hunc librum dat frater Eleemosina . . . loco Gualdi . . .*; in a fourteenth century hand, not that of the scribe of the Chronicle itself. (2) *Chronica historiarum antiquarum manuscrip. usq. ad. an 1334; nam usq ad benedicti PP xii . . . fol 188. b*; in a late sixteenth or seventeenth century hand. (3) a note, in the hand of the writer of the Chronicle, about cities which are named after persons: *Sicut enim ab Alexandro magno Alexandria . . . nuncupantur.* and so forth. Below this is half a page of ancient writing quite illegible, with a sentence in a later hand written over it, beginning *Habitus Pisanis*; and (4) in a large irregular hand apparently of the first half of the seventeenth century: *Cronica pa odoricio*. On none of the pages seen by me is there a note that the MS. was finished in 1336, though that date may no doubt be inferred from the closing words of the Chronicle on fol. 188 v^o, col. 2, where we read: *Hic etiam benedictus. papa. xii^{us}. preclaras & deuotas constitutiones. super ordines monachorum & fratrum minorum edidit & instituit obseruari & teneri ab eis ad reformationem religiose uite. & meritum uite eterne.*

The first of these sentences is of great interest as telling a little of the very early history of the book. Golubovich, who thought it was in the same hand as the Chronicle, concluded that the author and writer was John Eleemosina, an Umbrian who died in 1339, and that he wrote his Chronicle in the convent at Assisi and bequeathed it to the convent of Gualdo. The only John who was the Pope's Almoner (Eleemosynarius) mentioned by Wadding (*An. Min.*, vol. iii, p. 65, A.D. 1307) was a Roman.

It is noticeable that "*Cronica pa odoricio*" seems to have been written in Wadding's lifetime. It would be interesting to compare the writing with his.

The constitutions mentioned in the last paragraph of the Chronicle (fol. 188 v^o) must be those which were published on 28 November, 1336, and commended to the Minister General in a letter dated 13 May, 1337, and by him to the Provinces of the Order on 21 June, 1337. December, 1336, is thus the earliest possible date for the finishing of the Chronicle. *An. Min.*, vol. iii, pp. 443, 445, 6.

The description of the MS. quoted on p. 534 (July, 1914) seems to have been copied by Sbaralea from Quétif's *Scriptores Ord. Praedicatorum*, vol. i, pp. 549, 50.

p. 535, l. 2. *For 1635 read 1636*

p. 547, note. Cathay and China were probably two quite distinct countries in the mind of John of Monte Corvino.

p. 551, l. 13. *For 171 r^o read 171 v^o*

p. 559, l. 12. *For xpisto read xpisto*

p. 566, l. 6. *For qum read quoniam*

pp. 568-71. Golubovich points out that a better text of John of Winterthur than that of Eccard is now available, namely, *Johannis Vitodurani Chronicon. Die Chronik des Minoriten Johannes von Winterthur*, edited by Georg von Wyss, in vol xi of *Archiv für Schweizerische Geschichte*, Zürich, 1856. The passage here quoted is on pp. 208-10. Besides differences of spelling the following changes may be noted:—

p. 569, l. 5. von Wyss prints *ejus* but says the MS. has *eorum*

p. 569, l. 25. convolarunt. In . . . epistola, ante

p. 569, l. 32. crediderit;

p. 570, l. 13. revocare sicut oves

p. 571. gratiam invenit in oculis principis sepedicti, quod eum . . . sentiebat.

- p. 577, note 1. The use of *infra* is quite normal.
 p. 581, l. 32. *For* Archbishop.¹ *read* to the Archbishop.
and cancel the footnote.
 p. 586, l. 14. *For* Lord *read* God
 p. 587, l. 21. *For* Franchya *read* perhaps France
 p. 590, l. 3. *After* son *add* Brother
 p. 599. Professor Pelliot has identified Tozan with
 the Chinese 東勝 Tung-shêng; and *t*,
 not *c* or *k*, is no doubt the right initial.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Through the kindness of the Franciscan Fathers at Assisi and Quaracchi I am now able to give the readings of the Assisi MS. 341 (cf. p. 102, n. 1 above) where it differs from *P*. The references are to the *Journal* for July, 1914, where the text of *P*. will be found.

p. 564, l. 10. Vunus uero ex illis deuotis fratribus episcopis de ordine minorum qui missi fuerunt a domino papa Clemente. & a sancta romana ecclesia ad consecrandum in Archiepiscopum. fratrem Johannem supra dictum. Tales epistolas modernis temporibus remisit. de se & alijs fratribus. illarum partium. ita dicens. l. 13. Perusio diuina l. 15. ffratrj. NN l. 17. sempiternam. &cetera. & *infra* pluribus uerbis pretermisissis. sequitur. l. 21. peruenire. &cetera. & *infra*. dicit.

p. 565, l. 1. Alafa. l. 3. *omit* quas imperator l. 14. credere ualeo. unde ad propositum rediens ad ea que me contingunt stilum calamumque conuerto. Est l. 20. Episcopo. qui primus eandem Cathedram suscepit & fratribus qui cum eo erant nostris donauit in uita. & in morte reliquit.

p. 566, l. 4. xxij l. 10. mihi ab imperatore concessis l. 12. sepe fato l. 16. *omit* et l. 30. Et sum sanus . . . quantum etatis longeuitas patitur . . . defectibus accidentibus & proprietatibus ll. 35, 36. secta sectam

p. 567, l. 2. *omit* Et nos l. 5. per uiam xpistianitatis incedunt. *omit* de sanctis fratribus. l. 6. In yndia quattuor nostri fratres occisi fuerunt l. 10. sub quadam breuitate perscripta uestre l. 25. *omit* in Zaito

The following errata are to be made in the article "On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages" appearing in the Journal for October, 1920 :—p. 455, footnote, l. 2, for "*Anthropus*" read "*Anthropos*". p. 465, wherever the word "Quocangu" occurs, correct it to "Quocangü".

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology

Back numbers of the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology are still in great demand, especially Vols. 30-38. Any numbers that members can spare will be most gratefully accepted.

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THE SARROSH K. R. CAMA MEMORIAL PRIZE

The Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute invite competitive essays for "The Sarrosh K. R. Cama Prize" of the value of Rs. 225 on the following subject : "Life of Zoroaster as based on the Avesta."

The essays should be typewritten or written in a neat, legible hand, and should reach the Honorary Secretaries the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, on or before July 15, 1921. Each essay should be designated by a motto instead of the writer's name, and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor and his Post Office address. The competition is open to both Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SACRED BOOKS OF THE YEZIDIS

In July, 1916, I wrote an article in this *Journal* (505-26) on the Yezidis and their sacred books. In it I endeavoured to set forth my reasons for believing why the paternity of the recently discovered Yezidi books had to be traced back to some subtle forgers. Nothing that appeared since that date induces me to change my views on the subject; on the contrary, much has come to light to confirm them.

Captain H. P. W. Hutson, R.E., a prominent member of our Mesopotamian expeditionary force, who has had the unique opportunity of studying on the spot the habits and customs of the community of the Yezidis or Devil-worshippers, was fortunate enough to procure a manuscript purporting to contain the sacred books of the Yezidis in their original language. Believing them to be written in Kurdish he began to correspond with all the Orientalists who in his opinion were able to read Kurdish. Eventually the manuscript was sent to me for examination, and I immediately discovered that, apart from some short prayers written in Kurdish, it contained nothing but an Arabic text similar to that of the Yezidi books of which I had previously treated at some length. Appended to the manuscript was a colophon which in view of its importance for the criticism of the Yezidi books I want to publish *in extenso* as it stands :—

سنة ٢٢٠٠ سنة اليونانية سنة ١٨٨٩ سنة المسيحية

سنة ١٣٠٥ سنة الهجرية الداعي بالديانة اليزيدية بكل

وقت امير شيخ اسمعيل بن امير عبيد من ذرية شيخ
آدى وهذا الكتاب تاريخ يازيدية سنة ٢١٦٠ كان ضاع

وسنة ١٨٨٩ مسيحية جلبه بطرك بطرس على ملة السريان
 من الهند ووجده وجلبه ووضع بدير الزعفران وثاني
 بتاريخ سنة ١٩١٤ مسيحية انا المذكور تواجعت مع
 مطران الياس الموصل و قال لي لنا كتاب بدير الزعفران
 وحالا سافرت لماردين مع عائتي وابني وحصلت امر
 المحافظين للدرب من والي الموصل ووصلت لماردين
 وبعده بكم يوم رحت لدير بعزة واكرام وجلبنا هذا
 الكتاب معنا.

"The year 2200 of the Greeks is the year 1889 of the Christian era and 1305 of the Hijra.¹ (From the one) who professes the Yezidi faith at all times, the Amīr Sheikh Ismā'il, son of the Amīr 'Abdi from the descendants of Sheikh Ādi: this book containing the history of the Yezidis was lost in the year 2160,² and in the Christian year 1889 Peter, the Patriarch of the Syrian community, brought it from India, where he had found it, and put it in the monastery of Za'farān (near Mardīn). Then in the Christian year 1914 I, the above-mentioned, had an interview with Bishop Alyās of Mosul, who told me that we had such a book in the monastery of Za'farān. I journeyed immediately to Mardīn with my family and my son, and I obtained from the vali of Mosul the services of some *gendarmes* to protect us on the way. Some days after I reached Mardīn I went to the monastery, and we brought the book with us."

¹ 1305 A.H. corresponds with A.D. 1887 (19 Sept.).

² 2160 of the Greeks corresponds with A.D. 1849.

On this important colophon the following short commentary may be found useful :—

(a) The colophon is undoubtedly written by the same hand that wrote the manuscript itself.

(b) We have in it the spectacle of a prominent Yezidi sheikh knowing nothing of the fact that his community possesses any sacred books. The existence of such books is revealed to him by a Christian bishop in A.D. 1914.

(c) These sacred books were mysteriously lost in A.D. 1849 from the mountain of Sinjār, near Mosul, and by an uncommon stroke of fortune they were in 1889 discovered in India, where they had been taken away, no one knowing how or when.

For those interested in the Yezidis and their sacred books it may not be out of place to remark that after the date of my article in this *Journal*, three important publications have appeared on the subject: A. Dirr, *Einiges über die Jeziden* (*Anthropos*, 1918, 558-74); Isya Joseph, *Devil Worship*, pp. 220 (Boston, 1919); and F. Nau, *Recueil de textes sur les Yézidis* (*Rev. de l'Or. Chrét.*, 1917, pp. 142-200, 225-77).

A. MINGANA.

THE KITAB MA'ANI AS-SI'R, BY IBN QUTAIBA

In 1906 Rhodokanakis published in the *Nöldeke Festschrift* (pp. 385 ff.) a description of the manuscript of the Kitāb as-Si'r, which he had discovered in the library of the Ayā Sofia Mosque in Constantinople. The manuscript contained only the first part of the work, namely, the first three books. The Constantinople manuscript has fifteen lines to the page, and at the end it is stated that the next book would begin with the chapter on flies **ذُبَاب**. During a visit to the India Office on the occasion of the Joint Session of the Oriental Societies in London in September, 1919, I was attracted by a manuscript of the same work exhibited in the reading-room

of the library of the India Office. With their usual liberality, the authorities of the India Office have permitted me to study this manuscript at my home, and I was pleased to discover that this manuscript actually appears to be the continuation of the Constantinople one, as it begins with the explanation of verses in Ancient Arabic poetry mentioning flies. The India Office manuscript also has fifteen lines to the page to folio 142 inclusive; folio 143, which is the beginning of a new Kurrāsa, has seventeen lines to the page, which is maintained to the end of the volume.

Unfortunately, for the sake of concealing the fact that the manuscript does not contain the complete work, a previous owner has torn away several leaves marking the end and beginning of fresh books. Through this vandalism the title-page is missing, which would tell us that the manuscript begins with the fourth book. After folio 39 at least one leaf is torn away. Folio 86*a* contains the colophon of the fourth book, and as the latter only occupied two lines the copyist has used the remainder of the page for the title of the fifth book. Further leaves are torn away after folios 108 and 111. One leaf or more is missing after folio 122, where vol. v ends. This leaf contained the title-page of vol. vi, which comprises the book on war, as is evident from the colophon folio 224*b*, and also from the contents of this section of the work. On folio 133 the Kurrāsas are numbered for the first time; it is folio 15 which begins here, showing that so far eight leaves are missing. From folio 143 each page has seventeen lines, but the handwriting is the same throughout the volume, and from folio 203 a different paper of a pink tint is used. The sixth volume ends on folio 224*b*, but there is an addition which is stated to have been found in the handwriting of Ibn Qutaiba on the back of the book on war; this addition ends folio 225*a*. The next page is blank, and the title on folio 226 tells us that this is the beginning of the seventh volume, which is the last of the whole work. The text runs on without interruption to folio 272, where the manuscript

ends, except that the fold beginning folio 123 has only eight leaves, but as no gap is apparent, the scribe must have used in mistake a smaller fold than usual.

Each book is divided into smaller chapters, which, according to their subjects, vary considerably in extent. The fourth book contains the explanations of verses on various animals, the fifth book on hatred, hostility, imprisonment, etc., the sixth book on war and implements of war, also confederation and hostility, the last book on games of chance, auguries, poetry, elegies, old age, good manners, and nobility of character.

The following is a list of chapters :—

Fol.	One leaf is missing.
1a	باب في الذُّبَابِ
4a	الايات في الجرَادِ
6a	الايات في النحل و العسل
12b	الايات في الجُعَلِ
13b	الايات في القُرَادِ
16b	الايات في النَمْلِ
17b	باب في الضفادع و الحيتانِ
23a	الايات في الظُرَبَانِ
27b	الايات في القُنْفُذِ
25a	الايات في الجرِذَانِ و الفأرِ
25b	الايات في الحِرْبَاءِ

Fol.		
27a	.	الايات في الحية
33a	.	الايات في العقارب
33b	.	الايات في ضروب من لهوآء
36a	.	الايات في الشاء و المعيز
		After fol. 39 on leaf torn away.
41b	.	الايات في الطباء و البقر
78b	.	الصايد والحباله و القتره
83b	.	الايات في الكناس
87b	.	دخول الطباء الكنُس في الحرّ
86a	.	End of vol. iv.
		Beginning of vol. v.
86b	.	الايات في الوعيد
102b	.	في الدعاء بالشر و اليمن
105a	.	الايامان
108a	.	العداوة و البغضاء
		After 108 one leaf missing at least.
		After 111 one leaf missing.
121a	.	القيّد و الغلّ
122b	.	End of Vol. V
		At least one leaf torn away.

Fol.

123a

[الايات في الحرب]

133 shows that Kurrāsa 15 begins.

[143a. Now seventeen lines, custos showing that the 16th Kurrāsa begins, which show that eight leaves are lost ; this should be fol. 151. These must have been lost before fol. 123.]

159b . . . في الطعنة والشجبة والضربة

171a . . . باب المعاني في الديات

175b . . . باب في الثار

181a . . . البيض و الدروع

184b . . . باب في القسي و السهام

197a . . . باب في السيوف

203a . . . Other paper to end.

204a . . . باب في الرمح

209a . . . باب في الترس و المنجنيق

210a . . . باب في الجوار و الحلف و الإغاثة

217b . . . باب في العداوة و البغضاء

224b هذا آخر ما وجد من المعاني في كتاب

الحرب والحمد لله الح وكان على ظهر

كتاب الحرب بخط ابى محمد بى

قسيمة الخ

Fol.
225a End of sixth book.

العالمين الخ

225b Blank.

226a Title.

قُتِيْمَةٌ وَهُوَ آخِرُ الْكِتَابِ فِيهِ الْمَيْسِرُ

وَالشَّعْرُ وَالشُّعْرَاءُ وَالْمِرَاثِيُّ وَالشَّيْبُ

رَالْكِبَرُ وَالْآدَابُ وَغَيْرَ ذَلِكَ

226b الْاَيَاتُ فِي الْمَيْسِرِ

231a. New Kurrāsa, apparently two leaves are missing in the preceding fold, but as the text goes on smoothly the original fold must have consisted of eight leaves only.

236b بَابُ الْمَعَانِي فِي وَصْفِ الشَّعْرِ وَالشُّعْرَاءِ

238a اَيَاتُ الْمَعَانِي فِي التَّطْيِيرِ وَالْفَالِ

241a اَيَاتُ الْمَعَانِي فِي وَصْفِ الْآثَارِ

245a اَيَاتُ الْمَعَانِي فِي الْمِرَاثِيِّ

251a [اَيَاتُ فِي الْكِبَرِ] No title

257b اَيَاتُ الْمَعَانِي فِي الْآدَابِ

265b الْاَيَاتُ فِي مَكَارِمِ الْاَخْلَاقِ

272. Last folio, much damaged, but not the end of the work; how much is missing cannot be said, but as fol. 271 begins the 29th Kurrāsa we may assume eight leaves, but from the title the subjects are practically finished.

The system followed by Ibn Qutaiba is to give one or more verses of classical poets, and explain the difficult words. Apparently he has had at his disposal a number of Diwāns, which he extracts, and for convenience sake he frequently gives several citations from various poems of one poet on the same subject before he cites another poet. The explanations very often appear copied straight from the copies of the Diwāns, so that the words "he said" do not refer to the author but to the commentator he has extracted. The number of poets quoted is very considerable, all are of the classical period, and his citations are important enough to say that the whole work deserves to be edited on the hand of the

two available manuscripts. For the poet *الطِّرِمَاح* the India Office manuscript alone contains a considerable number of verses which were unknown to me when the text of the Diwān was printed, and I regret that I did not know at the time that this manuscript existed in the library of the India Office. He quotes largely from the poems of Hudālis, al-A'sā, Ibn Muqbil, and many of the poets already edited, giving in many cases useful emendations of the texts printed. The book on war and war-implements would supplement in a large degree the valuable work of Schwarzlose on the weapons of the Arabs.

F. KRENKOW.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO ARABIC TRADITION

Third Communication

1. Since the appearance of the second communication (JRAS. 1918, p. 548), the following gentlemen have joined

the work: Dr. C. van Arendonk (Leiden); Rev. R. Bell (Beattock); Rev. J. Robertson Buchanan (Culross); A. Fück (Frankfort); W. Heffening (Frankfort); Rev. Brockwell King (Toronto); F. Krenkow (Quorn); Dr. L. Mayer (Berlin); Professor Dr. A. Schaade (Hamburg); Dr. A. Siddiqi (Aligarh); F. Taoutel (Paray-le-Monial); T. H. Weir (Glasgow).

Still the collaboration of more Orientalists remains desirable.

2. Large parts of Bukhārī's text have been treated. Nearly all the chapters are being prepared. Of the other collections, sundry pieces are finished.

3. It appears that of Dārimī's text at least one Oriental edition exists which is not inferior to those of the other authors. On this ground, as also with a view to the high cost of printing, Professor Snouck Hurgronji thinks it advisable to abandon the project of a new edition. As regards an edition of Ibn Mādja, a decision has not yet been arrived at.

A. J. WENSINCK.

LEIDEN.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE ARCTIC HOME IN THE RIG-VEDA: AN UNTENABLE POSITION. By N. K. DUTT, M.A. pp. vii and 95. Dacca, 1918.

The object of this booklet is to refute the conclusions arrived at in the late Mr. Tilak's *The Arctic Home in the Rig-Veda*. The latter author followed the same method as those who seek to prove the Baconian theory of Shakespeare by picking out the data that seem to support their view, while ignoring all opposing evidence. In conformity with this plan Mr. Tilak sought to demonstrate from the *Rigveda* that the undivided Aryans lived somewhere within a few degrees of the North Pole, inasmuch as that ancient collection of hymns contains "clear and unmistakable references to Arctic phenomena". The refutation of so far-fetched a theory presents no great difficulties, but as far as I am aware no Western Vedic scholar has ever thought it worth his while to attempt the task. It is, however, satisfactory that an Indian should have undertaken it, for his countrymen may thus be more easily prevented from accepting the extravagant conclusions of *The Arctic Home*. Mr. Dutt has here, in reliance on sound, common-sense arguments, successfully accomplished his purpose. But beyond this I fear I am unable to find any merit in the present work. What strikes one most forcibly, both in *The Arctic Home* and in Mr. Dutt's criticism of it, is the futility of efforts to extract "history" from the *Rigveda* without possessing the necessary philological equipment. Historical conclusions of any value can be based solely on exact translations, which can only be produced by intimate familiarity with the grammar, the syntax, the metre, the accent, the vocabulary, and the mythology of the *Rigveda*. Neither Mr. Tilak nor his critic shows any such qualification. To substantiate this assertion in the case of Mr. Tilak would be superfluous here, but it

seems necessary to adduce a few of the mistranslations with which Mr. Dutt's book teems. Thus *cakrām iva . . . ā vavṛtsva* (iii, 61. 3) is rendered "thou movest like a wheel"; it should be "roll hither like a wheel", *ā vavṛtsva* being, of course, an imperative, not an indicative. The line *urvīm gāvvyūtim ābhayaṃ kṛdhī naḥ* (vii, 77. 4) is translated "render our pasture lands free from fear". Here one of the primary rules of grammar is infringed, an adjective in the neuter (*ābhayaṃ*) being made to agree with a feminine substantive (*gāvvyūtim*). The correct translation is "make wide pasture, (make) safety for us". The rendering of the line *āpa dvéso maghónī duhitā divā usā ucchad āpa srīdhaḥ* (i, 48. 8) is "for she, the wealthy goddess Dawn, the Daughter of the Sky, scatters the enemies and the oppressors". This should be "may the bounteous daughter of Heaven, the Dawn, drive away (with her light) hatred, away hostilities". The form *ucchad* is, of course, not indicative, but injunctive. The hemistich *āpa tyé tāyāvo yathā | náksatrā yanti aktúbhiḥ* is rendered "those well-known thieves disperse, with night, like the stars". This rendering is contrary to the rules of both accentuation and syntax. The adverb *yathā* when unaccented is equivalent to *iva*, and must then always be taken with the preceding word; an unaccented *yathā* at the end of one *Pāda* could not possibly be connected with the first word of the next. The passage must be translated "away, like thieves, go those stars with the nights". The rendering of nearly every stanza quoted by Mr. Dutt from the *Rigveda* suffers from similar inaccuracies and errors.

Unconscious of his limitations Mr. Dutt overestimates the importance of his achievements. Thus he thinks he has been the first to discover why the poets of the *Rigveda* express fear of the darkness of night; for he remarks: "to our great misfortune, none of the Vedic scholars, eastern or western, have in their efforts to discover the causes of such apprehensions ever fully entered into the history of the times. The real causes of these mighty apprehensions have not,

therefore, been yet satisfactorily explained by any one." Vedic scholars who read the *Rigveda* know pretty well that the fear of darkness was due chiefly to the attacks of wild animals and robbers, because this is expressly stated in the hymns; but they have probably wished to avoid the statement of platitudes.

Mr. Dutt seems to be firmly convinced that his conjectures on the obscure question of the "Five Tribes" represent historical certainty. Thus he says: "the *Rigveda* is quite clear in its utterances about the identity of the Five Tribes." The *Rigveda* tells us that the Five Tribes lived on the Sarasvatī, but Mr. Dutt's remark that "the five tribes formed a clan [!] by themselves quite distinct from those who dwelt on the tributaries of the Indus" does not advance matters much, for he does not even attempt to identify them with any of the many Aryan tribes mentioned in the *Rigveda*. This cannot, in fact, be done owing to the fragmentary and obscure nature of the evidence regarding the Five Tribes and their relations with King Sudās. Mr. Dutt asserts that the present writer is in this connexion "entirely wrong", "is guilty of unpardonable confusion", has committed "another serious blunder", and that "Dr. Macdonell's account is full of gross historical blunders" or "palpable historical blunders" (pp. 33 and 37), and that one of his statements is "entirely unsupported". These strictures are directed against the very brief account of the tribes of the *Rigveda* given in my *History of Sanskrit Literature*, which was published twenty years ago (1900). Some of my suggestions there put forward may be erroneous. But perhaps Mr. Dutt is not aware that in criticizing any writer's views he ought to take the latest statement of those views into consideration. Such a statement is to be found in Professor Keith's and my *Vedic Index*, which appeared twelve years later (1912), and in which all the evidence concerning the five tribes and their relations with King Sudās are collected and discussed.

Mr. Dutt's inaccuracy runs uniformly through his book.

It is very conspicuous in the transliteration of the numerous stanzas quoted from the *Rigveda*. These are printed without diacritical marks, without accents, nearly always without Sandhi, while words are occasionally omitted, or wrongly substituted for others, or are not separated. These combined defects often go so far as to render a passage utterly unintelligible and to necessitate reference to the Devanāgarī edition of the text for enlightenment. Here are a few examples : *urvim gavyutim abhoyam kridhinah* (for *urvīm gavyūtīm ābhayaṃ kṛdhī nah*) ; *ushav ucchat apa sridhah* (for *uśā ucchad āpa sṛidhaḥ*) ; *apa tyā tayavoh yatha nakṣatraḥ yanti uktibhiḥ* (for *āpa tyē tāyāvo yathā | nāksatrā yanti aktūbhiḥ*) ; *vivarthayantim vhuvanāni vishva* (for *vivartāyantīm bhūvanāni vīśvā*) ; *vairat agni dideehi* (for *revād agne didīhi*) ; *tamasha antah* (for *tāmaso 'ntāḥ*) (p. 55).

The same carelessness appears in single Vedic words mentioned throughout the book ; thus *Shunahshwepa* twice (p. 94) stands for *Śunahśepa* ; *Bharadvāja* becomes *Varadvāja* (p. 6) ; *Druhyu* constantly appears as *Druhya*, the *Druhys* become the *Druhsus* (p. 34), and the *Trtsus* the *Tristus* (p. 30)* or *Tristsus* (p. 32). The river *Śutudrī* is variously mentioned as the *Satudri* (p. 25), *Satadru* (p. 3), and *Satadri* (p. 10) ; the river *Paruṣṇī* is at least five times called the *Purushni* (pp. 3, 28, 35, 36). The *Ārjikiyā* becomes the *Arjikia* (p. 3) or the *Arjakia* (p. 12), and is identified with the *Vipās*, the modern *Biās*—an improbable conjecture. The *Bipas* (*Vipās*) itself is said to be the *Ravi* (p. 21), which is really the *Paruṣṇī*. This he himself elsewhere (p. 3) admits, when he identifies it with the *Irāvatī* (i.e. the *Ravi*).

Mr. Dutt is careless in regard to the meaning of Vedic words, even common ones ; thus (p. 94) he translates the infinitive *ānu étave* “to go repeatedly”, and bases an argument on this sense ; but there is absolutely no reason to give this compound verb any but its natural and invariable meaning of “to go after or along”, “to follow” (a path). In many other cases he seems to be quite ignorant of the results of

research in regard to the meanings of Vedic words ; thus he translates *pārāvata-ghnī* as “destroyer of both banks”, and *vadhrivāc* as “garrulous”. Of the latter word he says : “in the Rig-veda the word *vadhrivachah* ‘garrulous’ has always been applied to the non-Aryans.” As a fact this word occurs only once in the *Rigveda*, and is there (vii, 18, 9) only applied to “enemies” (*amitrān*). Even if it did mean “garrulous”, how could this possibly prove that these enemies were non-Aryans ? These non-Aryans were, Mr. Dutt thinks, *Śruta* (*śruta*), *Kavaśa* (*Kavaṣa*), *Bridha* (*vr̥ddha*), *Druhya* (*Druhya*), and *Ayu* (?), a list which he enumerates several times (p. 34, etc.). But what reason has he to suppose that *śruta* here does not mean “famous” and *vr̥ddha* “old” ? And where is *Ayu* in this connexion to be found in the text of this hymn ? Can *Anu* possibly be meant ? But even if all these five are proper names, how is it, supposing them to belong to non-Aryans, that they are apparently all Sanskrit ? Again, *Kavaṣa* occurs only once in the *Rigveda*, and (as a singular) the name of an Aryan man, not even of a tribe.

This review may be thought much too long for so small a book. It is, however, only a somewhat detailed criticism that can show how foolish it is for students of the *Rigveda* who do not possess the necessary philological equipment to engage prematurely in “research” which they may otherwise delude themselves into thinking is “historical”, and how little value there can be in scholarship which lacks the fundamental qualities of consistency and exactness.

A. A. MACDONELL.

TALES OF THE SAINTS OF PANDHARPUR. By C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O. Humphrey Milford Publisher. Oxford University Press. 1919.

This is a translation of some short notices of Mahratta saints, who lived in a sacred town in the Sholapur district of the Bombay Presidency. The originals were written in the Mahratta language by a poet named Mahapati, who belonged

to Ahmadnagar. Some of the notices are interesting, but they do not appear to be genuine folklore or to be of great antiquity, for Mahapati was born in 1715, and we are not told where he got his facts. The introduction by Mr. Kincaid contains an interesting account of Mahapati. Some of the saints described were not Mahrattas, and apparently had little or no connexion with Pandharpur. For instance, we have notices of the weaver Kabir, who belonged to Northern India and was by birth a Muhammadan, and of Jayadeva, who was a native of Bīrbhūm. Of Kabir, who was so catholic in his sympathies that both Brahmans and Sunnis wanted to perform his funeral rites, there is a short notice in Abu-l-fazl's *Ayīn Akbari* (Jarrett's translation). Jayadeva, though apparently a Bengali, is claimed by Mahapati to have been a native of Orissa (p. 18). The mixture of saints from various parts of India in native hagiologies is interesting, as showing that after all there is, and always has been, a bond of unity between the inhabitants of Bhāratavarsha. In Greece the bond was the Olympic games, in India it was the pilgrimages. In spite of the affected contempt of northern Indians for the people of the Gangetic Delta, some Bengali saints are held in high honour all over India. Saints, both Hindu and Muhammadan, are great wanderers. One Bengali settled in the Maldives and another in Sylhet.

Though there is a wearisome sameness in most of the stories, arising, perhaps, from the fact that they are all the production of one man, one or two have characteristic features. Thus, in the story of Bhamdas and Ramaraj, which is connected with the famous city of Vijayanagar, there is a trait which reminds us of the Christian Gospels. Ramaraj, who was the last king of Vijayanagar, and who fell at Talikota in 1565, was wroth with Bhamdas for an alleged act of theft, and ordered him to be impaled. The guards took him away, and, just as Jesus Christ was compelled to carry His cross, so was Bhamdas made to bear on his shoulder the massive stake on which he was to be tortured. But a miracle occurred as soon as the

post was driven into the ground ! The wood threw out leafy branches, and on these appeared ripe fruits and fragrant flowers (p. 42).

H. BEVERIDGE.

September 23, 1920.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE, 1918-19 and 1919-20. Vol. I, Pts. 1 and 2. 8vo. Poona, 1919-20.

“The object of this Institute,” says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his masterly Inaugural Address, which is printed as the first paper in these *Annals*, “is to promote, among its members, a spirit of inquiry into the history of our country—literary, social, and political—and also to afford facilities to outsiders engaged in the same pursuit.” If one may judge from the *Annals* now before us, this object is in a fair way to be fulfilled, for the papers contained in them are generally scholarly and instructive. In Part 1 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar’s Inaugural Address, full of sound criticism and wise guidance, is followed by a note by Mr. K. B. Pathak in support of his view that Śākaṭāyana composed the Amōgha-vṛtti under Amōgha-varṣa I; a translation of M. Sylvain Lévi’s paper on the phrase *tatō jayam udīrayēt*; Dr. V. S. Sukthankar’s important essay, “On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings” (i.e. the Sātavāhanas), which he locates to the west of the Āndhra-dēśa and in the neighbourhood of Bellary; a translation of Professor Meillet’s article on the root *luh*; “An Attempt to determine the Meanings of certain Vedic Words,” by Mr. V. K. Rajwade, who discusses *āhanas*, *viḥāyas*, *kṛpā*, *mēhanā*, *citra*, and *sasni*; a paper by Dr. Sukthankar on the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros, in which he makes some corrections of the text, and ingeniously accounts for the unusual order of the Prakrit words by the supposition that they were translated word-for-word from Greek; and a study of the chronology of the late Imperial Guptas by Mr. R. D. Banerji. Part 2 contains: “The History and Significance of Upamā,” by Mr. V. S. Sowani, an

interesting study of the technical term *upamā* from Vedic times; "Puṣyamitras in Gupta Period," by Mr. H. R. Divekar, who makes the plausible emendation *yudhy = amitrāmś = ca* (alas, shockingly misprinted on p. 101) for Dr. Fleet's reading *Puṣyamitrāmś = ca* in CIG. iii, p. 55; a "Comparison of the Bhāṣyas of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Kēśavakaśmīrin, and Vallabha on some crucial Sūtras", by Mr. R. D. Karmarkar; "The Organism of the Muslim State under the Caliphs," by Dr. S. Khuda Bukhsh; a report by Mr. N. B. Utgikar on the work being done at the Bhandarkar Institute in the critical examination of the Devanāgarī recension of the Mahābhārata for the projected Pant Pratinidhi edition, in which he gives some noteworthy results of the comparison of the MSS. of the Sabhā-parva; and "The Sañjamamañjarī of Mahēsarasūri", by Dr. P. D. Gune, who gives us the text of a little Apabhraṁśa poem on Jain morals with its Sanskrit *chāyā* and some grammatical notes. There is likewise much of interest in the reviews and notices and the miscellaneous and editorial notes. With so much good material it is to be regretted that in technical "get-up" these *Annals* leave something to be desired. The proof-reading has not always been as rigorous as it should be; and the neglect to use the signs of length over long words in transliterated Sanskrit words has sometimes led to deplorable results in Part 1, from which Dr. Sukthankar has been the chief sufferer.¹ Otherwise the *Annals* are full of promise.

L. D. BARNETT.

THE DREAM QUEEN : a Translation of the Svapnavasavadatta of Bhasa. By A. G. SHIRREFF and PANNA LALL. 12mo; pp. v, 55. Allahabad : Indian Press. 1918.

This little book contains a rendering in English blank verse of the first of the interesting old dramas published by

¹ An awful example of this is seen on p. 62, where he is made to assert that the last word of l. 3 of the Besnagar inscription is and is not *Takhasilakena*. Lack of Greek type, too, has compelled Dr. Sukthankar to transliterate Greek sentences into roman, and with these the printers have played havoc.

Pandit Ganapati Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in 1912 foll. The alleged authorship of Bhāsa, on which I have already expressed my opinion in the columns of this Journal, is accepted by the translators in unquestioning faith, with all its consequences. Their version will certainly be useful in introducing readers who have little or no Sanskrit to a fine old play on a typically Indian theme. As their rendering is in verse, it is necessarily paraphrastic, and so *pallava-grāhi* criticism as regards its verbal accuracy in details is disarmed. Something, however, may be said about its general literary character. The original play consists of lively prose dialogue in Sanskrit and dialect, interspersed with spirited stanzas; and for this Mr. Shirreff, who takes upon himself the responsibility for the versification, has substituted blank verse throughout. He may claim the same credit as the Aristophanic Euripides :—

ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τέ μοι χῶ δοῦλος οὐδέν ἦπτον
χῶ δεσπότης χῆ παρθένος χῆ γραῦς ἄν,

to which, though we will not make the same retort as does Æschylus in the play, we must reply that the effect is distinctly monotonous. Mr. Shirreff gives us poetry of limited liability : his muse is inspired by no Bacchic fervour to fly to the mountain-tops, but walks slowly and cautiously along the plains. Such a course has its disadvantages for the reader.

L. D. BARNETT.

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHAN. By Lieut.-Col.
JAMES TOD. Edited by WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E., D.Sc.
Three vols. Oxford University Press, 1920.

Tod's great work on Rājputāna has long ago taken rank as a classic, and its enduring value is unquestioned; yet to the present generation of readers it is rather an object of veneration than a familiar friend. This is due partly to its prolixity (the edition under review runs to over 1,900 pages),

but mainly to the fact that the original issue (1829-32) has long been scarce and expensive, while no satisfactory reprint has been available. The enterprise of the Oxford University Press has removed this difficulty, and we have now just such an edition as was wanted—at once handy, complete, and scholarly. For Dr. Crooke's editing no praise can be too high. His only interference with the text consists in modernizing the spelling of names and in substituting more correct translations in the case of quotations from such works as Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*. His own notes are succinct and apt, and lend the reader invaluable assistance by pointing out where Tod has fallen into error or where his statements have been corrected by later discoveries. An introduction of twenty pages gives an account of the author's life and an estimate of the merits and defects of his work. All the illustrations (the originals of which are mostly in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society) have been reproduced, of course on a smaller scale; while five fresh ones have been provided, including three portraits of the author. One of these—an Indian drawing showing Tod at work on his book with his Jain Guru—is of special interest.

W. F.

LES GROTTES DE TOUEN-HOUANG. Peintures et Sculptures bouddhiques des époques des Wei, des T'ang et des Song. By PAUL PELLIOU. Paris: Geuthner. Vol. I, 1914; Vol. II, 1920.

It is somewhat disconcerting to have the task of reviewing a book of which only the pictures have yet appeared. Two portfolios, containing 128 plates, comprise this the first instalment of the reported investigations of the Mission Pelliot in Central Asia. The first portfolio (or volume) is prefaced with two short notices by M. Pelliot and a plan; but the plates bear no descriptive label beyond one identifying the grotto to which each belongs, and, until the publication of the text, the reader must possess himself in

patience for the author's commentary on and explanation of the scenes portrayed and the chronological order of their execution. That the completed work will be of the highest importance the author's distinguished reputation is sufficient warranty.

Meanwhile all can admire the technical excellence of the photographs reproduced and the intrinsic beauty of the designs; the student of Buddhist iconography can find plenty of problems to tackle; and the art critic can exercise his judgment in attempting to trace in true sequence the progress of Chinese religious painting through six centuries of its greatest splendour.

The itinerary of the Mission Pelliot took three years to complete. More than a third of that time, from February, 1907, to May, 1908, was spent at Tun-huang. It is common knowledge that this town and oasis on the edge of the desert of Lop has figured in the accounts of other explorations made during the previous thirty years; but the Mission Pelliot was the first to carry out a detailed and systematic examination of the frescoes and images existing in a series of grottoes, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, cut in the side of a cliff distant from the town nine miles to the south-east.

Since the beginning of its history some 2,000 years ago, Tun-huang has passed through many vicissitudes. As mentioned in chapter 123 of the *Shih Chi*, it formed part of the territory of the Ta Yüeh-chih till they were conquered and displaced by the Hsiung-nu in the middle of the second century B.C. A few years later the successful campaigns of the Emperor Wu Ti added it to the Chinese Empire. For a short while at the beginning of the fifth century it was the capital of the Western Liang. The Tibetans captured it towards the end of the eighth century, but soon it was regained by China. Some 500 years after that the great Mongol invasion swept over it, and within the last fifty years its inhabitants were decimated by the Mahomedan rebellion.

To the present day Tun-huang remains the westernmost outpost of China proper, standing as it does on the furthest edge of the projection of Kansu, where that province and Eastern Turkestan meet. Through it has always passed the great highway between China and the West, and hence it is that this small place figures so largely in Chinese history. Many great travellers are associated with Tun-huang: Chang Ch'ien, Fa Hsien, Hsüan Tsang, and Marco Polo are perhaps the best known to us. The shrines mentioned in the travels of the two last are doubtless those represented in the portfolios under review. Probably, of course, it is committing an anachronism to connect Chang Ch'ien with Tun-huang as a settlement of that name; for it was not colonized by Chinese till twenty-seven years after he started on his mission. But we learn from the *Shih Chi* that he set forth from Lung-hsi and crossed the territory of the Hsiung-nu, and therefore it seems likely that he followed the route subsequently used by the army under Li Kuang-li in 104 B.C. and by other expeditions about that time.

M. Pelliot's promised account of the history of the oasis apart from the grottoes will be looked forward to with keen interest. Enough has been said here to indicate the peculiar significance of Tun-huang as the meeting-place of Chinese and foreign cultures; indeed, through it lay the path of China's communication with all outside civilizations during many centuries of her early authentic history. Chinese, Greco-Indian, and Irānian elements are found mingled in the wonderful frescoes adorning the walls of its cave-temples; but the several elements have become welded together and sinicized, and here is to be seen an unrivalled array of Chinese Buddhist art at its zenith displayed through a less trammelled and more sympathetic medium than that used in the examples upon which our knowledge of Buddhist art under the Wei, T'ang, and Sung has hitherto had mainly to depend, apart from the paintings brought from the same place by Sir Aurel Stein. For the brush is *par excellence* the tool of Chinese artistic expression, and far transcends the sculptor's chisel.

I have hinted that Gandhāran influence is visible in the frescoes of Tun-huang. The nimbus, figure drapery, and Apollo-like countenance that characterize the Gandhāran school are all to be seen, though not to the exclusion of other foreign types. There is, for example, a version of Amitābha in essentially Indian form with bared right shoulder (plate 84) side by side with other scenes exhibiting pronounced Hellenistic features. The influence of Gandhāra is a strong one; but the artists who decorated the caves were not merely reproducers of a foreign tradition. The plastic may be foreign, yet the religious inspiration is often Chinese, in so far as it arises from a form of Buddhism which underwent special development and elaboration in the land of its adoption. Thus a subject several times represented is Ching-t'u, the Sukhāvati paradise presided over by O-mi-to (Amitābha). It is doubtful whether Amitābha appeared at all in the Gandhāran sculptures. The promise of a future life of bliss in the Pure Land or Western Paradise of O-mi-to is a Mahāyānist doctrine, though, as the author of *Buddhist China* has pointed out, some of its elements can be traced to Hīnayānist origins. Visions called up by this development of Buddhism—a religion of salvation by faith—powerfully stimulated Chinese artists to lavish their genius on depicting the merciful compassion of a personal deity and the glories of the promised heaven accessible to all. He is shown surrounded by saints amid literal representations of those transcendent beauties and sensuous delights of his realm that are described with such wealth of detail and imagination in the *Large* and *Small Sukhāvati-vyūha* and the *Amitāyera-dhyāna* sūtras. But even in this and in other subjects of devotional worship the artists have refrained in some particulars from repeating foreign formulæ. Musicians play on instruments which, except the harp, are of ancient Chinese kinds, and architectural forms are almost entirely Chinese.

The copying of foreign models stops when the figures are not objects of actual worship. Thus episodes in the life of

Buddha are shown in frankly sinicized form. Lay scenes commemorating the donors of certain shrines provide not only magnificent examples of purely native art during this early period, but unique documents of peculiar archæological value. Here, at anyrate, we may find the national tradition untouched by outside influence.

It is satisfactory to learn from M. Pelliot that the subjects of the scenes and the dates of their execution are established by accompanying inscriptions. The publication of the completed account of the grottoes of Tun-huang will be an event of supreme importance to all students of Far Eastern art.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

SHORT NOTICES OF SOME RECENT BOOKS ON PERSIAN SUBJECTS

The Secretary of the R.A.S. having requested me to notice briefly the most important books connected with Persia which have recently come under my notice, I select the nine following—two in English, two in French, four in German, and one in Persian. Of these, four deal with literary topics, two with economics, and one with philosophy, while two are *Festschriften* of miscellaneous contents. I shall consider them in this order.

I. LITERATURE

(1) *Firdawsí and the Sháh-náma*

Twenty-four years ago Professor Nöldeke contributed to Geiger and Kuhn's great encyclopædia of Persian philology and literature, the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, the article entitled "Das Iranische Nationalepos", which has ever since remained the last word on all matters connected with the Persian epic and its final expression, the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí. Although the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century has impaired neither the freshness nor the accuracy of this masterly monograph, and though few fresh materials except Hermann Zotenberg's edition and translation of

ath-Tha'álíbí's account of the ancient kings of Persia¹ in his *Kitābu'l-Ghurar* were available, Professor Nöldeke, at an age when most scholars of so great a reputation are content to rest on their laurels, has entirely revised and rewritten it, with considerable additions and modifications, and the new edition, the preface to which was written in Karlsruhe last July, has now been published, by the aid of the Heidelberg Academy, at Berlin and Leipzig. On the special difficulties and discouragements surrounding the completion of this work, at which the author hints in his preface, it is needless to enlarge; they are patent to all who are acquainted with the circumstances, and do but increase our admiration for the indomitable courage and untiring devotion to learning which have triumphed over all obstacles and placed us all under a fresh obligation to one whose achievements are surpassed by no living Orientalist.

(2) *Early Persian Poetry from the beginnings down to the time of Firdawsí*

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University is well known to all students of Persian by his admirable work on *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, and by several accounts of his travels in Persia and the neighbouring countries in 1903, 1907, 1910, and 1918. The present work, published this year by the Macmillan Company, New York, comprises, besides prefatory matter, ten chapters, of which the first deals with "Persian Poetry of Ancient Days" (600 B.C.—A.D. 650), and the remainder with post-Islamic poetry from the dawn of the Persian Renaissance to Firdawsí. The author follows the late Dr. Ethé (of whose diligent compilations on the work of the early Persian poets he has made good use) in accepting as genuine the *qasída* said to have been composed by 'Abbás of Merv on the occasion of al-Ma'mún's visit to that city in A.D. 809, but the scepticism of Kazimirski in this matter still

¹ Paris, 1900.

seems to me to be justified. The verses ascribed to Hanzala of Bádghís on p. 19 are, on the other hand, almost certainly genuine, so that we may safely place the beginnings of post-Islamic Persian poetry at least as early as A.D. 850. As regards Shahíd of Balkh (pp. 24-6), there seems some reason for identifying him with a philosopher who, as we learn from the *Fihrist* and al-Qiftí's *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamá*, became involved in a somewhat violent controversy with the great physician Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rázi. Professor Williams Jackson has given fresh verse-translations of all the poems which he cites, some of which are very felicitous. This little volume (it comprises only 125 pages) forms an admirable introduction to the study of the older Persian poetry, and gains much by the author's familiarity with the ancient literature of Zoroastrian Persia, a realm too often closed to the student of the later language and literature.

(3) *Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmi*

The great mystical Mathnawí (*Mathnawí-i-Ma'naví*) deserves the title of "the *Qur'án* in the Pahlawí (i.e. Persian) language" which the Persians have assigned to it; it is the most profound, if not the most beautiful, poem in Persian, and its author, the founder of the Order of Mevleví (Mawlawí) or so-called "Dancing Dervishes", is one of the greatest mystical poets of the world. The best extant biography of him and his predecessors and successors is the *Manáqibu'l-'Árifin*, composed in the first half of the fourteenth century of our era by Shamsu'd-Dín Aḥmad Aflákí. This book remains unpublished, and MSS. are not very common: there are two in the British Museum,¹ and another, besides a later abridgement, in the Library of the India Office.² The late Sir James Redhouse published an English translation of selected extracts from this work, entitled by him "Acts of the Adepts", as an introduction to his translation of Book i of the *Mathnawí*

¹ See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 344-5.

² See Ethé's *Catalogue*, cols. 257-60.

(Trübner, 1881), but since that time no further work seems to have been done on the book until M. Clément Huart conceived the happy idea of publishing a complete French translation of it made from a MS. in his own library transcribed in A.D. 1608. Of this translation the first volume, entitled *Les Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, was published by Leroux of Paris in 1918. It contains the first three of the ten chapters into which the book is divided, including the longest and most important (chap. iii, pp. 59-375), dealing with Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí himself. M. Huart has treated the book, as he himself says (p. iii), less from the point of view of history than from that of psychology, and he has prefixed to it a short but excellent table of the different psychic phenomena (dreams, premonitions, second sight, telepathy, etc.) mentioned in the course of the work, thus following the excellent precedent set by D. M. Macdonald in his luminous *Religious Attitude and Life in Islám* (Chicago, 1909). It is earnestly to be hoped that M. Huart may complete the work which he has undertaken.

(4) *Shaykh Sa'dí of Shíráz*

To M. Henri Massé, Docteur es-Lettres et Chargé de Cours à la Faculté des Lettres (Alger), we are indebted for a copious and careful study of the most popular and widely read of all Persian writers entitled *Essai sur le poète Saadi* (Geuthner, Paris, 1919). The first chapter (pp. 3-102) deals with his life; the second (pp. 103-30) with his works and the printed edition of them published at Calcutta in 1791; and these two chapters constitute the first part of the book. The second part consists of four chapters entitled respectively "l'Homme Social" (pp. 135-164), "l'Honnête Homme" (pp. 165-221), "l'Observation du Monde extérieur" (pp. 222-236), and "les Moyens d'expressions" (pp. 237-256), followed by a Conclusion (pp. 257-268), an excellent and most useful Bibliography (pp. iii-liv), and an appendix showing the indebtedness to Sa'dí of European men of letters from La Fontaine onwards (pp. livi-lvii). This last, which contains

matter that will be new to many Persians scholars, does not profess to be complete, but only to offer "isolated examples tending to prove Sa'di's fame in Europe". The whole book is very well done, showing industry, judgment, grasp, orderly method, and a sane and well-balanced criticism, and is one of the best monographs on a great Persian poet and writer which have been produced in recent years. It is hard to better Renan's summary of the qualities to which Sa'di owes his wide and enduring popularity, quoted on p. lvii of the Appendix: "Saadi est vraiment un des nôtres. Son inaltérable bon sens, le charme et l'esprit qui animent ses narrations, le ton de raillerie indulgente avec lequel il censure les vices et les travers de l'humanité, tous ces mérites, si rares en Orient, nous le rendent cher. On croit lire un moraliste latin ou un railleur du xvi^e siècle."

II. ECONOMICS

From Berlin come the two following notable books, one in German and one in Persian, dealing with economic and incidentally with political conditions in Persia.

- (5) *Persien von der "Pénétration pacifique" zum "Protektorat"*: *Urkunden und Tatsachen zur Geschichte der europäischen "Pénétration pacifique" in Persien, 1860-1919*, von Wilhelm Litten (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920).

The author, as he informs us in his Introduction, had begun to prepare this book some six months before the outbreak of the War, the vicissitudes of which carried him from Tabriz by Mosul to Baghdád, thence back to Tihrán by way of Kirmánsháh, thence through Aleppo to Germany and the Western Front, where he was wounded on the Somme and brought as a prisoner of war to London, whence he presently found his way by exchange to his own country. Circumstances, he implicitly admits, have rendered the questions treated in his book of less immediate practical importance to his country than he hoped and anticipated when he began it, but they have not affected the objective value of a very

careful and systematic study of the concessions obtained and the commercial enterprises undertaken by the various European Powers in Persia during the last sixty years.

The book comprises three parts and a conclusion, preceded by a full table of contents and illustrated by twelve maps. The first part (pp. 2-222) treats of foreign undertakings, concessions, and investments in Persia, to wit, those of England (pp. 2-109); Russia (pp. 110-190); Greece (pp. 191-4); France (pp. 195-206); Belgium (pp. 207-214); other States (pp. 215-216), *viz.* Austria, Italy, Holland, Turkey, America, and Switzerland; and Germany (pp. 217-222). The second part (pp. 225-348) contains remarks on the political and economic situation in Persia; while the third (pp. 350-396) deals with the possibilities and prospects for German enterprises in that country. This last part (chs. 65-71) was already written in February, 1914, six months before the outbreak of war; two additional chapters (72 and 73), constituting the *Schlusswort*, were added after its conclusion. The first of these deals with Persian Nationalism, Persian Islám, and the protection of German rights in Persia; the second with Persian politics since the Armistice and the Anglo-Persian Agreement of August 9, 1919, the text of which, in English, with the correspondence connected therewith, forms an Appendix. Herr Litten's book is the most important contribution to the economic history of Persia since the publication at Rome twenty years ago of Lorini's *La Persia Economica contemporanea e la sua questione monetaria*.

(6) *Ganj-i-Sháyagán*, by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamál-záda
(Káwa Press, Berlin, 1335/1916-17)

گنج شایگان یا اوضاع اقتصادی ایران باهتمام مخصوص
آقای سید محمد علی جمال زاده (از سلسله انتشارات
اداره "كاوه": برلین ۱۳۳۵)

This well-arranged and beautifully printed volume of more than 200 quarto pages is a good specimen of the modern practical handbooks which, under the pressure of fifteen agitated and eventful years, young Persia, no longer content with philosophical speculations and mystical reveries, is beginning to produce. In fifteen sections it deals with such matters as the physical geography of Persia, her commerce, imports, exports, customs, roads, transport, mines, arts and crafts, improvements (especially agriculture and forestry), new enterprises, expenditure, revenue, the Budget, coins, weights and measures, posts and telegraphs, and life and current prices in Tihrán. An appendix contains an account of Persian commerce during the years A.H. 1331-2 (A.D. 1913-14) and during the years of the War, and a history of some of Persia's treaties and agreements with Foreign Powers. A good index and several maps and tables complete a very useful and well-produced work.

III. PHILOSOPHY

- (7) *The Secrets of the Self* (Asrār-i-Khudī) by Sheikh Muḥammad Iqbāl, translated from the original Persian with Introduction and Notes by Reynold A. Nicholson, Litt.D., LL.D. (1920).

It is a sufficient testimony to the originality of the surprising philosophical doctrine embodied in this poem that Dr. Nicholson, the greatest living authority on the Súfi mysticism to which it stands in such violent antagonism, should have deemed it worth translating and explaining. Muḥammad Iqbāl came to Europe some fifteen years ago to pursue his philosophical studies at Cambridge and Munich, and in 1908 published his valuable dissertation on the development of metaphysics in Persia. He has since then evolved a philosophy of his own, which, as Dr. Nicholson says (p. x), "owes much to Nietzsche and Bergson" and very little to the Neo-Platonists and their Eastern successors. Yet it is by no means a Western philosophy, but rather a philosophical Pan-Islamism, designed to cure the ills of quietism, self-

suppression, and pantheism, which, according to the author's view, have emasculated the adherents of the once virile doctrine of the Arabian Prophet. "His message," says Dr. Nicholson, "is not for the Mohammedans of India alone, but for Moslems everywhere; accordingly he writes in Persian instead of Hindustani—a happy choice, for amongst educated Moslems there are many familiar with Persian literature, while the Persian language is singularly well adapted to express philosophical ideas in a style at once elevated and charming." The poem itself is modelled on the *Mathnawī* of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, for whom, in spite of his mysticism and quietism, Muḥammad Iqbāl has a great admiration, though of Ḥāfiẓ he uttered a harsh judgment (omitted in the second edition of the poem) which caused anger and consternation in many literary circles in India. The book is not only remarkable in itself, but may, as Dr. Nicholson implies, have far-reaching effects on Muslim thought and character, while the English prose rendering has all the grace and felicity which we are accustomed to expect from the translator.

IV. TWO FESTSCHRIFTS

In the spring of 1916 two great German Orientalists, Professors Nöldeke and Andreas, celebrated respectively their 80th and 70th birthdays, which in each case served as the occasion of a *Festschrift* in their honour produced by such of their colleagues and disciples as were not prevented by the calamities of those fateful days from contributing their tribute of respect.

(8) *Festgabe für Theodor Nöldeke zum achtzigsten Geburtstage* (Göttingen, den 2 März, 1916)

The contributors to this volume are F. C. Andreas ("Vier persische Etymologien"), C. H. Becker ("Das Reich der Ismaeliten im koptischen Danielbuch"), C. Bezold ("Abbā Gabra Manfas Qeddus"), I. Goldziher ("Über Ijmā'"), M. Lidzbarski ("Neue Götter"), E. Littmann ("Anredeformen in erweiterter Bedeutung"), and K. Sethe ("Spuren

der Perserherrschaft in der späteren ägyptischen Sprache"). The first and last articles are of especial interest to the student of Persian.

(9) *Festschrift Friedrich Carl Andreas zur Vollendung des Siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 14 April, 1916*

Fourteen scholars have contributed to this volume, and half a dozen of the articles are more or less directly connected with the languages or literature of Persia. Two (by Geiger and Lommel) are concerned with the Avesta; one (by Larsen), illustrated by two plates, with Scandinavian imitations of Sásanian designs in tapestry; one (by A. Bertholet) on the question of the relation between Jewish and Persian beliefs concerning the Resurrection; one (by Christensen) on the traces of the legend of Manu in the Iranian national epic; and one (by Enno Littmann) on the legend of the angels Hárút and Márút so often met with in Persian literature. The volume concludes (pp. 137-42) with a brief but valuable article entitled "Beiträge zu einer Andreas Bibliographie", by Johan Eyser, extending over the years 1859-1916.

E. G. BROWNE.

The Kurmanji Grammar by Major E. B. Soane, C.B.E., seems likely to be of great value to students, but unfortunately there appears to be no Englishman save the author who is sufficiently conversant with the subject to review the book.

OBITUARY NOTICE

James Drummond Anderson

WITHIN the last few months this Society has lost some of its most valued members. In our July number we mourned the loss of our Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Kennedy ; in the October number that of one of our Vice-Presidents, Sir Charles Lyall ; and now, again, it has to record the death, on the 24th November, 1920, less than a fortnight after the completion of his 68th year, of one of the members of its Council, Dr. Anderson.

The son of a doctor in the service of the East India Company, he was born in Calcutta, and was sent home, later than is now usual, at the age of 7. As was natural, he could at that time speak Bengali fluently, and that was, no doubt, the main reason for the intimate knowledge of that language possessed by him in later years. He was educated at Cheltenham and Rugby, and passed the Indian Civil Service examination in 1873, obtaining the highest marks among all the candidates for his English essay—a foretoken of the limpid English style of which in later years he was a master. His early service was spent in Bengal, but in 1880 he was transferred to Assam, where he passed through the various grades of District work, and also acted as Inspector-General of Police and, for a year, as an Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. In 1894 he returned to Bengal and served first as Collector and then as Commissioner of Chittagong, whence he returned to England for good in 1898, retiring in 1900. He was appointed teacher of Bengali at Cambridge in 1907, in which post he continued till his death, being given the honorary degree of M.A. in 1909, and later proceeding to the higher degree of Litt.D.

Besides being a master of more than one Oriental language, he was an excellent French scholar, had studied at the Paris University, and had even lectured in French at the Institute. His learning and charm of manner in no small way helped to strengthen that Entente between English and French Orientalists which has been lately so happily cemented by the joint meetings of the two Asiatic Societies in London and Paris.

We have seen that nearly the whole of his Indian official career was devoted to the work of a District Officer, a position which of all others gives the fullest opportunities for learning to understand and appreciate the people amid whom a man's lot may be cast. In Anderson's case this resulted in a series of works of great value on the customs and languages of the Tibeto-Burman inhabitants of Assam. In 1885 there appeared what he modestly called *A Short List of Words of the Hill Tippera Language*, which was really an excellent comparative vocabulary of that form of speech and of Lushei and Bodo. This was followed, ten years later, by his best-known work, a delightful *Collection of Kachārī Folktales and Rhymes* (1895), and, in the following year, by his Vocabulary of the almost unknown Aka language.

But his greatest affection was for the tongue he had learned in his childhood. After his return from Assam to Bengal he brought out, in 1897, an admirable collection of proverbs and sayings in the Chittagong dialect of Bengali,¹ and all his subsequent writings on Oriental forms of speech were devoted to that language.

He became a member of this Society in the same year that he went to Cambridge, and since then the pages of our Journal have been enriched by many contributions on difficult points of Bengali grammar, idiom, and prosody. He kept up a frequent correspondence with the literary circle in Bengal,

¹ *Some Chittagong Proverbs*, compiled as an example of the dialect of the Chittagong District (Calcutta, 1897).

of which Sir Rabindranath Tagore is an illustrious member, and took an active part in revealing to English readers of the *Times*, the *Spectator*, and other newspapers of this country the merits, and in justly criticizing the defects, of modern Bengali writings. Conversely, by his contributions to the *Englishman*, the *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and other Anglo-India periodicals, he helped to keep India in touch with the English and French points of view in regard to Indian subjects.

In 1913 he wrote for the Cambridge Press a short work on Indian ethnology, entitled *The People of India*, and a few months before his death he inaugurated the Cambridge Guides to modern languages with his *Manual of the Bengali Language*.¹ No work illustrates his mastery of this difficult form of speech more than the latter. Previous writers had founded their accounts on the works of their predecessors, each adding his own additions and corrections. But Anderson broke entirely new ground. He took the language as he found it in modern literature, and, without regard to theories of what Bengali ought to be, he described it as it is, with most illuminating results.

His home in Cambridge was a social centre where Indians and Europeans met on common ground and learned much from each other. Of many of the former he gained the warmest and truest affection. As one of them wrote to me on hearing of the news of his death, "his gentleness, sympathy, and kindness I shall never forget, and I do not know how to express my feelings of respect and gratitude for him."

The pages of a learned journal are hardly the place for an estimate of Anderson's personal character. But one who had the privilege of his friendship for many years may be allowed to remind its readers of qualities familiar to fellow-members of Council—of his charming, unselfish character, and of familiarity with his subjects, combined with a modesty too

¹ Reviewed on pp. 615 ff. of the *JRAS.* for October, 1920.

great to allow it to be appreciated by those who were less intimate. In a letter to the *Spectator* ¹ his old comrade Mr. Ritchie wrote: "At heart he was the most humorous, the most right-thinking, the most affectionate nature conceivable"; and to these words all who knew him will give the heartiest assent.

G. A. GRIERSON.

The Society has just lost one of its oldest members in the death of Dr. Codrington, Hon. Vice-President. An obituary notice will appear in the April Journal.

¹ December 4, 1920.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October–December, 1920)

The Council has elected Sir Henry Howorth as Vice-President in place of the late Sir Charles Lyall, and Dr. Gaster as the fourth Vice-President.

Mr. C. O. Blagden was elected Member of Council in place of Mr. Philby, who resigned on taking up an appointment in Mesopotamia, and Mr. W. P. Yetts in place of the late Dr. Anderson. The following 77 candidates were elected Members of the Society :—

Mr. W. Foxwell Albright, Ph.D.	Kunwar J. S. Gahlot.
Major C. H. Armbruster, M.A., C.B.E.	Mr. S. K. Ghosh.
Mr. F. Anderson.	Mr. V. T. Raja Gopala.
Rai Sahib B. N. Bannerjee.	Mr. B. M. Gwynn, M.A.
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Mr. B. Bhattacharya, M.A.	Mr. K. P. Guru.
Mr. A. K. Banerji, M.A., B.L.	Rev. G. S. Hitchcock, D.D., etc.
Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandara.	Mr. Md. Ghulam Hassan.
Mr. P. Basu.	Professor A. Hag.
Mr. H. Well-Blundell, M.A.	Mr. M. A. K. Haidari.
Mr. H. N. Bushia, B.A.	Lieut. H. E. Jagoe.
Rev. Canon Cooke.	Pandit Gopal Krishna, M.A.
M. Georges Coëdes.	Mr. Paul King.
Mr. H. C. Chakladar, M.A.	Mr. R. Levy.
Mr. Basanta K. Chatterjea.	Baba R. C. Maitra.
Mr. G. R. Driver, M.A.	Rev. J. Martin, Hon. C.F.
Jubraj Deo S. S. Deo of Jashpur.	Mr. O. B. Mathur, B.Sc.
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Mr. C. Lloyd Elgood.	Pandit Lakshmi Misra.
Mr. M. H. Ghorpaday.	Baba N. C. Nandi.
	Mr. B. N. Navagire, M.B.
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Rai Bahadur P.G. Nath, M.A.	Mr. A. K. Sharma.
Mr. V. M. Nawle.	Professor M. Sinha, B.A.
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Mr. C. C. Pothill.	Mr. Michael Sidersky, B.A.
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Dr. Suresh C. Ray, L.C., H.C.	Mr. M. J. Seth.
Pandit B. Rai.	Mr. W. G. Urdhwareshe, M.A.
Mr. S. Charan Rai, LL.B.	Mr. Sheoprasad Varma, M.A.
Mr. K. Ramachandra Rama- bhadran, B.A.	Mr. P. Bagchi Vidyabhusan, B.A.
Mr. P. Sirkar.	Mr. G. N. S. Vanna.
Babu G. Sarkar.	Major L. M. Yetts, M.C.
Ram Babu Saksena, M.A., LL.B.	Mr. David Yellin. Mr. Md. Yusuff, B.A.

Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah read a paper on November 9 entitled "Aurungzab Vindicated", and on December 14 Dr. R. A. Nicholson lectured on "Some Arabic Poets of the 'Abbasid Period".

On January 18 Miss H. C. Bowser gives a lantern lecture on "The Buddhist Temples of the Diamond Mountain of Korea"; February 8, Miss Houston speaks of her experiences among the Bolsheviks in Russian Turkestan; while on March 8 Mr. Lane (late of the South Persian Rifles) reads a paper on "Nomad Tribes" of South-West Persia; and on April 12 Mr. Levy tells of a journey from Baghdad to Tehran.

The Society offers its congratulations to Sir George Grierson, Vice-President of Council, on the distinction of Honorary LL.D. recently conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge.

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society has decided to advance the price of its publications, including the Journal and offprints therefrom, by 25 per cent to all persons who are not members of the Society. Members will pay the same special prices as hitherto for books already published if they buy them direct from the Society for their own use.

In order to avoid small odd amounts the nearest sixpence above the figure so arrived at (i.e. the old price plus 25 per cent) will be taken as the new price. Thus a book published at 7s. 6d. will be sold retail at 9s. 6d., not 9s. 4½d.

The Council has also decided to allow booksellers a uniform discount of 2d. in the shilling on all its publications. Non-members buying direct from the Society will pay the full retail price, or in the case of subscriptions to the Journal the full subscription.

The effect of the change will be to raise the retail price to non-members of single copies of the Journal from 12s. to 15s., and the trade price from 9s. to 12s. 6d.

For subscribers who are not members the rate for current annual sets will in future be £2 8s., whether the subscription is paid to a bookseller or direct to the Society, and the rate to the trade £2.

Offprints of papers in the Journal will in future be offered for sale at the following rates. Applications for offprints should be made as soon as possible after the article appears in the Journal to enable an order to be placed with the printers before the type is broken up. The printers have engaged to keep the type standing for three months for the purpose.

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Vol. xi, No. 1, March, 1920. No. 2, June, 1920.

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1921

PART II.—APRIL

Babylonian and Hebrew Musical Terms

(Paper read at the Oxford Folk Lore Society)

BY PROFESSOR S. LANGDON, M.A., OXFORD

IN the introduction to my *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* was derived, from early rubrics attached to Sumerian songs, the principle that the Sumerians classified their psalms and liturgical services chiefly by the names of the instruments employed in accompaniments. The Babylonians and the Assyrians adopted the Sumerian chants for their own sacred music, and throughout the history of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian temple music each psalm and liturgy was usually said to the accompaniment of a single instrument. The early Sumerian psalms usually have the title *eršemma* or melody to the flute. But the drum, *balag*, Syriac *pelaggā*, and the kettledrum, *liles*, Babylonian *lilissu*,¹ were freely employed in sacred music. The harp was also employed in early Sumer, as we know from a monument of Lagash, but the Sumerian and Babylonian name of the harp is unknown. The Sumerians classified their chants by the names of these instruments. I wish to call attention briefly to a remarkable catalogue of Assyrian psalms, liturgies, and popular songs which has been found at

¹ The *lilissu* was a kettledrum. The meaning is determined by a drawing of this instrument on a Babylonian tablet, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xiv, 145, reverse.

Assur and recently published by Ebeling, *Religiöse Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 158. This large tablet in eight columns begins by giving lists of Semitic liturgical series which were sung. Column iii of the obverse (which is fragmentary) continues with a list of Sumerian liturgies which are called *tegû* or flute songs. Each liturgy is called a series (*iškaratu*) and contains several songs (*zamaru*). For example, the summary of one section has "three series and 15 songs", that is each liturgy has on an average five psalms or melodies.¹ Most of the great liturgies which I have edited in my *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, and *Babylonian Liturgies* contain a much larger number of melodies, some attaining the high number of twenty-five.

The catalogue then gives the titles of five Sumerian psalms which comprise one liturgy (*iltāt iškaratu*).² The titles of these five psalms are as follows³:—

Col. iii, 32. *a-an-še*⁴ *me-zi-da*⁵ *gu-nam-a-ni*⁶






Why are the steadfast rituals changed?

33. *en-gal an-ki-eš maġ sag-gi-in-di-ib*

Great lord who in heaven and earth majestically advances.

¹ The titles of the liturgies sung to the flute in col. iii, 1-31, are not complete.

² Obv. iii, 37.

³ The transcription of the Sumerian is given in the list at the end of my *Sumerian Grammar*. I have changed my system with reference to a few signs for the sake of simplicity.  is rendered by *gāl*,  by *gīr*,  by *gūr*,  by *kur*, and  by *kūr*. A large number of new values now known since the list was prepared will be dealt with in the second edition.

⁴ Cf. *a-na-šû*, *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, 251, 27; *a-na-dš-ām*, why is it? Keiser, *Documents of the Ur Dynasty*, 116, 7. See *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 111.

⁵ *paṣṣu kinu*, Meek, No. 75, 7, in BA. x. Cf. *Liturgies and Psalms*, 263, 15.

⁶ Postfixed conjugation in an interrogative sentence. See *ibid.* 294, n. 9, *gu* for *kūr* = *nakūru*.

- Col. iii, 34. *en-gal maġ-gi-ib*¹ *di-im-gi-ir-e-ne*
Great lord magnifier of the gods.
35. *en na-an*² *su-ul-la ga*³ *li-im si-ga*
Lord of power full of devastation.
36. *an-nu u-ru-un-gal*⁴ *di-im-gi-ir-e-ne*
Anu high priest of the gods.

These five songs which composed a liturgy are called "Sumerian *a-da-pa*", that is Sumerian melodies for the instrument *adapa*, probably tambourine. An antiphon in a liturgy to Libit-Ishtar is called an *a-da-ap* to the god Anu,⁵ and the entire liturgy is called an *a-da-ap* to Anu in the final rubric.⁶ A similar liturgy in the cult of the deified Bur-Sin is also described as an *a-da-ap* to Anu.⁷ According to K. 4547, which restores V Raw. 32 B 61, *urud**a-da-pad* = *adapu* = *mazû*.⁸ *Adapu* is then a loan-word from *adapad* and an instrument with copper (*urud*) in its composition. *Mazû*, another name for this instrument, is a loan-word from *me-zû* = *mešû*,⁹ *manzû*.¹⁰ Once it has the determinative for leather,¹¹ and it is associated with the flute and drum.¹² The evidence points to an instrument of percussion, probably tambourine.

The titles of four Sumerian liturgies follow, but the

¹ Read *maġ-ti-ib* (?).

² For *nam*. *m* > *n* before a sibilant.

³ *ga* for *ġa*, which supports my statement that Sumerian possessed a velar sonant spirant *ġ*; see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 38.

⁴ Probably the original of *uru-gal* = *urigallu*, great brother, a kind of priest; cf. Meissner, *SAL*. 4588. This melody is employed in a liturgy to the deified king Libit-Ishtar; see *PSBA*. 1918, 74, 9, where read *u-ru-gal*.

⁵ *PSBA*. 1918, 74, 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79, 7.

⁷ Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to NIN-IB*, p. 54, 38.

⁸ This passage was ignored by Frank and Holma in their discussions of the *mešû* instrument; see *ZA*. 28, 159. Delitzsch cites K. 4547 on p. 27 of his *Handwörterbuch*.

⁹ Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, 79, 17.

¹⁰ Brünnow, No. 8907.

¹¹ Reisner, *SBH*. 72, R. 10.

¹² Langdon, *SBP*. 70, 15. *manzû ñ lilisi*, tambourine and kettledrum, *Shurpu*, iii, 79, restored from Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, No. 41, 34.

rubric which contained the name of the instrument on which they were accompanied is broken away; these four titles are well preserved, and I give a rendering of them here:—

- Col. iii, 40. *lu-gal dingir za-gi-na ta-al lu ra-aš-še*¹
 O king, bright god, wide-eared, lord of wisdom (?)
41. *en-ni ú-šum-gal di-im-gi-ir-e-ne*
 O lord, champion of the gods.
42. *nu-un-gal silim-raš-še lu ga-la-ak-ki*²
 O sage, counsellor of prosperity (?), mighty lord.
43. *egi sukkal gal-an-zu an-na me-e eš-še*
 Prince, wise messenger of heaven, adviser of decrees.

Line 44 is Semitic and is entered in the catalogue as the title of a melody. *pa-ki-id ma-lar ilu a-lid ilāni A-nun-na-ki ra-bu-ú-[ti]*, "He that watches before the divine begetter of the gods, the mighty Anunnaki."

Col. i of the reverse, which is fragmentary, contains a summary of various kinds of prayer, and ballads. This summary richly illuminates the rubrics of Babylonian and Hebrew liturgy.

The first legible section gave a number of songs for skilled workmen (*um-ma-ni*), by which the scribe probably refers to songs popular among craftsmen, not pertaining to the temple services. Then follows a number of *is-kar* or series called *maru mara imni*, "Son has recounted to son," by which the various series of wisdom literature are probably indicated. Then a number of series for the *mur-ta-mi*, the lover. Series of love-songs were as yet unknown. The last entry in this section has "a series for the shepherd, containing five songs (ditto = *zamāru*) of the shepherd". The three series of songs of

¹ *lu rašše* = *amel purussî* (?).

² For *kalaggi* = *dannu* (?).

wisdom, of love, and the shepherd songs are described as *akkadû*, Akkadian, that is Semitic. From this point the text runs as follows:—

Rev.

Col. i, 7. *na(?)*-*am-bal*¹ *e-gi šu-me-ru*, Meditation² on education (?) in Sumerian.

8. *te-gu-û*¹ *šu-me-ru*, song to the reed flute in Sumerian.

9. (So many)¹ Sumerian songs.

10. X + 2 Semitic songs.

11. X + 4 *za-ma-ru a-da-pu* (pl.), songs to the tambourine.

12. [. . .]¹ *sir-gid-da-meš*³ *šu-me-ru*, (so many) songs to the long flute (?) in Sumerian.

13. [. . .]¹ *sir-dingir-gal-la-šû šu-me-ru*, (so many) songs for the great gods in Sumerian.

14. 3 *ši-id-ru ša ib-bu-be*⁴ *Akkad-(ki)*, three recitations to the pipe in Semitic.

15. 2 *šidru ša pi-i-te Akkad-(ki)*, two recitations to the *pîtu* in Semitic.

In lines 14 and 15 occurs for the first time the musical term *šidru*, which is clearly not the word *šitru*, "writing." The word occurs on Rev. iv, 16, at the end of a list of Semitic prayers apparently addressed to Ea the god of incantation. This is the word which occurs in the prayer, IV R. 54, 34, *ši-id-ru ša E-a lišapših libbukka*, "May the *šidru* of the god Ea cause thy heart to repose." From the same root comes the word *mašdaru*, a kind of prayer,

¹ The number of these compositions is broken away at the left of the tablet.

² The rubric *bal-bal* occurs at the end of several Sumerian psalms, Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. 103, 55; PSBA. 1918, 82, 41; 85, 23; and an unpublished Nippur text (4589) has the rubric *bal-bal-e dInnini-kam*, a meditation of Innini.

³ Since *giš-sir* means *mîlîlu*, wood flute, it is probable that *sir-gid* means long flute. The rubric occurs in *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 138, 29; 140, 54, and at the end of Ni. 11394 (unpublished).

⁴ Usually written *imbubu*, Syriac *abbûbâ*.

synonym of *ummisallû*, Gray, *Šamaš Religious Texts*, No. 1, col. iii, 22.¹ The instrument *pîtu* occurs here for the first time. The word is probably derived from פָּתַע, cry, wail. See also l. 48.

REV.

Col. i, 16. 5 *pa-a-ru*² *ak-ka-du-û*, five *pāru* in Semitic.

17. 1 *šu-me-ru*, one Sumerian (song).

18. 10 *ak-ka-du-û*, ten Semitic (songs).

19. *naphar* 11 *za-mar še-e-ri*,³ altogether eleven songs as elegies.

20. 11 *za-mar a-la-li Akkad-(ki)*, eleven songs as hymns⁴ in Semitic.

21. 9 *šu-me-ru*.

22. 1 *ak-ka-du-û*.

23. *naphar* 10 *za-mar*⁵ *Nin-giš-zi-da*.

Nine Sumerian songs and one Semitic song, altogether ten songs to Ningišzida.⁵

¹ The passage was not comprehended by Jensen, *Texte zur assyrisch-babylonische Religion*, p. 102. For *ummisallû*, a kind of recitation, see also Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, No. 44, Rev. 14, *eme-sal-meš*, with *kidnû* recitations. The word *eme-sal* is commonly interpreted by woman's tongue, Zimmern in ZA. 30, 204 ff., note on Eb. 44, R. 14. Zimmern has, however, suggested that *sal* may mean *šilû*, prayer, and the root *sil* has the meaning to sing, cry out; *eme-sal* = *ummisallû* may possibly mean "tongue of prayer".

² Cf. l. 33 *pu-u-ru*, same word.

³ Hebrew שִׁיר, an ode of joy and praise in Hebrew and always connected with music. The Sumerian term is *ki-sub-gû*, Eb. 100, 5, usually a song of sorrow, elegy, in the Sumerian liturgies. *Zamar šēri* corresponds precisely to the Hebrew *mizmôr šēr*, in the titles to certain Psalms (cf. Psalms lxvii and lxviii).

⁴ Probably identical with *alālu*, a hymn of praise, V Raw. 6, 102; King, *Boundary Stones*, p. 17, vi, 6; Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 207, *alālu tābu*, a sweet song, and the equivalent of the Hebrew rubric תְּהִלָּה in the heading of Psalm cxlv. On the other hand, from the same root *alālu* or *elēlu* = תְּהִלָּה, to sing a song of joy, is derived a word *alālû*, a long wooden flute. *Giš-gidim*, *giš-gi-di* = *alālû*, Meissner, SAI. 5521, and Berlin Assur text, 2559, iv, 44 (unpublished). See below, line 31.

⁵ Ningišzida, a vegetation deity and form of Tammuz, is not otherwise known as the subject of liturgical compositions. At present none of these ten compositions has been recovered.

REV.

Col. i, 24. 12 *za-mar šarri ak-ku-du-ú* twelve songs of the king in Semitic.¹

{ 25. 8 *šu-me-ru*.

{ 26. 3 *ak-ka-du*.

{ 27. *naphar 11 za-mar tuš-gu-ú* (pl.).²

Altogether eleven songs as penitential psalms.

The above passage proves that the *šigû*, *tušgû*, *teškû*, or penitential psalms, were chiefly bilingual, and, in fact, nearly all of the known psalms of this class are bilinguals, usually known by their Sumerian title *eršagjunga*. Zimmern, in his *Busspsalmen*, included two Semitic prayers, IV R. 54 No. 1 and 59 No. 2, and he is justified by this entry in the Assur catalogue. For a Semitic *šigû*, see also IV R. 54, B 35. The Hebrew rubric *šiggaïôn*

¹ A number of these royal hymns to deities are known. A prayer of Ašurnaširpal to Ishtar, ZA. v, 66-80 = *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 65-9. A hymn of the same king to Ishtar, Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, 107 = Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*, i, 58-62. Two bilingual hymns of Tukulti-Ninurta, Ebeling, Nos. 128, 129 = Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 62-73. The Semitic version is probably fundamental, and these two tablets are to be classified as Semitic songs of a king. A hymn of Nebuchadnezzar II to Nebo, PSBA. 1898, 154-62, edited by S. A. Strong, translated also by Jastrow, *Religion*, i, 510, and by Zimmern, *Der Alte Orient*, vii², 8-9 (only lines 9-20 of reverse). A hymn of Nebuchadnezzar I to Marduk on his victory over the Elamites, Hehn, BA. v, 326-9, and a similar hymn, CT. 13, 48 = Winckler, *Forschungen*, i, 542. A hymn to Nanā by Sargon, Craig, RT. 54. Here belong probably the hymns of dedication of Ašurbanipal; see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, ii, 276-86 = Craig, RT. 10-13; Streck, *ibid.* 287-93 = Craig, RT. ii, 1-2; Streck, *ibid.* 293-303 = Craig, RT. 76-9; Streck, *ibid.* 343-51 = Craig, RT. 5-6. See also Jensen, KB. vi², 136-41, who mentions none of his predecessors (Strong, Pinckert, Martin, Zimmern; see Streck, *ibid.* i, p. lxi). The Catalogue of Assur is earlier than the reign of Ašurbanipal, and consequently these twelve hymns must refer to the older Babylonian and Assyrian kings.

² The titles of these eleven *tušgû* songs were given at the top of Rev. iii. This word occurs as *teš-ku-u* on K. 2030a, Obv. 13 (in press) = K. 11190 (CT. 19, 39), 3, *akkil* = *ikkillum ša šeri*: *teš-ku-u*, wailing of the plain, i.e. lower world, i.e. the Tammuz wailings. K. 2030a, Rev. 23-5, has Sum. *il-dug-ga* and *gû-dûb* = *teškû*, lamentation. The form *tušgû* from *šagû*, to lament, is original, and has the same sense as the more ordinary *šigû*, the Sumerian *eršagjunga*, penitential psalm.

is a loan-word from *šigû*, and likewise denotes a liturgical penitential psalm as the contents of Psalm vii prove. In Babylonia these psalms were certainly accompanied by music and liturgical formality. They possessed more formal character than the ordinary private prayers, and hence they are sung in Sumerian ordinarily.

28. 5 *kir*¹ *ri-tu ak-ka-du-ú*. Five festal songs in
' Semitic.

The titles of these songs are given on Rev. iii, 6-10:—

6. *hu-di-i*² *be-li-it-ni šu-li-li*.
Rejoice, O our lady and make song.
7. *e-ir-ti*³ *im-ki-ti am-ma-rat*⁴ *nišé*.
O watchful wise one, overseer of peoples.
8. *ra-šu-ub-tu i-na ilāni a-na-ku*.
Terrible one among the gods am I.
9. *su-ú-ka a-ba'-a-ma šittá zikréte ú-ta*.
I entered a street and espied two hierodules.
10. *ra-šu-ub-tu i-na ilāni a-na-ku*.

The title is identical with that of the song in line 8,

¹ Var. Rev. iii, 11, *ki-ir-ri-e-tu*. On *kirétu*, *kirrétu*, feast, from כִּירָה to invite to a feast, hence the "Invitation", see Landsberger, *Der Kultische Kalendar*, 14. Usually of a religious feast, RA. 12, 81, 28. A synonym is *mudulu*, *Yale Vocabulary*, 185, *ŠÉŠ* (*adkin*) = *mu-du-lu*: *ki-ri-e-tū*, var. K. 8284 *kir-ri-e-tu*. *Mudulu* is clearly connected with *dalālu*, to serve, *dullu*, religious service. *Mudulu*, religious service, feast, occurs also in Legrain, *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur*, 116, 2; 117, 6, sacrifices of sheep for the *mudulum* and *šir-tu*. Sheep are called the *sá-dág*, fixed offering of the *mudulu*, 356, 2; *širtu*, song service, is the cognate of Hebrew שִׁירָה, song, ballad. Note also Legrain, *ibid.* 322, 1, fat rams for the *šir naḫ me*, song service of the pouring of water, that is, the libations for the souls of the dead. See also *ibid.* 323, 9; 341, 9; CT. 32, 16, i, 6, and Landsberger, *Der Kultische Kalendar*, 31, n. 2.

² Cf. Eb. 144, Rev. 1.

³ *E'irtu*, from עִיר to be wakeful? *ēvir** > *ēru*, participle? The root occurs in Eb. 58, R. 15, *ana e-ri u ḡalli*, for the waking and the sleeping. As verb *erātina*, ye are watching, *ibid.*, 1. 13. For the adj. fem. pl. *érāti*, see l. 12. A reading *enitu* = *entu*, lady, is hardly possible.

⁴ *Ammartu*; cf. l. the title of Ishtar *ammarat kal nišé*, Eb. 158, obv. i, 26, and ii, 30, *am-ma-ra-ta*. The cognate *at-mar-ti* *Igi* seems to indicate a root *amāru*, to see, hence the observer, the overseer.

and consequently two different songs began with the same line. These five festal songs are all connected with the worship of Ishtar as patroness of love and harlotry.

29. 2 *ga-an-giṭ-tu* (pl.) *ki-min*. Two (songs to the) long reed¹ in Semitic.

Rev. iii, 12 f., has the titles of two Semitic songs on the long reed flute :—

da-i-iš kibratī a-šu-ú² ka-lu dlāni.

He that treadeth out the regions, saviour (?) of all cities.

ga-aš-ru ila šar-ra lu-uz-za-mu-ur

i-la da-ap-na.

The strong god, the king, will I sing of, even the conquering god.

Perhaps it can be inferred from these two titles that songs sung to "the long reed" were of an heroic character.

30. 2 *nu-ú-ru ki-min*. Two songs for youths³ in Semitic.

Rev. iii, 16 f., has the titles of these two songs for youths :—

16. *ša-a-ar napiš⁴ buraši la-a te-zi-ni.*

The zephyr of the scent of the pine hast thou not smelled.

17. *ma-an-nu bēl^{is} elippi ma-an-nu bēl^{is} magurri.*

Who is the master of the ship? Who is the master of the skiff?

¹ *Gangītu* is the loan-word from *GI(kan)-gid*, which is also rendered by *mātilu*, flute. The Sumerian word for reed was *gi(n)* and *gan*, whence the loan-word *kanā*.

² Probably from a hitherto unidentified root in Assyrian רשע, Hebrew רשע.

³ *Nāru* is probably connected with the verb *na'āru*, Hebrew נער, cry, shriek, whence נעריים, youthfulness. See the references to this root in Assyrian in *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. xxvii. The Sumerian value *nar* of the sign *LUL* = *nāru*, *zammeru*, singer, is a Semitic loan-word. See RA. 14, 84, 12 and *nar-gal* = *na-ar-gallūm*, chief singer, Poebel, PBS. v, 141, 8.

⁴ Cf. *idūutu illaku ša na-pi-šu*, they burn sweet things of good odour, Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, p. 141, 8. See also *nipšu*, Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, 711.

These two titles indicate popular folk-songs, and it is perhaps legitimate to infer that they were described as songs of youth in a literal sense and not because they were sung in the soprano voice of youths.

31. 2 *e-li-lu šad-ru-tu*¹ *ki-min*. Two hymns of recitation in Semitic.

The first lines of these two *šadrûtu* hymns are given on Rev. iii, 19 f. :—

- Rev. iii, 19. *ši-it-tu*² *at-la-ki ma-a-ra lu-ṭi-in*³

Come sleep, a son may I embrace.

20. *a-šap-pa-ar a-na marat ti-e-me-ia*.

I will send unto the daughter of my choice.

It may be inferred from these lines that *elilu šadrûtu* was applied to ballads of love.

32. 2 *in-ḫu ki-min*. Two lamentations in Semitic.

The first lines of these two *inḫu* songs occur on Rev. iii, 22 f. :—

- Rev. iii, 21. *ilat Ašdar*⁴ *šar-rat niše ra'-um-tu*.

Ishtar queen of peoples, the lofty.

22. *ilat Ašdar ma-an-nu ba-lu-uk-ki be-li-ti*.

Ishtar who, if thou wert not, would be my queen?

¹ *Šadrutu* is probably the true reading, not *nadrutu* or *kurrutu*, and from the same root as *šidru* and *mašdaru* discussed above, p. 6. The verb *šadāru*, which I take to mean "recite in a monotone", is otherwise unknown and has no Semitic cognate. A root *šadāru*, to command, is not proven for Assyrian, but cf. *aššum mimma šudduru*, ZK. ii, 83, 12.

² Or *šeṭu*, negligence, then the result of negligence, trouble. Cf. K. 8396 in Bezold's *Catalogue*, *ukattimanni šit-tu*, trouble has covered me. In case *allaki* (cf. iv, R. 56, i, 15; Eb. No. 96, Rev. 26, *labirûta itallak*, go unto decay) means "go away", *šittu*, disgrace, trouble, must be assumed here. On the other hand, if *allaki* means "come", *šittu*, sleep, is certain. Cf. Eb. 58, Rev. 36, *allak ana Ekur*, come unto Ekur. In either case *šittu* is personified, and there is one example of *šittu*, trouble, personified in *Maḫlu*, iii, 184.

³ The meaning of this line is obscure and will remain so until the text itself is recovered. For *māru* in the sense of beloved, or man, see below on Rev. ii, 48.

⁴ This title of Ishtar usually refers to her as the planet Venus.

The titles of both of these prayers recall the appeal made in tears by Ašurbanipal to the Lady of Arbela, Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 112, 30-114, 46 = 190, 11-22. See also the ritual in Eb. 42, Obv. 29, *in hi-šu unnaḥ*, "he shall sob his lamentation."

33. 5 *pu-ú-ru ki-min*, five *páru* in Semitic.

These five *páru* (cf. five *páru* in Semitic, above l. 16) are entered by titles on Rev. iii, 25-9 :—

Rev.

iii, 25. *ša-a-ma-ri-tu*¹ *tu-te-e tu-te-e-ma*.

O raging one, thou discernest, thou discernest.

26. *iṭ-lu iš-tu a-mu-ru-[ka ?]*.

O valiant one, since I behold thee (?).

26. *šur-bu-ta a-na niše a-za-am-mu-[ur]*.

Of her the magnified one will I sing unto the peoples.

27. *zi-il-lu-lu*² *ša niše a-[dal-lal ?]*.

The defence of the people, will I praise (?).

28. *i-na šu-bat EN-? i-za-mu-ra []*.

In the abode of . . . will he sing . . .

34. 2 *ilat gu-ša-a-tu*³ *ki-min*. Two songs to the goddess *Gušātu* in Semitic.

The titles of these two songs to the war goddess were given on the Rev. iii, 31 f., both beginning *ilat gu-ša-ia*.

¹ Cf. *šumaritu*, Obv. ii, 21.

² For *sillulu* cf. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, i, 42, ii, 6, *d-bad* = *zillulu* in a section with *šillu*. See also Weidner, *Studien zur Hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 63.

³ *Gu-še-e-a*, *gū-ša-ia* is a corruption of *gū-de-a*, cry, shout, and a title of Ishtar, *ša tanūkātī*; see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 113, n. 1, and RA. 13, 107, n. 10. Hence the Semiticized title *gušatu*, i.e. Ishtar, the moaning goddess, the loud crying, as queen of battle. A variant is *A-gu-še-e-a*, who summons to conflict, BA. iii, 287, 11. In a long hymn to Ishtar as goddess of battle she is called Šaltu, "Hostility," and Agušaja, "The loud crying," Scheil and Zimmern, RA. 15, 159-82.

35. 1 *a-ra-aḥ-ḥu*¹ *šu-me-ru*. One song *Araḥḥu* in Sumerian.

This rubric, like the *gušatu* or *gušea* songs, derives its name from the first word of a class of songs. Sumerian *araḡ*, which began all songs of this class, seems to have meant "storehouse".

36. *ka-ta-ni-du-ù*² *ki-min*. One (song) to the "one string", in Sumerian.

37. 2 *ši-ka-tu*³ *šu-me-ru*. Two songs to the *šikatu* (?) in Sumerian.

38. 2 *ši-ša-tu* *A[kkad-ki]*. Two songs to the instrument of six strings in Semitic.

The Babylonians have the peculiarity of employing the ordinal when naming an instrument from the number of its strings. That is certainly due to the fact that each string is free as on the lyre and harp and produces only one note, and the compass of the instrument corresponds to the number of the strings. An instrument of six strings has only six notes or tone intervals, hence it would be called the instrument of the sixths. An instrument of three strings or three notes would have been named *šuššan*, the Babylonian word for one-third, derived from Sumerian *šuš*, one-sixth, and the Semitic dual ending *ān*, literally "two-sixths".⁴ The Babylonian instrument of three notes or the *šuššan*, is probably the curious pipe fashioned in the form of an ox head and found at Babylon. A drawing will be found on p. 76 of Carl Engel's *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations*.⁵

¹ A word *araḥḥu*, storehouse, syn. *našpaku*, and probably loan-word from [*a-ra*]-*aḡ* = *E-UŠ-GID-DA*, is known from Poebel, PBS. v, 106, iv, 11.

² Uncertain. The word is here derived on the analogy of *ašarīdu*, from *kaṭtan*, thin string (?), and *ēdu*, one. Read *šutanidū*?

³ Name of an instrument? Or *šikḫatu*, triumph, victory, songs of victory?

⁴ This is the ordinary word for "one-third", but the Semitic word formed regularly as a *kaṭul* ordinal occurs, *šalušū*, *šaluš*.

⁵ Found by Captain Willock at Barsippa.

When blown open the pipe sounds the note G, when one of the upper holes is stopped the note E is produced, and when both upper holes is closed the note C is obtained. The instrument carries the three notes C, E, G or the majors of the octave C, and hence could be designated as the instrument of thirds. *Šuššan* passed into Hebrew as *šōšan* and *šūšan*, a word which occurs in the musical rubrics of four psalms. The previous interpretation of this word by the Rabbis who saw in it the Semitic word *šūšan*, "lily," and who took it as the key-word to an old song, and Haupt's suggestion that it means "instrument of Susa" are certainly erroneous. Rabbi Raschi held that *šūšan* was an instrument and he was right in that respect only. The rubric of Psalm xlv has "For liturgical service upon instruments of thirds ('al *šōšannim*) for the sons of Qōrah, a *maskil* as an ode to love". Psalm lxix has the rubric, "For liturgical service upon instruments of thirds, by David." Psalm lx has the rubric, "For liturgical service upon the instrument of thirds, according to the rule of the *miktam*,¹ by David to teach." Psalm lxxx has, "For liturgical service upon instruments of thirds according to the rule of Asaph, a psalm."

The same principle obtains in case of the eight-stringed or eight-note instrument in the rubrics of Psalms vi and xii, "For liturgical service with stringed instruments upon the instrument of eighths," or simply "Liturgical service upon the instruments of eighths". The passage in 1 Chronicles xv, 21, is certainly to be interpreted in the same manner, *b'kinnōrōth 'al-haššēmīnīth* "with lyres upon the instrument of the eight", i.e. upon eight-stringed lyres. In verse 20 other musicians play with lyres *'al-'alāmōth*; *'alāmōth* is also the name of a kind of lyre, but Assyrian has not yet furnished an explanation.

¹ An instrument; see below on line 46.

39. 2 *ri-ib-ku ki-min*. Two *ribku* songs in Sumerian.
 { 40. 2 *šu-me-ru* (pl).
 { 41. 3 *ak-ka-du-ú*.
 { 42. *naphar* 5 *ku-ur-du*.

Two songs in Sumerian and three in Semitic, all together
 five songs of heroism.

Since no specimen of this class of poetry, which is definitely described as *kurdu* or heroic verse, has been found, it is difficult to decide concerning what the Babylonian grammarians regarded as heroic verse. Following the analogy of classical poetry it should refer to epics like the Epic of Gilgamish and the Epic of Creation in Semitic or to the Sumerian Epic of Ninurta, *lugal-e ud me-lam-bi nir-gál*, and the Epic of Paradise. These did not, however, form part of the musical services, and the grammarians probably refer to compositions like the long hymn to Marduk, *adallal zikirka*, which is called a *za-ra-a tanitti* ^{il}*Marduk narbi* ^{il}*at Zarpanitum*, "a ZARA of the glory of Marduk and the greatness of Zarpanit," an acrostic.¹ This hymn actually contains the words *lušarriḫ kurdi-ka*, "I will glorify thy heroism," and has for the most part the peculiar measure, hexameter + pentameter, for each strophe. On the other hand a prayer of the atonement, which was certainly not an heroic, ends *kurud-ka ludbul*, "I will sing of thy heroism," addressed to Sakut.² A poem to *Agušaja* on two large tablets is more like heroic verse than any composition known to the writer composed in lines of two accents and strophes of eight lines.³

43. 1 *kar-su-ú Akkad-(ki)*. One ritualistic instruction (?)
 in Semitic.

Karsú is a new word and has the appearance of being

¹ Hehn, BA. v, 309-119; Jensen, KB. vi², 108-17.

² King, *Magic*, No. 5, 10.

³ Scheil, RA. 15, 170-82, and Zimmern, *Ishtar und Saltu*. Cf. the hymn to Marduk in a New Year Festival, RA. 8, 43, *ludbul kurdi-ku*, l. 14.

a loan-word from *garza*, *garzu* = *parṣu*, ritual directions. The kind of tablet which I have in mind would be Ebeling, No. 44 = Zimmern, ZA. 30, 204 ff. This interpretation implies that the catalogue is not confined to musical compositions, but includes rituals which contain prayers and chants.

44. 5 *me-ir-ru šu-me-ru*. Five *merru* in Sumerian.

Merru is probably the name of an instrument, but I attempt no explanation.

45. 23 *irātu*¹ *ša e-šir-te Akkad-(ki)*. Twenty-three "songs of the breast" for the instrument of ten (strings), in Semitic.

These twenty-three songs were catalogued at the top of Rev. ii, and the titles of the last five are partially preserved. All of the *irātu* compositions seem to be ballads of the love of women, and *irtu* (always of the breast of man) is employed as the term descriptive of the chief motive of these licentious verses. The Hebrew name for the instrument of ten strings is the 'āšōr. The titles of the five "songs of the breast" which remain on the tablet are:—

- Rev. ii, 1. [*lup* ?]-*lu-us-ka-ma* [].
 I will behold (?) thee
2. *ar-ḥa* *ki-i kaḫkabi pu* (?) [. . . *ka*].
 Hasten thou, like a star is thy
3. *i-na ṣi-iḫ-ti* *ša ṣi-e²-k[a]*.
 In longing for thy attention.
4. *an-nu-ú ṣi-bu-tu ša ḥu-du ka-bat-ti*.
 This one is the desire which makes happy
 my mind.

¹ *GAB-MEŠ*, rendered *i-ra-tu*, Rev. ii, 6.

² *Še'u*, *šā*, from שָׁעַ, Arabic *ṣaḡī'a*, to incline to, give ear to, and Arb. *saḡḡun*, favour, love.

Rev. ii, 5. *ep-šu pi-i-ka at-mu balāṭi-ia nādin me ḥa-ni-ma*.¹

When thou speakest it is the word of my
life . . . of the inwards (?).

46. 17 *iratu ša ki-it-me*. Seventeen "songs of the
breast" for the *kitmu*.

*Kitmu*² occurs also in the sense of sheet, coverlet, in *Maklu*, v, 36. It stands here between *eširtu* and *ibbubu*, both names of instruments, and *kitmu* is obviously an instrument also. The Hebrew rubric which occurs at the beginning of six Psalms also denotes a similar instrument. Psalm xvi is a *miktam* of David, i.e. a song to the *miktam*. The title of Psalm lx has "upon the *šūšan* or instrument of thirds after the rule of the *miktam*". Since *šūšan* probably denotes a pipe, it seems necessary to see in *miktam* a similar wind instrument.

The titles of these seventeen ballads of love on the *kitmu* (pipe ?) are given on Rev. ii, 7-23 :—

Rev. ii, 7. *ki-e ši-ḥa-a-ku a-na na-aḥ-ši*!

How do I long for pleasure !

¹ *Ḥānu*, part of the body and of animals a sacrificial part, certainly part of the inwards ; see Holma, *Körperteile*, 153. But what is *me ḥa-ni*? Text may not be in order.

² With the root *katāmu*, to cover, is certainly connected the difficult Hebrew rubric **כִּתְמִי**. Babylonian derived a word for treasure, *katimtu*, from this root, precisely parallel to the Hebrew **כֶּתֶם** gold. For *katimtu*, treasure, see *Sargon Annals*, 196, *katimti šadē*, and ZA. iv, 31, 28, *bā'ir katimti*, he that hunts for secret treasure. Hence *katimtu*, secret wisdom, *niširtu katimtu*, the treasure of secret wisdom, Streck, *Assurbanipal*, ii, 234, 13, and *niširtu amur-ma katimtu*, the mystery I saw even the secret wisdom, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, i, 5. When Eben Esra connected the Hebrew *miktam* with the word *kéthem*, gold, he was at any rate inspired. Other explanations of *miktam* which have come down through the LXX translators, the Targums and the Latin versions only show how completely the rubric had been forgotten. Philologically *miktam* corresponds to the Babylonian *naktamu*, lid, metal cover for a vessel, and the Hebrew word may denote an instrument of percussion like the tambourine or cymbal.

- Rev. ii, 8. *û-am e-en im-ni-ia*¹ *iš-ḫi-da-an-ni*.
 "The day of my right eye" has mounted up
 unto me.
9. *i li-ki*² *a-ma-as-si a-na ma-a-ri*.
 Up! take, I will come unto the son (beloved).
10. *ma-te-ma be-lu te-ru-ba i-na-an-na*.
 At any time, O master, thou didst enter now.
11. *ḫi-i-pa-ku a-na da-di-ka*.
 I am pressed to thy breast.
12. *it-ti šim-ta-a-at*³ *mu-ši-ti*.
 With the hours of night.
13. *mu-û-ša ma-a-ru u-šam-ša-a-ku*.⁴
 By night the son (beloved) I . . . (?).
14. *a*⁵ *am-mar ša-ma-an ki-ti*.
 Ah, I will find the oil of the mattress.
15. *û-mu ub-la bu-su-ra-tu-ma ḫu-ud lib-bi*.
 O day, bring glad tidings, even joy of heart.
16. *e-la-ia*⁶ *ma-a-ru lu-na-me-ir*⁷ *ir-ba*.
 Without me verily has the son (beloved) been
 happy? O enter!

¹ An expression for "a lover" which is not found in any other Semitic language.

² Apparently a clear example of the particle *i* with the imperative; see also Luckenbill, *AJSL* 32, 270, and Knudtzon, *Amarna Tafeln*, p. 586, 138.

³ False plural of *šimtu*, the *t* being incorporated in the word. One is reminded of the expression for dying, *alāku ana šimat māši*, but this idea is hardly to be expected in songs of passion. A word *šimtu*, evening shadows (v. R. 39, 33 and 31), exists, whence the dual *šimtān*, evening, ii, R. 7, 28, and the false plural + dual *šimētān*, evening. *Šimtu*, evening, and *šimētān* are surely connected with Arabic *sawā'atun*, moment, *sawā'um*, first vigil of the night; see Driver's Notes in this volume.

⁴ The form as a permansive is incomprehensible. Perhaps a denominative from a noun *ušamšā*. Cf. *šamšā*, *šumšā*, evening, *JRAS* 1920, 570, n. 2.

⁵ Exclamation?

⁶ False for *ela-ḫāti*; cf. *CT* 15, 35, 5.

⁷ Apparently an example of the subjective *pi'el* describing the state of the subject.

- Rev. ii, 17. *la-a me-ḥi-ir-ti iṣ-nu-na-an-ni.*
 Not has a rival equalled me.
18. *su-ni ib-bu-ri-ti la-ḥa-na-tu da-ṣu-up-tu.*
 The bosom of a female friend is a jar of
 sweetness.
19. *ṣu-up-pi hu-ul-li.*
 Make thy self beautiful, be radiant.
20. *da-am-ša-aš-ni¹ be-la-ni.*
 Caress me, be my lord.
21. *sa-am-mu-ut e-ri-ni ra-am-ka be-lu.*
 The fragrance of cedar is thy love, O lord!
22. *a-na kip² e-ni ta-al-li-al-am-ma.*
 Of the eyelids thou singest merrily.
23. *a-na mu-ši-ti an-ni-ti a-na li-la-ti an-na-ti.*
 For this night, for these evenings.

All of these titles, except l. 19, indicate songs of women addressed to a *māru* or lover.

47. 24 *irātu ṣa ib-bu-be.* Twenty-four "songs of the breast" for the flute.
48. 4 *irātu ṣa pi-i-te.* Four "songs of the breast" for the *pitū*.³
49. ? *irātu ṣa nit kablī*.⁴ ? "Songs of the breast" concerning the *nit kablī*.
50. ? *irātu ṣa ni-il gap-ri.* ? "Songs of the breast" concerning the *nīl gapri*.⁵
51. [? *irātu*] *ṣa kablī-te.* ? "Songs of the breast" for the midnight.

¹ For *timšaš*? The root *mašašu*, stroke, Arabic *massa*, exists in Assyrian; cf. Holma, *Kleine Beiträge*, 16.

² For *kippu* = *kappu*, wing, cf. *kib-be tubkat arba'i*, Messerschmidt, KTA. 16, 5, and for *kappi ēni*, "wing of the eye," eyelid, see Holma, *Körperteile*, 17.

³ See above, l. 15.

⁴ Certainly identical with *nit libbi*, womb, Holma, *Körperteile*, 109.

⁵ *Samson nīlīlī*

52. [*naphar* 68 + ? *irātu ak-ka-du*]-ú.

All together 68 + ? "songs of the breast" in Semitic.

On Rev. ii, 25-55, are the titles of twenty-nine ballads of love and passion, and the list is not complete. We naturally expect here the twenty-four titles required by l. 47, but the similar songs in ll. 48-50 seem to have been included in the detailed catalogue which follows.

Rev. ii, 25. *ki-e na-ah-ša-at ki-e nam-ra-at.*

How is she delightful? How is she attractive?

26. *i-še'-aš-ma¹ kirā lu-li-ka.*

The garden of thy delights . . .

27. *ā-ma lib-bi me-lu-la ni-gu-ta.*

"On the day of the heart," with sport and music.

28. *a ri-id kirā šarri ha-ši-bu e-ri-ni.*

O come down to the garden of the king which reeks with cedar.

29. *at-ta ma-a-ru ra-i-mu da-da-ni.²*

Thou art a son (beloved) lover of the bosom.

30. *e-bir-tu ndri a-lu me-li-li.³*

On the farther shore of the river is the city of gladness.

31. *aš-ru un-ni ta-gu-ša araḥ ši-ḥa-ti.*

In the place of the grapes thou didst tread in the month of wine pressing.⁴

¹ Hardly the same word as *iššaš*, it shall be plundered (?) in omens, Klauber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte*, p. 132, 13; CT. 20, 31, 24; 32, 74 f., and *išaš*, CT. 28, 3, 3; Boissier, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, 358, 14.

² *Dadānu*, breast, Syn. *labānu*, Sum. *uzu-sa-gú* and *gú-sa*, Sumerian Grammatical Texts, p. 10. Cf. *di-a-da-a-nu*, Poebel, PBS. v, 137, 6.

³ *Melilu* occurs also in ZA. 10, 298, 45.

⁴ Uncertain. *Unnu* from south Semitic 𐤅𐤍 is to be expected in Assyrian over against the Canaanitish 𐤅𐤍 *inu*, grapes, wine. A root 𐤅𐤍 with the same sense as *nagāšu* exists. Cf. *guāšu* = *alāku*, CT. 18, 6, 48, and *gūšanni*, hasten unto me, Eb. 25, ii, 22. Note also the form 𐤅𐤍 *gēšu*, syn. of *nagāšu*, Meissner, SAI. 2195, 97. *Šiḥati* is here

- Rev. ii, 32. *ul-la a-li-ik ma-a-ru.*
Come unto gladness, O son (beloved).
33. *ki-i za-ra-at ša at-ḥa-at-ti.*¹
How is she most unfriendly of sisters?
34. *iš-šur tu-ti-id ku-ur-ri lul-la-ru ri-gim-ki.*
Like the bird . . . of honey is thy voice.
35. *ša-an-da-na-ak*² *kirā ši-ḥa-ti.*
. . . ? the garden of desires.
36. *ū-um-DU*³ *i-na dli La-ar-sa-an*⁴
*ši-ḥa-tu i-zi-ka.*⁵
Everyday in the city Larsa pleasant things
are wafted
38. *ri-i-ši uat Na-na-a i-na kirī Ebabbar*⁶ *ša*
ta-ru-mi.
Rejoice, O Nana, in the garden of Ebabbar,
which thou lovest.
39. *me-ir-tu ub-la lib-ba-ša šu-a-ra.*
The maiden whose heart was stirred to sing.⁷
40. *ka-ia-nam-ma ki-i sak-ta-ku-ma.*
How am I ever silent?
41. *a ši-iḥ-ku ma-an mārē.*
Yea, I long for the couch of sons (lovers).
42. *maš-ma-a-tu enū-ia im-da-la-a ši-it-ta.*
In the gloaming (?) my eyes are filled with
sleep.

¹ *Athāti* > *athatti*? by analogy with *athā*, brothers. v. R. 31, 34: Creat. i, 21.

² An adverb?

³ Error for *uš*?

⁴ Locative ending? cf. *ebirtān*, *elān*, *matitān*.

⁵ For the idea cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 246, and for *izik*, present, Boissier, DA. 232, 40.

⁶ Temple of Shamash at Ellasar.

⁷ Literally "her heart bore song". *Mertu*, maiden, refers to the virgin Ishtar, Obv. ii, 22, as patroness of love ballads. *Šuara* is probably the same word that occurs in Creation i, 24, *ina šu'aru lib?* . . . a *uKingu*, with shouting Kingu . . . , restored from Ebeling, No. 118, Obv. 23; *šu'aru* is derived from שׁוּר the middle *war* form of שִׁיר, *širu*, strophe.

Rev. ii, 43. *ra-am-ka lu-ú aban-ka ši-ḥa-tu-ka lu-ú un-gi.*

Thy love verily is thy jewel, thy longing verily is my ring.

45. *ra-a-mi ni-i-ru muš-na-me-ru šilli.*

My love is a lamp illuminating the shadows.

46. *mu-ú-ša aḥ-su-us-ka-ma.*

By night I thought of thee.

47. *ip-šu pi-i-ka.*

When thou speakest.

48. *iš-tu ga-ul-la-ku i-na su-un ma-a-ri.*

After I reposed in the bosom of the son (beloved).

49. *ri-bi-ka*¹ *ša abanukni šadi.*

Thy passion is of the lapis lazuli of the mountain.

50. *ḥa-di-iš ak-ša šar-ru.*²

Gladly hasten hither, O king.

51. *mi-ig-ru ḥa-am-ru.*³

Affection (is) blind.

52. *i-na la-li-ki ḥu-un-bi.*

In thy lusciousness is my fruit.

53. *ú-ka-a-al ra-am-[ka ?].*

I will retain *thy* love.

54. *i-na ša-a-ar []*.

In the breath of . . .

This great catalogue, about half of which has been preserved, contained on the obverse only formal prayers and liturgies, which were composed in series of melodies (*zamaru*). Cols. i and ii of the obverse prove contrary to all our published texts that formal liturgies, each composed of several songs, existed in Semitic. For

¹ Cf. Arabic *rajab*, love, from *raḡaba*, to hunger for.

² "King" is employed in ll. 28 and 50 in the sense of lover.

³ For *ḥamāru* = עָרַר, be blind see Holma, *Personennamen*, 56 (after Landsberger); and so this famous saying is Assyrian!

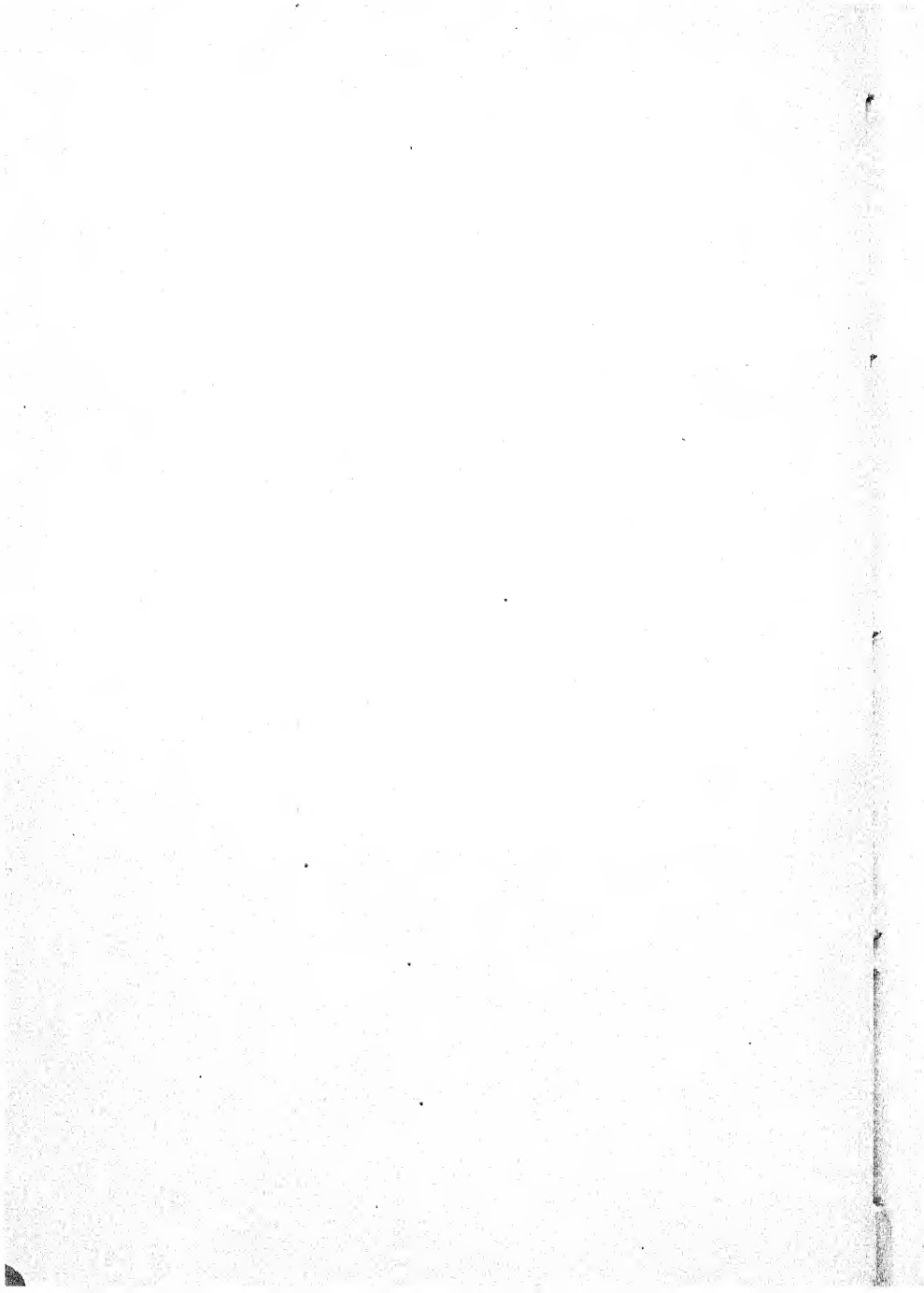
example, i, 12-16, has the titles of four Semitic series which contained sixteen songs, or an average of four songs to each liturgy. They are all addressed to a goddess. i, 20-4 has the first lines of five series addressed to the Fire God. Line 25 gives the total "five series and twenty-one songs". Obv. 28-33 has the titles of five series addressed to Ramman and these contain twenty-six songs. i, 37-41 has five series addressed to Shamash with thirty-one songs.

Col. ii, as far as line 48, carries only the titles of series to Ishtar, and at the end of this section the scribe enters the figure for the total of all the songs of the various Ishtar-series. On Obv. iii, where the titles of various canonical Sumerian liturgies are given, the résumé under each section names the instrument employed to accompany the recitation; only the flute *tegû* and tambourine or drum (*adapa*) occur in the section which has been preserved. Since the sections of the catalogue devoted to Semitic series of songs contain no rubrics with the names of instruments, it seems apparent that these Semitic song services did not obtain recognition as strictly canonical liturgies.

The four columns of the reverse are devoted to prayers of the private services and to popular songs and ballads. The numerous prayers of the lifting of the hand or prayers of the magic rituals of atonement do not appear to have come within the scope of the catalogue. The scribe has confined himself severely to public worship, popular songs, and formal prayers of penance, which were chiefly Sumerian. It is, strictly speaking, a catalogue of musical compositions. Col. i of the reverse has an analysis of sacred and profane compositions which were accompanied by instruments. Cols. ii-iv contained the titles of all the prayers and songs given in the analysis of Rev. i. A great portion of these lines are lost. These titles seem to have begun on col. iv instead of col. ii as

one would expect. The remnants of the titles of thirteen *šidru* or recitations on col. iv were probably referred to in the epitome at the top of col. i now broken away. The titles of all the songs of workmen, shepherd songs, wisdom songs, penitential Sumerian prayers to the *teḡū* (flute), tambourine and similar Semitic prayers listed in col. i, 1-27, have been lost at the end of col. iv and the top of col. iii. The various Semitic songs of the feast, to the reed flute, songs of youth, and other ballads listed in col. i, 28-34, are fortunately preserved. The interesting ballads listed on col. i, 35-44, containing songs of victory, of heroism, and to various instruments have all been lost at the end of col. iii. The love ballads listed in col. i, 45-51, accompanied by the instrument of ten strings, the pipe, the flute, and the *pitū* are preserved on col. ii.

This remarkable text confirms the distinction between public and private worship which the writer has ever maintained, and it proves also that the penitential prayers of the private services were accompanied by an instrument. They were formal and canonical, and hence they are for the most part Sumerian. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the new information is the existence of a large number of popular ballads in Semitic. Unfortunately, not one has been found. Only the titles translated in this paper remain. But the value of this new text is not confined to Assyriology. Hebrew studies claim also a large profit, and not a few of the cryptic rubrics of the Psalms, whose meanings were unknown to the Rabbis as early as the second century B.C., are at last explained.



Some Poems from the Manyoshu and Ryojin Hissho

BY A. D. WALEY

I. Manyō. Of the four thousand one hundred short poems in the Manyōshū, about two hundred have been translated, by Florenz,¹ Aston,² Dickins,³ and others.⁴ Many more deserve translation, particularly the dialect-songs, which have been avoided by previous translators. A few of these (noted as such when they occur), and some fifty other songs not hitherto translated, will be found below, with text and rendering.

For general information with regard to the Manyō, I must refer my reader to the works mentioned at the foot of this page. The order of the poems is that of the Manyō; the numbers, those of the *Kokka Daikwan* 國歌大觀.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 95. <i>Ware wa mo yo</i> | I have got her, |
| <i>Yasumiko etari,</i> | Have got Yasumiko ; |
| <i>Mina hito no</i> | She who for any man |
| <i>Egate ni su tou</i> | Was thought hard to get, |
| <i>Yasumiko etari !</i> | Yasumiko I have got ! |

By Fujiwara no Kamatari (A.D. 614-59). This song, astounding in its simplicity, was made by Kamatari when he married the lady-in-waiting Yasumiko.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 123. <i>Takeba nure ;</i> | When it is put up, it straggles ; |
| <i>Takaneba nagaki</i> | When it is let down, it is too long, |
| <i>Imo ga kami,</i> | My lady's hair ! |
| <i>Kono-goro minu ni</i> | This great while that I have not seen her |
| <i>Midare tsuramu ka ?</i> | How tangled it must have grown ! |

• By Mikata no Sami.⁵

¹ *Geschichte der japanischen Literatur.*

² *History of Japanese Literature.*

³ *Japanese Texts.*

⁴ e.g. Waley, *Japanese Poetry* (Clarendon Press, 1919).

⁵ Where no date is given it may be assumed that the writer lived c. 700. In cases where no writer's name is given the poems are anonymous.

124. *Hito mina wa* Every one is saying
"Ima wa nagashi" to, "Now it is too long"
"Take" to iyedo, And "Put it up";
Kimi ga mishi kami But the hair that you used to look at,
Midaritari to mo— However tangled it may grow—
 (Reply to above.)

125. *Tachibana no* What longing fills my heart
Kage fumu michi no When at the meeting of the ways that tread
Ya-chimata ni The shadow of orange-trees
Mono wo zo omou I meet not with my love!
Imo ni awazute!

By Mikata no Sami.

142. *Iye ni areba* My rice that when I was at home
Ki ni moru ii wo, I ate from a wooden bowl,
Kusamakura Now that I wander
Tabi ni shi areba On grass-pillowed journey
Shii no ha ni moru. In an oak-leaf is served!
 By the Prince of Arima, seventh century.

607. *Mina hito wo* Though now to all men
"Neyo" to no kane wa "Go sleep!" the evening bell
Utsunaredo, Its warning tolls;
Kimi wo shi omoyeba Yet I that am longing for my lord,
Inegatenu kamo! Alas, I sleep not!
 By Lady Kasa, died 733.

1158. *Sumiyoshi no* Of onward-creeping waves
Kishi no matsu ga ne That bleach the pine-tree roots
Uchisarashi How very clean the sound,
Yorikuru nami no At Sumiyoshi shore!
Oto shi kiyoshi mo!

1165. *Yūnagi ni* That crane who in the evening breeze
Asarisuru tazū Searches the shore for food,
Shio miteba, Because the tide grows high
Okinami takami And the waves of the offing rise
Ono ga tsuma yobu. Calls warning to his mate.

1235. *Nami takashi.* The waves are high.
Ika ni, kajitori, How now, helmsman,
Mizudori no Shall we like water-birds
Ukine ya subeki, Sleep a floating sleep,
Nao ya kogubeki ? Or go on rowing ? ¹
1257. *Michi no be no* Only because you smiled on me
Kusafuke yuri no With a smile like the lily which grows
Hana emi ni In the grass-clump by the wayside,
Emashishi kara ni Am I to call you bride ?
Tsuma to iubeshi ya ?
1263. " *Aka toki* " to " The time is dawn "
Yo-garasu nakedo, The crows of night are calling ;
Kono mine no But round the tree-tops of yonder mountain
Komure ga uye wa All yet is still.²
Imada shizukeshi.
1777. *Kimi nakuba* Were it not for you,
Nado ni yosowamu ? Why should I adorn my body ?
Kushige taru Even the little combs of boxwood
Tsuge no okushi mo That are in my comb-box
Toramu to mo omowazu. I think I should not use.

By the Lady of Harima.
1796. *Momijiba no* How sad to gaze upon the shore
Suginishi kora to Where hand in hand I wandered
Tazusawari With a maiden vanished
Asobishi iso wo As leaves fall from the trees !
Mireba kanashi mo !

By Hitomaro.
1885. *Mono mina wa* All other things
Atarashiki yoshi ; Find ways to be young again ;
Tada hito wa Man only with staying old
Furitaru nomi shi Must rest content.
Yoroshikarubeshi.

¹ A satirical appeal to the oarsmen to row hard through the storm.² Addressed by a lady to a lover leaving her at dawn.

1892. *Haruyama no*
Kiri ni madoyeru
Uguisu mo
Ware ni masarite
Mono omowame ya mo.

Even the nightingale
 That has lost its way
 In the mist of the spring hills
 Not more baffled is
 Than I by the maze of love.

By Hitomaro.

1949. *Hototogisu*
Kesa no asake ni
Nakitsuru wa
Kimi kikikemu ka,
Asa i ka nuramu ?

The cuckoo's cry
 That at the daybreak of to-day
 I heard to ring—
 Did you hear it, or were you sleeping
 Your morning sleep, my lord ?

2368. *Tarachine no*
Haha ga te karete
Kaku bakari
Sube naki koto wa
Imada senaku ni.

Since first I left the hands
 Of the mother who suckled me,
 Never by plight so helpless
 Was I yet perplexed !

By Hitomaro.

2495. *Tarachine no*
Haha ga kauko no
Mayu-gomori
Komoreru imo wo
Mimu yoshi mo gamo !

Oh that I might get sight
 Of my lady hidden away
 Like silkworms in their cocoons,
 The silkworms that her mother breeds !

By Hitomaro.

2550. *Tachite omoi,*
Ite mo zo omou
Kurenai no
Aka mosuso hiki
Inishi sugata wo.

Abroad I dream,
 At home forever dream,
 Of a form that vanished, trailing
 Petticoats crimson-dyed.

2564. *Nubatama no*
Imo ga kurokami
Koyoi mo ka
Ware naki toko ni
Nabikete nuramu ?

My lady's hair that is black
 As the whortleberry—
 To-night, too, when I am far away,
 Does she trail it in sleep across the bed ?

2687. *Sakurao*¹ *no*
On no shitagusa
Tsuyu shi areba
Akashite iyuke,
Haha wa shiru to mo.
 On the under-leaves of the thicket
 Of hemp close-growing
 Fast falls the dew ;
 Do not leave me till the dawn breaks,
 Even should my mother know—
2841. *Waga seko ga*
Asake no sugata
Yoku mizute
*Kefu*² *no aida wo*
Koi ya kurasamu.
 Because but dimly
 At the break of morning
 I saw my lover's form,
 All the hours of to-day
 In longing I shall spend.
2855. *Niibari no*
Ima tsukuru michi no
Sayaka ni mo
Kikinikeru kamo,
Imo ga uye no koto wo.
 Clear as gleams the road
 That to-day the workmen were digging
 I have heard it at last,
 The tale that of my lady is told.
2859. *Asukagawa*
Takagawa yogashi
Koyete kitsu.
Makoto koyoi wa
Akezu yukame ya.
 Asuka River
 Right to its source I mounted
 And came back hither ;
 To-night, I swear it,
 I will not leave you till dawn.
2869. *Ima wa a wa*
Shinamu yo, wagimo !
Awazushite
Omoiwatareba
Yasukeke mo nashi.
 Now, now shall I
 Die, lo my lord !
 Because we met not
 Being in mind so troubled
 That I cannot rest.
3149. *Tsukubane no*
Niiguwa mayo no
Kinu wa aredo,
Kimi ga mikeshi shi
Aya ni kihoshi mo
 Though on new mulberry-leaves
 Of Tsukubane the silkworms were fed
 From whose silk my dress is spun,
 Thy splendid garment
 Rashly would I wear !

¹ The meaning of this fixed-epithet of "hemp" is uncertain.

² To be consistent I should transliterate *ken* or *kyō*, but the ancient form seems more appropriate in poetry.

3350. *Shinanu ji wa* On the Shinano way
Ima no hari michi Where they are making the new path,
Karibaka ni Upon the spikes
Ashi fumashimu na, Do not tread with bare feet ;
Kutsu hake, waga se ! Put on your shoes, my Brother !¹
3455. *Koishikeba* Because I am longing,
Kimase, waga seko ! Come, O my Brother !
Kaki tsu yagi The willows of the hedge—
Ure tsumikarashi Their tops I will trim,
Ware tachimatamu. And wait for you there.
3459. *Ine tsukeba* My hand that is sore
Kagaru aga te wo With pounding the rice,
Koyoi mo ka To-night again
Tono no waku ko ga The young lord's son—
Torite nagekamu ? Will he take it and sigh ?
3476. *Ube kona wa*² Well may my beloved
Wanu ni kounamo ! Be pining for me ;
Tato tsuku no For while of months that pass
Nuganaye yukeba The stream flows by
Koishikarunamo. How dear she grows !
Kona = kora, wanu = ware, kounamo = kouramu, tato
tsuku = tatsu tsuki, nuganaye = nagaraye.
3517. *Shirakumo no* Like a white cloud
Tayenishi imo wo Has my lady vanished.
Aze sero to ? Oh, what shall I do ?
Kokoro ni norite She rides upon my heart,
Kokoba kanashike. And I am thus dispirited.
Aze sero = ikani semu.
3873. *Waga kado ni* At my house door
Chidori shiba naku ; Loudly the curlews cry ;
Oki yo, oki yo, Rise up, rise up,
Waga hito-yo tsuma ! My one night's bride !
Hito ni shirayu na ! Lest our love be known to men.

¹ Addressed by a rustic lady to a fine lord. To "share a garment" means to lie under the same cloak.

² The remaining songs are, to a varying degree, in the Eastern dialect.

4285. *Yuko saki ni* Where I must go
Nami oto eraŕi; The noise of waves resounds;
Shirube ni wa In the place from whence I come
Ko wo ra, tsuma wo ra Children and wife I have left.
Okite ra mo kinu

By Sasaibe no Isoshima.

Yuko = *yuku*; *ra*, a particle much used in the Eastern Dialect.

4389. *Shiobune no* With the swiftness of a white wave
He kosu shira nami That suddenly whelms the stern
Niwashikumo Of a ship at sea
Ôse-tamao ka Has come the King's command,
Omowaye naku ni At an hour when I expected it not.

By Hasebe Ôtoshi.

4405. *Waga imoko ga* The sash that, saying
"Shimubi ni seyo" to "For remembrance wear it",
Tsukeshi himo My lady put on me—
Ito ni naru to mo Though it wear to a thread
Wa wa tokaji to yo. Never will I untie it!

By Asakura Masuhito.

4431. *Sasa ga ha no* On this frosty night when clash
Sayagu shimo-yo ni The bamboo leaves in the wind,
Nanaye karu Better than these nine coats I wear
Koromo ni maseru My lady's limbs would warm me.¹
Koro ga hada wa mo.

Koro = *ko ra*.

II. Ryōjin Hisshō 梁塵秘抄.²

The priest Kenkō speaks in his *Tsurezuregusa* (c. 1336) of a song-book called the Ryōjin Hisshō; "Even in the words of these rustic tunes," he says, "there are many charming passages." The songs were supposed to have been

¹ Song of a soldier fighting on the frontier.

² "Rafter-dust Secret Collection"; so called because a good song shakes the dust on the rafters.

collected in the middle of the twelfth century under the auspices of the Emperor Goshirakawa. Soon after Kenkō's time the book disappeared and was not rediscovered till 1911, when Mr. Wada Hidematsu unearthed the MS. in a second-hand bookshop. It was published by Mr. Sasaki Nobutsuna in the following year. Most of the songs are crude paraphrases of passages from the Buddhist scriptures, and are of no interest as literature; others are adaptations of well-known classical poems. But there remains a residuum of true folk-poetry, which is of the greatest interest.

The book has not, so far as I know, been even alluded to by any European writer; I have therefore translated a few of the folk-poems.

1. *Ware wo tanomete konu otoko*

Tsuno mitsu oitaru oni ni nare ;

Sate hito ni utomare yo !

Shimo yuki arare furu

Mizuta no tori to nare ;

Sate ashi tsumetakare !

Ike no ukigusa to narine kashi !

To-yuri, kau-yuri yurare arike !

May he that bade me trust him,
but did not come,

Turn into a demon with three
horns on his head,

That all men may fly from him !

May he become a bird of the water-
fields

Where frost, snow, and hail fall,
That his feet may be frozen to ice !

Oh may he become a weed afloat
on the pond !

May he tremble as he walks with
the trembling of the hare, with
the trembling of the doe !

2. *Bijo uchimireba,*

*Hito moto kazura narinaba ya to
zo omou ;*

Moto yori suye made yorarebaya !

Kiru to mo kizamu to mo

Hanaregataki wa waga sukuse !

When I look at my lovely lady,

"Oh that I might become a
clinging vine" I yearn,

"That from toe to tip I might be
twined about her.

Then though they should cut,
though they should carve—

Inseparable our lots !

3. *Kimi ga aisheshi aya-i-gasa*
Ochinikeri, ochinikeri !
Kamogawa ni, kawa naka ni.
Sore wo motomu to tazune
to seshi hodo ni
Akenikeri, akenikeri ;
Sara sara to ike no aki no
yo wa.
- The hat you loved, the damask trimmed
 reed-hat
 Has fallen, fallen !
 Into Kamo River, into the middle of the
 river.
 And while I searched and while I sought
 Day dawned, day dawned ;
 Oh the rustling rustling of that autumn
 night by the pools !
4. *Waga koi wa*
Ototohi miyezu, kinou koku ;
Kefu otozure nakuba,
Asu no tsurezure ¹
Ika ni semu !
- As for my love—
 Yesterday he came not, nor the day
 before was seen.
 If to-day there is no news
 With to-morrow's idle hours
 Oh what shall I do ?
5. *Yamabushi no*
Koshi ni tsuketaru
Horagai no
Chō to ochi,
Tei to ware :
Kudakete mono wo
Omou koro !
- The conch-shell fastened
 At the pilgrim's thigh,
 The pilgrim mountain-faring—
 With a *chō* it has fallen,
 With a *tei* it has cracked :
 Even so my heart is shattered
 By this torment of love.
6. *Azuma yori*
Kinou kitareba
Me mo motazu ;
Kono kitaru
Kon no kariao ni
Musume kaye tabe !
- But yesterday
 I came from the East, and brought
 No bride with me ;
 I pray you, take
 This purple hunting-cloak I wear
 And buy for me a maid !
7. *Yama-osa ga*
Koshi ni saitaru
Tsuzura-fuchi
Omowamu hito no
Koshi ni sasasemu !
- Like the rattan-whip
 That the headsman of the mountain
 Wears fastened at his thigh,
 To the limbs of one that should love me
 Would that I were pressed !

The slight play on the words *otozure*, *tsurezure* cannot be rendered in English.

8. *Kaze ni nabiku mono—* Things that bend in the wind—
Matsu no kozuye no takaki eda, The tall branches of pine-tree tops,
Take no kozuye to ka, Or the little twigs of bamboos,
Umi ni ho kakete hashiru fune, Boats that run with spread sails on the
 sea,
Sora ni wa ukigumo, Floating clouds in the sky,
Nobe ni wa hana-susuki. And in the fields the flowering *susuki*.
9. *Tsukushi no Moji* ¹ *no Seki* The Warden of the barrier,
Seki no sekimori oinikeri ; The Barrier of the Gatemen in Tsukushi
 Land
Bin shiroshi. Has grown old and the hair of his temples
 is white.
Nani tote suyetaru ² He that in his Ward-house is warden
Seki no sekiya no sekimori Of the barrier that bars the road
nareba,
Toshi no yukuye wo ba How comes it that he cannot tarry
Todomezaramu ? The passage of the years ?
10. *Tsuki mo, tsuki* Even the moon—
Tatsu-tsuki goto ni The moon at each new-moon is young
 again.
Wakaki kana. But of me that am forever ageing,
Tsukuzuku oi wo suru waga mi Oh what will the end be ?
Nani naruramu ?
11. *Asobi wo semu to ya* For sport and play
Umarekemu ; I think that we are born ;
Tawabure semu to ya For jesting and laughter
Mumarekemu. I doubt not we are born.
Asobu kodomo no For when I hear
Koye kikeba The voices of children at their play,
Waga mi saye koso My limbs, even my
Yurugarure. Stiff limbs, are stirred.
12. *Maye, maye, katatsuburi !* Dance, dance, Mr. Snail !
Mawanu mono naraba If you won't, I shall leave you
Uma no ko ya For the little horse,

¹ 門司.² *suu* means "to put as an obstruction"; cf. *Ise Monogatari*: *Sono kayojiji ni yogoto ni hito wo suyete.*

Ushi no ko ni
*Kuyesasetemu ;*¹
Fumi-warasetemu.
Makoto ni utsukushiku
Mautaraba,
Hana no sono made
Asobasemu !

For the little ox
 To tread under his hoof,
 To trample to bits.
 But if quite prettily
 You dance your dance,
 To a garden of flowers
 I will carry you to play.²

3. *Chihayaburu kami*
Kami ni mashimasu
Mono naraba,
Aware to oboshimese !
Kami mo mukashi wa
Hito zo kashi.

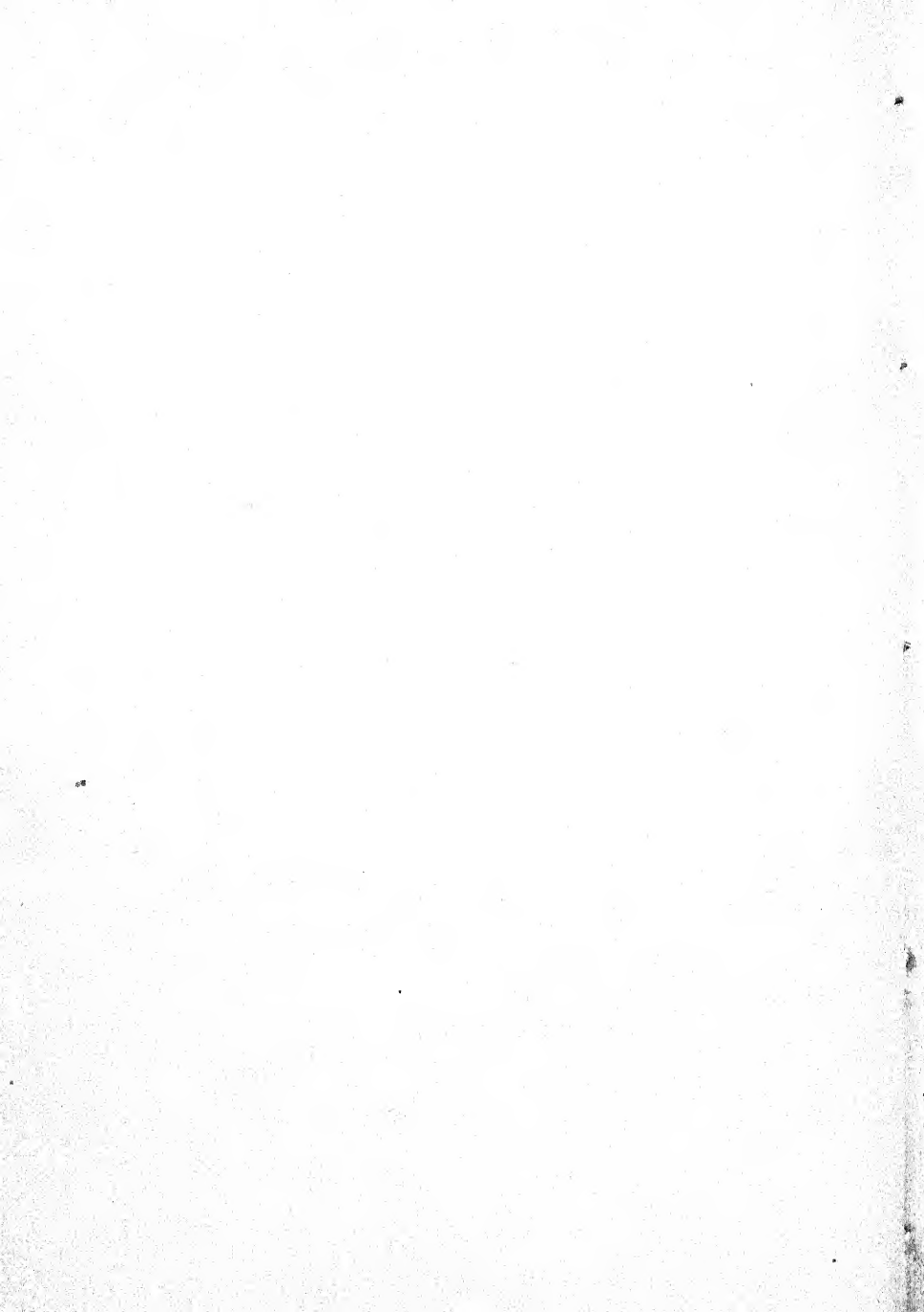
Oh gods almighty !
 If gods indeed you are,
 Take pity on me ;
 For even the gods were once
 Such men as we.

4. *Obotsukana*
Tori dani nakanu
Okuyama ni
Hito koso oto su nare.
Ana ! Tōto
Shugyōja no
Tōru narikeri !

In the unexplored
 Deep hills where even of bird
 There is no song—
 Voices of men I hear.
 Who can these be ? It is the passing
 Of the holy pilgrims on their way.

¹ 蹴 is written against this word ; but no word *kuu*, "to kick," is known to the dictionaries.

² There is a modern Tōkyō children's song which begins *Mai, mai, tsuburo!* But like most modern snail-songs it ends with an appeal to the animal to put out its horns.



‘Aziz Koka

By H. BEVERIDGE

‘AZİZ KOKA, “the beloved foster-brother” of the Emperor Akbar, is, I think, the most interesting character among the Agra courtiers of the sixteenth century, and the enduring, David and Jonathan like, friendship between him and Akbar is the most touching thing in the ponderous volumes of Abul Fazl’s history. Not that ‘Aziz was the best man among Akbar’s servants, or that he was superior to his age. He was violent and full of faults, and there is little doubt the Hindu Rajah Todar Mal and the Muhammedan historian Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad were better men. But ‘Aziz is more interesting and likeable, and we know more about him, and feel towards him as we do to the crabbed Badayūnī. Both men were honest and fearless, and had an outspokenness which is very refreshing after the pedantry and tortuousness of Abul Fazl. The author of the *Masiru-l-Umara* accuses ‘Aziz of treachery (*nifāq*), because he wrote plainly to a friend and comrade of Akbar’s faults, but he also admits that ‘Aziz had not a particle of timeservingness in his nature: “Aṣla zamāna-sāz nabūd.” He was the only man who had the courage to stand up against Akbar’s sciolism and crude heresies, and he acted upon his convictions, for he relinquished his office and his emoluments and went off to Mecca rather than continue to serve an infidel king. True, he returned and became again an officer under Akbar, and for this he was scoffed at by Badayūnī. He said ‘Aziz began like Ibrahim Adham (not Leigh Hunt’s “Saint”), but forfeited all the merit of his action by afterwards giving in to Akbar, and becoming a disciple of the “Divine Faith”. But I think Badayūnī has not allowed sufficiently for the affection between the two men—the emperor and his foster-brother. They were both of about the same age, but ‘Aziz was the younger of the two by a few months or weeks. They

were brought up together, and 'Aziz's mother was Akbar's favourite nurse. As Akbar wrote to him when he sailed for Mecca, he was abandoning two Kaabas of flesh and blood ; that is, his mother and Akbar, for a Kaaba of stone and mortar. Akbar had made a wonderful nine days' journey from Fathpur to Ahmadabad in Gujarat, to save 'Aziz from defeat, and by so doing had probably saved his life. The friendship between them was like that between Henry IV of France and Crillon.

Historians do not tell us where or when 'Aziz was born. But he was certainly born in India, and apparently the birth took place at Amarkote, for the mother was there in attendance on Humayun's wife, Hamida Bānu, who had the title of Miriam Makānī, that is, she who belongs to the Virgin Mary's household. Akbar was born in Amarkote, and as soon as the birth took place the Queen sent for Ji Ji Anaga and placed the child in her bosom. This was in accordance with a promise made to Ji Ji and to her husband Shamsu-d-dīn of Ghaznī, who had extricated Humayun from the Ganges after the battle of Kanauj. But as Ji Ji's own child 'Aziz was not then born, she was unable to be the first nurse to Akbar. Shamsu-d-dīn received the title of Atga or guardian of Akbar, and he became Akbar's prime minister and remained in that office until he was murdered by Adham Khan, the son of Maham Anaga, who was a great influence in Akbar's early days. Akbar promptly punished the murderer by having him thrown over the palace terrace. 'Aziz grew up along with Akbar, and he made much better use of his opportunities than did Akbar, for he became a scholar and wit, and also was a maker of verses. Akbar, on the other hand, was a backward boy, fonder of good eating and of pigeon-fancying than of his lessons, and never learned to read or write. Afterwards 'Aziz became a distinguished soldier and fought many battles in Gujarat and the Deccan, and was the man who put down Mozaffar, the claimant to the throne of Gujarat. Notwithstanding his love for Akbar, he opposed several of the

emperor's schemes, and probably not without good reason. For Akbar was hasty, and not profound. His scheme of branding the cavalry horses was not a success, and he certainly made a mess of the affairs of Behar and Bengal and introduced confusion into chronology.

'Azīz was a very passionate man, and often did things of which he repented afterwards. Thus he put one of his collectors of revenue into the charge of another officer who had a private grudge against the collector. The result was that the officer tortured the latter until he died. 'Azīz's wrath was roused when he heard of this, and he put the officer to death. This caused fresh confusion, for the officer's father prepared to lodge a complaint for his son's death before the emperor, and 'Azīz had to pay a large sum of money in order to stop the prosecution. Jahāngīr once asked 'Azīz's son to be responsible for his father's good behaviour. The son replied that he would always be bail for his father and suffer for his delinquencies, but that he could not check his father's tongue.

It is unfortunate that we have no full and impartial biography of 'Azīz. Blochmann's account is good, but is too short. Muhammad Husain Sahib Azād, the author of the excellent *Darbar Akbari*, has no separate notice of 'Azīz. All he gives is a letter which 'Azīz wrote to Akbar from Mecca giving his reasons for not returning to India. (See p. 759.) But it is a very important letter, though a little difficult to read. One would like to know where Muhammad Husain got it, and if the copy which was his source still exists. It is in this letter that 'Azīz scoffs at the two brothers Faizī and Abul Fazl, and asks if Akbar regards them as equal to 'Alī and Othman. He also seems to complain that India is no longer a place to die and be buried in, as infidels are buried in the sacred grounds of good Muhammedans. Perhaps this is a hit at Mubarak (the father of the two heretical brothers) and his wife's having been buried in a sacred part of Lahore, and afterwards in Agra. There is also a passage near the top of p. 960 which I do not fully understand, but which seems

to mean that 'Aziz hopes to get service under the Sultan of the Turks, either at Constantinople or Mecca.

The biography in the first volume, p. 675, of the *Masiru-l-Umarā* is very full and tolerably fair, but I think it is not quite just to 'Aziz.

The charge of treachery is chiefly based on a letter which 'Aziz wrote to Rajah 'Alī, the ruler of Khandesh. The letter does not exist, and we have only Jahāngīr's account of it. He represents it as being full of horrible charges against Akbar, but it may be that it only told the truth about Akbar's heretical opinions. Nor do we know when it was written. If this was when 'Aziz was smarting under the injuries and insults to his beliefs which had driven him into exile, its language was excusable. It may have been no worse than what Badayūnī was writing, and which led Jahāngīr to try to suppress Badayūnī's book. At all events, it was not for Jahāngīr, who had foully murdered his father's confidential servant, to be sensitive about attacks on his father's character. Furthermore, Jahāngīr is quite wrong in saying that 'Aziz's letter was especially base because written to an enemy. Rajah 'Alī was no enemy of Akbar. On the contrary, he fought for him and lost his life at Ashtī while valiantly fighting for the imperialist cause.

To conclude, it is one of the best points in Akbar's behaviour that he forgave his foster-brother and school-fellow for his language and his flight, was kind to the children whom 'Aziz had left behind in India, and received him with open arms when he returned from the port of Balawal to Agra. In their deaths they were not divided. 'Aziz wanted at the last to supersede Jahāngīr and to make Khusru emperor. But probably Akbar was not averse to this plan, and certainly it would have been better for India if Jahāngīr, the drunkard and opium-eater, and the murderer of Abul Fazl and Sherafgān, had not ascended the throne.

A Specimen of Colloquial Sinhalese

By H. S. PERERA AND DANIEL JONES

IN the following text an attempt has been made to represent as accurately as possible the speech of Mr. H. S. Perera, a form of speech which we believe to be fairly typical of that of the educated Sinhalese of Colombo. The form of speech here recorded is that used in familiar conversation and will be found to differ greatly from the literary or semi-literary language of the ordinary textbooks.

The text is written phonetically, i.e. on the "one symbol per phoneme" principle, the phonetic alphabet used being that of the International Phonetic Association.

The following are some short particulars of the principal sounds requiring explanation. It must be remembered, however, that attempts to describe sounds by means of key-words are at best unsatisfactory, and only give a very vague idea of the sound. Thus "the English sound of *e* in 'get'" means different things to different readers, there being several easily distinguishable pronunciations of the word "get" in common use. More accurate descriptions of the Sinhalese speech-sounds will be found in the *Colloquial Sinhalese Reader* published by the Manchester University Press.

t, *d* are dental; *ʈ*, *ɖ* are retroflex ("cerebral"), but the point of contact of tongue-tip with palate is not so far back as in Tamil *ʈ*, *ɖ*.

ŋ is the English sound of *ng* in "long".

r is generally formed by a single flap of the tongue-tip.

The *s* is somewhat "lisped", i.e. it is intermediate between the English sounds of *s* and *ʃ* (as in "thin").

ʋ is a "bi-labial *v*".

i has nearly the quality of the English sound of *ee* in "see".

e is similar to the Southern English sound of *e* in "get".

æ is similar to the Southern English sound of *a* in "cab".

a has some resemblance to the English sound of *a* in "father".

o resembles the French sound *ô* in "tôt", or the vowel heard in the Scotch pronunciation of *go*; it is quite distinct from the various sounds used by Southern English speakers in words like "go", "home".

u is similar to the English sound of *oo* in "too".

ā is similar to the English sound of *a* in "along".

: means that the sound represented by the preceding symbol is long. In the case of the vowels, differences of length are accompanied by slight differences of quality.

The nasal element of *ṅg* is exceedingly short. It belongs syllabically to the vowel which follows.

| indicates points in the sentence where breaks may be made; no breaks may be made between these points.

uturu huleṅgai irai

uturu huleṅgai irai | kauru vædie balasam:pan:ædæ kia |
be:ðæ kæradi | unuhun sa:luak perævægənæ in:æ magiek |
laṅga una. magiæ sa:luæ palæmuer: galævan:ðæ sælæs:u
ek:ena | vædie balasam:pan:ædæ kia | moum be:rægənæ | uturu
huleṅgæ puluan tædiṅ hulaṅ:gæhæua. numut | hulaṅ:gahana
tæræmætæ | magia tævæ tævæ sa:luæ perævægat:æ. an:time:di |
uturu huleṅgæ bæri bævæ dænægənæ | nævætuna. i:tæ pas:æ |
iræ tadim: pærua. ekæparætæmæ magia sa:luæ ahak:æla.
e:hin:da iræ vædie balasam:pan:ædæ kia | uturu huleṅgætæ
e:it:ugan:ðæ una.

TRANSLATION

The North Wind and the Sun

The north wind and the sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first made the traveller take off his cloak should be considered stronger than the other. Then the north wind blew with all his might, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him; and at last the north wind gave up the attempt. Then the sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak; and so the north wind had to confess that the sun was the stronger of the two.

An Ethiopic-Falasi Glossary

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD

(Concluded from p. 582, 1920.)

ፈተነ :	ፈተነ : to try.
አፍጠነ :	ፈጠነ : to hasten.
ደነ :	ዘለፍ : አለ : to be bent.
ጸነ :	ዘነበለ : to be inclined.
ጸነ :	ጠነ : to incline.
ሰነ :	ሸነ : to pass urine.
ኮነ :	ሆነ : to be, to become.
መነ :	ኖቀ : to despise.
ተመዖነ :	ተተነሱለ : to deceive, to be deceived.
መጠነ :	ለካ :: ሰፈረ : to measure; to count.
ሰመነ :	ስምንት : አደረገ : to make eight.
ሰወነ :	ሸነ : to pass urine.
ቀነ :	ሰራ :: ወሰነ : to work; to determine.
በየነ :	ፈረደ :: ለየ : to judge; to distinguish.
ተአመነ :	ተመነ : to be true, honest.
ተጻየነ :	ከተመ :: ጠበቀ : to encamp; to guard
ወሰነ :	ወሰነ : to determine, to limit.
ደመነ :	ጠቀረ : to be black.
ደየነ :	አጣ :: ፈረደ : to want; to judge.
ገመነ :	አደረ : to be unclean.
አጸወነ :	ተጠገ : to support oneself.

ኩነ :	ፈረደ : to judge.
ሐይመነ :	አመነ : to trust.
ተመስከነ :	ደኸዮ : to be poor.
ተመስከነ :	ምስኪን : ሆነ : to be poor.
ተመንገነ :	ተተነሱል : to be deceived.
ተመዝገነ :	ተመሰገነ : to be thanked.
ተሰልጠነ :	ተሰለጠነ : to receive power.
ተሰይጠነ :	ተተነሱል : to deceive, to be deceived.
ተንተነ :	ተፈገመገመ : to waver.
ጸንጸነ :	ነቀዘ : to decay.
ቀንቀውነ :	ቀንቀነ : to be worm-eaten.
ማሰነ :	ጠፋ : to decay, to be ruined.
ተሰዓነ :	ተጨመረ : to put shoes on.
ተሳነ :	ተጣለ : to be thrown.
ተቃረነ :	ተጣለ : to be thrown.
ተቃዓነ :	ተጨነቀ : to be distressed, embarrassed.
ደገነ :	ተከተለ : to follow.
አማኅፀነ :	አስጠሰቀ : to cause to be watched.
አማዕዘነ :	ከፋፈለ :: ከፈለ : to distribute.
ሐሰዓ :	ጸፕ : አለ : to be silent.
ጌሰዓ :	ሸሸገ : to hide.
ጌድዓ :	ጸፕ : አለ : to be quiet.
ጌዘዓ :	ጸፕ : አለ : to be quiet.
ጌጥአ :	አጣ : to want.
ለክዓ :	ጻፈ :: ፑነከረ :: ለካ : to write; to nail; to measure.

መልዓ :	መላ : to be full.
መጽኦ :	መጣ : to arrive.
ሰምዓ :	መሰከረ :: ሰማ : to testify, to hear
ሠርዓ :	ሠራ : to work.
ተሰብኦ :	ሰው : ሆነ : to be a man.
ሰክዓ :	ሰካ : to thread a needle.
ረስዓ :	ረሳ :: አረጀ : to forget; to be old.
ረተዓ :	ቀኖ : to be just.
ረድዓ :	ረደ : to help.
ረግዓ :	ረጋ : to congeal.
ረፍዓ :	ሰፋ : to be wide; to sew.
ቀልዓ :	ቀለጠ : to melt.
ቀብዓ :	ቀሳ : to anoint.
ቀንዓ :	ቀኖ : to be just.
ቀጽዓ :	ቀጣ :: አጎሰጠ : to chastise; to bend.
አብጥኦ :	አሶካ : to cause to ferment.
በልዓ :	በለ : to eat.
ተበፀዓ :	ተመሰገነ : to be praised.
በቀዓ :	ረሳ :: ጠቀመ : to be useful; to help.
ተብዓ :	ደፈረ : to be bold.
ተፍዓ :	አንተፍ : አለ : to spit.
ነሠኦ :	ተቀሰለ :: ያዘ :: ወሰደ :: ነሣ : to receive; to seize; to carry off; to take.
አንሠኦ :	አስነሣ : to raise.
ነቀዓ :	መነሠ : to gush forth.
አንብዓ :	አለቀሰ : to bewail.

አንቅዓ :	አፈሰሰ : to pour out.
ነተዓ :	ሸሸ :: ጥገመሰ : to fly; to be split.
ነድዓ :	ነደ : to drive.
ከልዓ :	ከለከለ : to hinder, to forbid.
ከፈዓ :	ከፈ : to be bad.
አክፍዓ :	አበረ : to give light.
አውሠኦ :	መለሰ : to reply, to repeat.
ጠቅዓ :	መታ : to beat, to knock.
ወግዓ :	ወጋ :: ጋጥ : to pierce; to make (a child or beast) drink out of the hand.
ወፅኦ :	ወጣ : to go forth.
ዘርኦ :	ዘረ : to sow.
አይገኦ :	ወረደ : to go down
አይድዓ :	ነረ : to tell.
ደፍዓ :	ገለሰጠ : መላለሰ : to turn upside down; to return, to repeat.
ገብዓ :	ተመለሰ : to be returned.
ገዛዓ :	ገዛ : to possess, to govern.
ገፍዓ :	በጀለ : to offend.
ጠምዓ :	ነሻ : ነሻረ : to touch; to moisten.
ጠርዓ :	ጮኸ : to call.
ጠቅዓ :	መታ : to beat.
ጡብዓ :	ጮኸነ :: ጥጋ : to be brave; to watch, to persevere.
ጠግዓ :	ተጣጋ : to adhere to one another.
ጠፍዓ :	ጠፋ : to perish.
ጸልዓ :	ጸላ : to hate.

ጸግዓ :	ተጸግሷ : to be thirsty.
አጽግዓ :	ሰግሷ : to hear.
ጸርዓ :	ጉጀለ : to lack.
ፀብዓ :	ተጣላ : to be hostile.
ጸገዓ :	ጠፍ : to be healthy, strong.
ጸፍዓ :	ጸፋ : to slap.
ፈቅዓ :	ጋረጠ : to prick a vein in the face.
ኩርዓ :	መታ፡፡ ቀጠቀጠ : to beat; to crush.
ጉሥዓ :	ገሣ፡፡ አወሳ : to belch, to roar; to expel.
ጉድዓ :	ጉነጠ : to push, to clash.
ተግዕዓ :	ተቀሳ : to be angry.
ተሥኸዓ :	ተገፈፈ : to be robbed, stripped.
ቂዓ :	ተፈ : to spit.
አቀጥጥዓ :	አስመለሰ : to cause to return.
ጢዓ :	ፈረጠ : to be broken.
ጼዓ :	ሸተተ : to exhale an odour.
ሞዓ :	አሸነፈ : to conquer.
ሥዓ :	ሰቀ : to offer up.
ቀዓ :	ጨርቋ : ሆነ : to be unripe.
ቦአ :	ገሳ : to enter.
ጦዓ :	አሳነሰ : to reduce.
መልዓ :	ተነሣ : to rise.
አመልአ :	አመለጠ : to escape.
መጥዓ :	ተሸበረ : to be panic-stricken.
ሰስዓ :	ሳሳ : to be thin.
ሰሰዓ :	ሰባት : አደረገ : to make seven.

ረብዓ :	አራት : አደረገ : to make four.
ተምዓ :	ተቀጣጣ : to blame.
ተስዓ :	ዘጠኝ : አደረገ : to make nine.
ተሰዓ :	ጨካኝ : to be brave.
ከልዓ :	ሁለት : አደረገ : to make two.
ወውዓ :	ደነፋ : to make a show; to exercise in arms.
ወጅዓ :	ጨረሰ : to finish.
ተወጸአ :	ተሸነፈ : to be overcome.
ደርዓ :	ተጸረረ : to be in armour.
ጸኝዓ :	ጠበቀ : to be firm, close, near.
ጸውዓ :	ጠራ. :: አለ : to call; to speak.
ተጸልዓ :	ደከመ : to exert oneself.
ተፈግዓ :	ደስ : አለው : to be gay.
ጉጉዓ :	ቸኩለ : to be quick.
ቁቁዓ :	አጉባብ : to be a hypocrite.
ዘንግዓ :	ዘነጋ : to forget, to stammer.
ገፍተዓ :	ገለበጠ : to overthrow.
ጠዕጥዓ :	አነፈረ : to boil.
ተጸንግዓ :	ተጠጋ : to support oneself.
አጠዓጥዓ :	አበጀጀ : to cause to restore, to make helpful.
ተፀዓፅዓ :	ተቀጣጠረ :: አንስንሽ : አለ : to reckon; to become small.
ተማልዓ :	ተማላ : to be full.
ተዛውዓ :	ተጨወተ : to play, to jest.
ተጋብዓ :	ተሰበሰበ : to be gathered.

ጥፃብዔ : **ተጻለ :** to be hostile.
ሳዕልዔ : **ደደ : ሆነ :: ለምሳደ : ሆነ :** to be dumb ;
to stutter.
ሣዕስዔ : **ቁልጥፍጥፍ :** **አለ :** to speak fluently.
ፃዕፅዔ : **ጨነፈ :** to miscarry.
አንሠአሥአ : **አፈላ :** to cause to boil.
አስተራትዔ : **ለየ :** to distinguish, to separate.
አስተፍሥአ : **አነሳሳ :** to excite.
አስተብፅዔ : **አመሰገነ :: አደነቀ :** to praise ; to admire.
አስተብቀዔ : **መሳደ :** to rise early.
ምሕክ : **ራራ :** to be merciful.
ምዕክ : **ተቀጣ :** to be angry.
ስሕክ : **ጥከረ :** to be rough, coarse.
ንሕክ : **ተጨነቀ :** to be distressed.
ነኦክ : **ተጨነቀ :** to be distressed.
ደኅክ : **ደኸ :** to crawl.
ሐኸክ : **አፈረ :** to be shy, modest.
ለኦክ : **ላከ :** to send.
መሐክ : **ቀጠበ :** to keep in reserve.
መላክ : **ገዛ :** to possess, to govern.
አምላክ : **አመለከ :** to adore, to worship.
አስመክ : **ተጠጋ :: አስጠጋ :** to lean one's head ;
to support the head.
ሰበክ : **አስተማረ :** to teach.
በረክ : **ሰገደ :** to worship.
በተክ : **ቀረጠ :** to cut, to engrave.

ነሰከ :	ነሰከ : to bite.
ወሐከ :	አነሳሳ : to excite.
ደረከ :	ከፈ : to be bad.
ተሐከከ :	አዘነ : to regret.
አውከከ :	አፈገፈገ : to retire.
ሔከ :	አላመመ : to chew.
ሆከ :	አወከ : to stir up, to irritate.
መሰከ :	አቀጠነ :: ሳበ : to render thin; to draw.
ሰበከ :	ቀረመ : to engrave, to seal.
ወሰከ :	ጨመረ : to add.
ተመልዳከ :	አለቃ : ሆነ : to be chief.
ነክነከ :	ነቀነቀ : to shake, to tremble.
ባረከ :	አመሰግነ :: ባረከ : to praise; to bless.
ተዓረከ :	ተወደጀ : to love one another.
ሰረከ :	ጻፈ : to write.
ማገረከ :	ማረከ : to capture.
አስተብረከ :	ሰገደ : to worship.
ሞሐወ :	ቀለመ : to melt.
ስሐወ :	ተበተነ :: ቫ : አለ : to be scattered; to desire.
ጽሐወ :	ነቅ :: ተጋ : to watch; to be awake; to guard.
ሐይወ :	ኖረ :: ደነ :: ደስ : አለው : to dwell; to be in good health; to be gay.
ተሰጥወ :	መለሰ : to repeat.
በድወ :	ባደ : ሆነ : to be desolate.
ሐለወ :	ጠለቀ : to be deep.

ሐሰወ :	አሸ : to rub between the fingers.
ፈረወ :	ፈለፈሰ :: ቀጀደ :: to remove the chaff from the grain; to break.
ሐተወ :	በረ. : to be bright.
ሐጸወ :	ቀ-ረጠ :: ገልጾል : ሆነ : to decide; to be a companion.
ሐፈወ :	ወዛ : to sweat.
ለከወ :	ፈ.ዘዘ : to feeble, lame, blind.
መሐወ :	ነቅለ : to pull up.
መሰወ :	አቀለጠ : to melt.
አስሐወ :	አሰለበ : to snatch away.
ሠረወ :	ሠር : ሰጀደ : to cut the root, to eradicate.
አርፈወ :	ከፈተ : to open.
ቀለወ :	ቀ-ለ : to roast, to fry.
ቀበወ :	ተነፈ : to be inflated.
ቀደወ :	አማረ : to forgive.
አብቀወ :	ከፈተ : to open.
በጸወ :	አንቀለፈ : to sleep.
ተለወ :	ተከተለ : to follow.
ነዉወ :	አጀነ : to hunt.
ዓለወ :	ወነጀለ : to be faithless.
አተወ :	ገነ : to enter.
አደወ :	ተሻገረ :: ያዘ : to traverse; to seize.
አጸወ :	ዘጋ : to shut up.
ከዓወ :	አፈሰሰ : to pour out.
ወረወ :	ወረወረ : to throw.

ዘረወ :	በተነ : to scatter.
አድለወ :	አደላ : to prefer, be partial.
ደለወ :	መዘነ :: ጥገሳ : to weigh; to be proper.
ገለወ :	ጉለበ :: ሸፈነ : to pass through a sieve; to veil.
ጠበወ :	ጠሳ : to suck.
ጸለወ :	ቀቆረ : to prick up one's ears.
ፀረወ :	ተጣላ : to be thrown.
ጸቀወ :	ወጋ :: ጨፈላቀ : to pierce, to wound; to crush, bruise.
ጸተወ :	ወገን : ሆነ : to be a relation, a party.
ፈተወ :	ወደደ : to love, to wish.
ለወወ :	ተኩረ :: አስተዋለ : to scowl, to pay attention, to understand.
ከወወ :	ፈጠነ : to hasten.
ሀለወ :	አለ : to be.
ሐሰወ :	አሰለ : to lie.
ለበወ :	አወቀ :: አስተዋለ : to know; to pay attention.
መጠወ :	ሰጠ : to give.
ሰረወ :	ነቀለ : to root out, to transplant.
ተሰፈወ :	ተመነ :: ተስፋ : አደረገ : to trust; to hope.
ቀነወ :	ተነከረ : to fix, to rivet.
ተአደወ :	ተላለፈ : to be stripped, skinned.
ዘመወ :	ሲሰነ : to commit adultery.
ተደለወ :	ተዘጋጀ : to be prepared.

ደመወ :	ደም : ሆነ : to bleed.
ገነወ :	አገልጎለ : to serve, to attend.
ገጸወ :	ከፈለ :: ገለጠ :: ባለጭላ : አደረገ : to divide; to uncover; to be a companion.
ጸመወ :	ጸፉ : አለ : to be silent.
ጸገወ :	ሰጠ : to give.
ፈነወ :	ላከ :: ሸኘ :: አሰፍሰተ : to send; to ac- company; to dismiss.
ለውለወ :	አውለበለበ : to jabber.
ተመርዓወ :	ተሞሽረ : to be married.
ተመንሰወ :	ደሉ : ተነሣ : to be conquered.
ተመንተወ :	መንተ : ሆነ : to be double.
ተመደለወ :	ተገሰዘ : to be a hypocrite, false.
መጽለወ :	ጸወለገ : to dry up, to wither.
ተሠርገወ :	ተሸለመ : to be adorned.
ሰንቀወ :	መተ : to strike the cithern.
ቀስተወ :	ቀፈረ : to prick up one's ears.
አንጸወ :	ደረቀ : to be dry.
ወልተወ :	መከተ : to parry a blow.
ወርዘወ :	ጉለመሰ : to be grown up, strong.
ወደለወ :	አለቀሰ : to mourn.
ደንቀወ :	ደኅቀረ : to be deaf.
ደንጸወ :	ነፈገ :: ፈዘዘ : to be stingy; to be weak.
ጸልሐወ :	ሸኘለ : to defraud.
ጸንጸወ :	ቆለመመ : to twist.
አስፈደለወ :	መነጠረ : to cut down trees.

ሎላው :	ለበላበ : to singe, to scorch.
ፍላው :	ጠብቆ : to fasten, to protect.
ፍተው :	ዋኝ : to swim.
አስቆቀው :	አለቅሰ : to mourn.
አንሰሰው :	ተመላለሰ : to walk about.
አንገገው :	ባከከ : to wander about.
ተሐመው :	አምቻ : ሆነ : to be related (by marriage).
ለሀው :	አለቅሰ : to mourn.
ተቀሐው :	ተፈካከረ : to boast to one another.
ተቃተው :	ተቀ-ታቺ : to bet.
ተአጓው :	ወንድም : ሆነ : to be a brother.
አጠዓው :	አመለከ :: አለዘበ : to adore ; to soften.
ፃመው :	ደከመ : to exert oneself.
አስተደለው :	አዘጋጀ : to prepare. *
ቢዘው :	ተቢቺ : to redeem.
ተኪነው :	ተጠበበ :: ብልህ : ሆነ : to be wise ; to be intelligent.
ዜነው :	ነገረ : to speak.
ዳነው :	ሸተተ : to emit an odour.
ጹወው :	ማረከ : to capture.
ሣህለው :	ዝም : አለ : to be silent.
ተባሐተው :	ብቸኛ : ሆነ : to be lonely.
ፃዕደው :	ነግ : to be white.
ተጌህለው :	ሠረቀ : to rise.
አንቃዕደው :	አንጋጠጠ : to lift up the eyes to heaven.
አንባሐቀው :	አዛጋ : to yawn.

ምዕዘ :	ሸተተ :	to emit an odour.
ውኅዘ :	ፈሰሰ :	to flow.
ገዕዘ :	ነፃ :	to push, to drive.
ነቅዘ :	ነቅዘ :	to moulder, to corrode.
ንበዘ :	ጋገረ :	to bake.
ሐወዘ :	አማረ :	to be merciful.
ረገዘ :	ወጋ :	to pierce.
አንዘ :	ያዘ :: ዘመረ :	to seize, to take; to begin.
አረዘ :	ለሰሰ :	to dress.
አውገዘ :	ለየ :	to distinguish.
ገነዘ :	ገነዘ :	to bury.
ገዳዘ :	ነቅፈ :	to blame.
አቅዘዘ :	አፈዘዘ :	to weaken.
አዘዘ :	ገነነ :: ጸፍ :	to be rich, to flourish; to be strong.
አግዘዘ :	አረፃ :	to slaughter.
ፎዘ :	ወለወለ :	to polish, to besmear.
ተሰዘ :	ተሰዘ :	to be anxious.
አዘዘ :	አዘዘ :	to command.
ሐርገዘ :	አረፈ :	to rest, to be quiet.
ተመርጉዘ :	ተመረከዘ :	to support oneself.
አመንዘዘ :	አጥንተ : ያዘ :	to insult.
መዛመዘ :	አሸ :	to rub between the fingers.
አኅዘዘ :	አነዘዘ :	to walk about.
አንበዘ :	ገነነ :	to walk about.
ደንበዘ :	ደገፈ :	to support.

ተፈርዘዘ :	ደስ : አለው :	to be glad.
አስፆዘዘ :	ዞረ :: አዞረ :	to go round; <i>id.</i> trans.
ተፃገዘ :	ተጋገዘ :	to assist one another.
ተመሐዘ :	ተደራ :: ባልገደራ : ሆነ :	to agree; to keep company.
ፍዘዘ :	ፍዘዘ :: አረጋጋ :	to comfort; to encourage.
ልሕዋ :	ወዛ :	to sweat.
ስሕዋ :	ጠፋ :	to perish.
ርኅዋ :	ሸተተ :	to emit an odour.
ርኀዋ :	አየ :	to see.
ንሕዋ :	አረፈ :	to rest.
ውዕዋ :	ተቃጠለ :	to burn.
ጥዕዋ :	ደነ :	to become well.
ፅሕዋ :	በራ :	to shine.
ተጓሠዋ :	ደስ : አለው :	to be happy.
ጌርዋ :	መረጠ :	to choose.
መስዋ :	መሸ :	to be evening.
ሰተዋ :	ጠጣ :	to drink.
በልዋ :	አረጀ :: ጠፋ :	to be old.
ነደዋ :	ተቸገረ :	to be in trouble.
ዓበዋ :	በለጠ :: ከሰረ :	to be superior; to be honoured, glorious.
ጸርዋ :	ጸራ :	to be pure.
ፈርዋ :	አፈራ :	to bear fruit.
ጌለዋ :	አመሰግነ :: ዘፈነ :	to praise; to play music; to dance.
ሐመዋ :	አሳኘ :	to accuse, to calumniate.

ሐሰዖ :	አሸ : to rub.
ኃረዖ :	መረጠ : to choose.
ሐዋዖ :	አፋ። : to grind.
ጥሀዖ :	ጥዋሰ : to borrow.
ጥሐከዖ :	ታከዖ : to be lazy.
ፈገዖ :	ገጀ : to pass the dry season.
ሐጸዖ :	አ። : to betroth.
ለዋዖ :	ደገመ : to repeat.
ለከዖ :	ዋሳ : to anoint; to accuse.
መረዖ :	ፈቆ : አለ : to be agreeable.
ሰመዖ :	አለ :: ጸራ : to speak; to call.
ሠረዖ :	አዋለለ : to alleviate, to hold light.
ሠዋዖ :	አጠጣ : to water.
ሰከዖ :	ከሰሰ : to accuse.
ሰወዖ :	ሸጥ : to grow ripe.
ሰጸዖ :	አማረ :: ገዛ : to instruct; to govern.
ሰጠዖ :	አስመለሰ : to cause to return.
ሰፈዖ :	ሰፈ : to sew.
ረመዖ :	ወጋ : to pierce.
ረዋዖ :	ረ። : to sprinkle, to irrigate.
ረዓዖ :	ጠሰዋ : to be fixed.
ረወዖ :	ረካ : to be sated, to overflow.
ረጸዖ :	አበጀረ : to lend.
ዋለዖ :	ፈረጸ :: ጠለዋ : to judge; to b> deep, to dip.
ዋነዖ :	ገዛ : to possess, to govern.

በከዋ :	አለቅሰ : to mourn.
ተፈዋ :	ተመነ : to be faithful.
ነከዋ :	ነካ : to touch.
አንከዋ :	ከፈለ : to divide, to separate.
አንጠዋ :	ዘበዘበ : to molest, to annoy.
ነጸዋ :	ነጸፈ : to tear out.
ነፈዋ :	ነፈ : to blow, to winnow.
ዓረዋ :	ተካከለ : to be equal, uniform.
አበዋ :	አምሰ : አለ : to refuse.
አከዋ :	ከፈ : to be bad.
አጸዋ :	ከፈለ : to divide.
አፀዋ :	ተላ : to be wormy.
ከረዋ :	ቀፈረ : to dig.
ከፈዋ :	በቃ : to suffice.
አውቀዋ :	ቀረጠ : to cut, to engrave.
ወጸዋ :	ጨመረ : to add, to increase.
ዘነዋ :	ኅመዝ : to covet.
ጀጋዋ :	ማሰ : to dig.
ጀለዋ :	ፈለገ : to seek.
ጀበዋ :	ጀበጀበ : to flog.
ጀወዋ :	ተመመ : to be ill.
ገለዋ :	ለዋ : to distinguish.
ገነዋ :	ተገዛ : to be possessed, to be subject.
ጠመዋ :	ተራበ : to be hungry.
አጥረዋ :	ገዛ : to possess, to govern.
ጠነዋ :	ጠለቀ : to be deep, to dip.

ጠወዖ :	ጠመመ : to be twisted, crooked.
ጸበዖ :	ዋኝ : to swim.
ጸወዖ :	ነገረ : to speak.
ጸደዖ :	ጸደዖ ሆነ : it is autumn.
ጸገዖ :	አሰበ : to flourish.
ፈለዖ :	ለየ : to distinguish.
ፈረዖ :	አፈረ : to bear fruit.
ፈደዖ :	ከፈለ : to divide.
ኩሰዖ :	አጠፋ : to extinguish, to destroy.
ኩነዖ :	ካበ : to accumulate.
ተሐዋዖ :	ቸል : አለ : to neglect, disdain.
አዋዖ :	ሰራ :: ዞረ : to sow; to go round.
ጉዮ :	ሸሸ : to fly, to flee.
ሐለዖ :	አሰበ : to think.
ሐመዖ :	አሰረ : to bind, to curse.
አለሰዖ :	አጠፋ : to extinguish, to destroy.
ተመነዖ :	ተመኘ : to wish.
ሠረዖ :	አደነ :: መድኃኒት : አደረገ : to heal; to cure, deliver.
ሠነዖ :	አመላረ : to have mercy.
ረሰዖ :	አደረገ : to do, to make.
ተረሰዖ :	ተጸረረ : to be earned.
ቀነዖ :	ሰነሰተ : to stay, to remain.
ተነበዖ :	ተናገረ : to converse.
ዓሰዖ :	ሰጠ : to give.
ዓረዖ :	አስተካከለ : to make equal, uniform.

ተዓሰዩ :	ከራራ : to be proud.
ተወፈዩ :	ተቀበለ : to receive.
ጠሰዩ :	አጠፋ : to extinguish.
ጸለዩ :	ለመነ :: ተናገረ : to beg, to ask; to speak
ጸጸዩ :	ንጹሕ : ሆነ : to be innocent.
አብሰዩ :	በዘሰዘ : to plunder.
አመሰዓዩ :	አመነሽ : to ventilate, to winnow.
አመክነዩ :	አመካኘ : to protest, to find an excuse.
አርሰዩ :	አሳረፈ : to set at rest.
ተዓርወዩ :	ተቀጣጣ : to be angry.
ዘርከዩ :	ሰጀበ :: ተለገደ : to curse; to rebuke.
ደርበዩ :	ወጋ : to pierce.
ጸምሐዩ :	ጸወለገ : to wither, to fade.
ፀብሰዩ :	ተብዖ : ሆነ : to be dust.
ጉርዓዩ :	አረደ : to slaughter.
ጉንጉዩ :	ዘገየ : to be slow, to delay.
ጉንደዩ :	ዘገየ : to be slow, to delay.
ተጸምሐዩ :	ጸወለገ : to wither, to be dry.
አስተስረዩ :	አቃለለ : to lighten, to forgive.
አስተርአዩ :	ታየ : to appear.
ተለሆዩ :	ተጫወተ : to play, to jest.
ለፀዩ :	ለፀ : to shave.
ለኩዩ :	ጠነቀቀ : to foretell, to soothsay.
ተማረዩ :	አሸጋገረ : to explain, to predict.
ተሳለዩ :	አዘገመ : to walk slowly.
ሣቀዩ :	ሣቀየ : to torment.

ሳቀዮ :	ገኸኑ : to wander about.
አቃረዮ :	ጠሰሰ :: ሰኞ : to roast, to offer up.
ተገረዮ :	ተፈራረቀ : to be done alternately.
ተነሐዮ :	አቃላለ : to make light, to forgive.
ወሐዮ :	ጎበኙ : to explore.
ተዋነዮ :	ተጫወተ : to play, to jest.
ዋከዮ :	በረ. : to shine.
ተዛተዮ :	ተማከረ : to take.
ተፈጸዮ :	አፍጫሌ : to plunder.
አስተዋጀዮ :	አሳለ : to accuse.
ልለዮ :	ለየ : to distinguish.
አሌለዮ :	ማለጀ : to be early.
ማመዮ :	አጎለለ : to illtreat.
ሲሰዮ :	መጎበ : to nourish.
ሲረዮ :	አላለ : to colour, to sprinkle
ሲዘዮ :	ለየ : to distinguish.
ቁዋዮ :	ነፈገ : to grudge, to be a miser.
*ቢበዮ :	ዞረ : to go round.
ጌነዮ :	ኮበላለ : to fly, to flee.
ጌነዮ :	ሳተ : to err.
አጌጌነዮ :	ተቀበዘሰዘ : to swerve, to fidget.
ተመኳሰዮ :	ተመኩሽ :: ሞክሽ : ሆነ : to be homo- nymous; <i>id.</i>
ተሰካተዮ :	ተማማለ : to swear to one another.
ተቀናጀዮ :	ተቀናጀ : to walk haughtily.
አማዕለዮ :	ወነጀለ : to be false, deceitful.

አፍሕሰዩ :	አቃሰላ : to forgive, to overlook.
ጸሕዩዩ :	አረመ : to weed.
ልሕዩ :	ጥደላደላ : to be guided, to be smooth.
ምዕዩ :	መከረ : to advise, to counsel.
ርኒዩ :	ጥንቀጠቀጠ : to tremble.
ብዕዩ :	ለዩ : to distinguish.
ንዕዩ :	አከሰረ : to honour.
ክህዩ :	ካዩ : to deny.
ውጥዩ :	ጉደላ : to want, to be deficient.
ጥደህዩ :	አመኑ : to believe.
ጥገህዩ :	ጥገላጠ : to be uncovered, visible.
ጸሕዩ :	ለዘበ : to be smooth, polished.
አብዩ :	ሰነፈ :: ደነቆረ : to be foolish.
ከብዩ :	ከበደ :: በዛ :: ጸፍ : to be heavy; to increase; to be strong.
ጥዘምዩ :	ጥዘመዩ : to be related.
ጥጸምዩ :	ጥጸመዩ : to be coupled, yoked.
ፈረዩ :	አረዩ : to slay, to slaughter.
ሐዩ :	አንፀበረቀ : to shine, to sparkle.
ለመዩ :	ለመዩ : to be accustomed.
ሰገዩ :	ሰገዩ : to adore.
ሰጉዩ :	ሰጉዩ : to beat, to bend.
ረፈዩ :	ረፈዩ : to be in the forenoon.
በረዩ :	በረዩ : to be cold.
ነገዩ :	ሂዩ : to depart.
አህዩ :	አንድ : አደረገ : to be one, to unite.

አቀደ :	አሰረ : to bind.
ሳፀደ :	አ፴ደ : to reap.
ወለደ :	ወለደ : to beget.
ወሰደ :	ወሰደ : to take.
ወረደ :	ወረደ : to descend.
ጸመደ :	ጠመደ : to yoke together.
ፈቀደ :	ወደደ : to love.
ፈረደ :	ፈረደ : to judge.
ሐደደ :	በረታ : to be hard, cruel.
ሰደደ :	ሰደደ : to remove, to expel.
አውደደ :	አሰማማ : to conciliate, to make agree.
ገለደደ :	ገለደደ : Dillm.: <i>obducere</i> .
ነደ :	ነደደ : to burn.
ሂደ :	ቀማ : to rob, to plunder.
ኪደ :	ረገጠ : to tread, to trample.
ፆደ :	ዞረ : to walk round.
ሮደ :	ከሰበ : to surround.
ሐለደ :	ጨረሰ : to finish, to end.
* መሰደ :	ሸመተ : to train, to bargain.
መረደ :	ወረረ :: ጠበጠበ : to hasten; to trot.
አለደ :	አከማቸ : to gather.
አመደ :	አጸፎ : to strengthen, to give comfort.
ወለደ :	መረጸ : to choose.
ገመደ :	ቀረጠ : to cut, to decide.
ሐርበደ :	ሸፈተ :: ተደለደለ :: አሰደ : to rebel; to be led; to be foolish.

ተአንገደ :	አግግደ : ሆነ :	to be strange, a guest.
ፈደፈደ :	በዛ :	to increase, to multiply.
ከድከዱ :	አሰረ :	to tie, to bind.
ገድጉደ :	መጥ :	to beat.
አንገድጉደ :	አሰማ :: ተሰማ :	to cause to hear; to be heard.
ተካዩደ :	ተማማላ :	to swear to one another.
ተዋረደ :	ተዋረደ :	to be lowered, humbled.
ተጋዩደ :	ፈጠነ :	to hasten.
አስተዋደደ :	አሰማማ :	to conciliate, to make agree.
ክጉ :	ጎደላ :	to be deficient.
ዓርገ :	ወጣ :	to go forth.
ተዘወገ :	ጠበቃ : ሆነ :	to be a protector.
ሐመገ :	አደፋረሰ :	to disturb.
ጓደገ :	ተወ :	to leave.
መረገ :	መረገ :	to besmear.
መዘገ :	ነጠቀ :	to snatch away.
ነሰገ :	ቁላፈ :	to shut up.
አላገ :	ረጋ :	to curdle.
አረገ :	አረጀ :	to be old.
ፈላገ :	ከፈላ :	to divide.
ፈገገ :	ከረፋ :	to stink.
አገ :	አከማቸ :	to assemble.
ጸገ :	ተቀዖመ :	to bear a grudge.
ጓደገ :	ቀጠ :	to punish.
ሐገገ :	ወሰነ :	to limit, to define.

ተዛወገ :	ወገን ፡ ሆነ ፡ to be related.
ደሰገ ፡	አንድ ፡ ሆነ ፡ to be assembled.
ተጸወገ ፡	ከፋ ፡ to be bad.
አገገሰገ ፡	ተሰበሰበ ፡ to be assembled
ደገገ ፡	ወሰነ ፡ to limit, to define.
ደገደገ ፡	ከሳ ፡ to be lean.
ተዛወገ ፡	ተዛመደ ፡ to be related.
ደረገ ፡	ደረገ ፡ to assign an allowance.
ሰሐጠ ፡	ጫረ ፡ to scratch.
ውረጠ ፡	ዋጠ ፡ to swallow.
ዕዕጠ ፡	አጸፈጠ ፡ to sweeten.
ሐብጠ ፡	አሰጠ ፡ to swell.
ሐፈጠ ፡	ጻፈ ፡ to write.
ለበጠ ፡	ለሰጠ ፡ to cover.
መሰጠ ፡	ነሰቀ ፡ to seize.
አምሰጠ ፡	አመለጠ ፡ to escape.
አስለጠ ፡	አሰለጠነ ፡ ፈጠነ ፡ to permit; to hasten.
አስበጠ ፡	አስታረበ ፡ ስንቅ ፡ ያዘ ፡ to offer a meal; to take provisions.
ሰፈጠ ፡	ሸፈጠ ፡ አግበለ ፡ to prevaricate.
ቀሰጠ ፡	ቀሰጠ ፡ to steal.
አበጠ ፡	አፈነ ፡ መለሰ ፡ ከሰበ ፡ to cover with the hands; to return; to surround.
ወፈጠ ፡	ተቆሰ ፡ to be hot.
ዘበጠ ፡	መታ ፡ to beat, to knock.
ጸበጠ ፡	ጨሰጠ ፡ to seize.
ፈለጠ ፡	ለየ ፡ አወቀ ፡ to distinguish; to know.

ሰጠጠ :	ቀጀደ : to break.
አቀጠጠ :	አቀጠነ : to render thin.
ሄጠ :	ሸነጎለ : to deceive.
ሚጠ :	መለሰ : to turn.
ሢጠ :	ሸጠ : to insert, to repair.
ሶጠ :	ገረፈ : to flog.
ሰለጠ :	ጨረሰ : to finish.
ወለጠ :	ለወጠ : to change.
ሐንፈጠ :	ጻፈ : to write.
ቀጥቀጠ :	ቀጠቀጠ : to hammer.
አንቀጥቀጠ :	አንቀጠቀጠ : to tremble.
አንሶጠጠ :	ሰቅጥጥ : አደረገ : to shudder.
ተሣዩጠ :	ተወደጀ : to sell one's friendship.
ሂጸ :	ነጀፈ : to pierce, to sting.
ቀልጸጸ :	ቀረጠጠ : to bite.
ልሕፀ :	ለጠ : to strip, to peel off.
ግሕፀ :	ሸሸ : to flee.
ሰሕፀ :	ተጥለቀለቀ : to be inundated.
ርሕፀ :	ወዛ : to sweat.
ንሕጸ :	አረፈ : to rest, to be quiet.
ደጥፀ :	ተሰነሸለ : to stumble.
ቀጠፀ :	አጣ : to want, to fail.
ነቅጸ :	ደረቀ : to be dry.
ነፍጸ :	ሸሸ : to flee, to depart.
ደግፀፀ :	ተሰማ : to be heard.
ሐረፀ :	ፈጨ : to grind.

ሐነፀ :	ሰራ : to work.
ለመጸ :	ለምፅ : ሆነ : to be a leper.
ሠረፀ :	ወሻ : to go forth.
ረመፀ :	ተኩሰ : to be hot.
ረገጸ :	ረገጠ : to trample, to kick.
ቀረጸ :	ቀረጠ : to cut, to chisel.
ቀነጸ :	ዘለለ : to jump.
ቀፈጸ :	ገለጠ : to uncover, to detect.
በቀጸ :	ጫረ : to scrape.
አዕቀጸ :	አሰደከለ : to cause to stumble, to push.
ደጉጸ :	ጉሰመ :: ጉነጠ : to push, to strike; to hurt.
ፈለጸ :	ፈለጠ : to divide.
ጉረፀ :	ነቀሰ : to dress the hair.
ሐፀ :	ጉደለ : to be deficient.
መጸ :	መጠጠ : to be sour.
ቢጸ :	ለዖ : to distinguish.
ገጸ :	መታ :: ፈሳ :: ነፋ : to beat; to break wind; to blow.
ሞጸ :	ካሰ : to make amends.
ሮፀ :	ሮጠ : to run.
ሐወጸ :	ጎበኘ : to explore.
አመገጸ :	አዎለለ : to render small.
ተረዖጸ :	ተገራ : to train, to tame.
ዓመጸ :	አመጠ : to be disobedient.
ገመጸ :	አጉደለ : to be in need.

- ገሠጸ : መከረ :: ተቀጣ : to advise; to rebuke.
 ገገዖጸ : አገጠጠ : to cause to go outside, to extract.
 ገገፀ : አፈገፈገ :: ተገ : አለ : to withdraw, to shrink; to stop.
 ሐንፈፀ : ጠረጠረ : to doubt.
 *ሐንጸጸ : ባደ : አደረገ : to speak.
 ደገገጸ : ደገገጠ : to be astonished.
 አንፈርዔፀ : ዘለለ : to jump.
 ተሞገፀ : ነጠበ :: ተቀጣ : to drip; to rebuke.
 ተገረፀ : አሸበረፀ : to be resplendent.
 ተገዖጸ : ተሰማማ :: ባልንጀራ : ሆነ : to agree with one another; to be a companion.
 ተጋዖጸ : አጊጠ : to be well dressed.
 አስተሐዖጸ : አየ :: አስተዋለ : to see; to pay attention.
 ተርፈ : ቀረ :: በዛ : to rest, to cease; to increase.
 ነጥፈ : ለቆመ :: ለሰጠ : to gather; to swell.
 ነጽፈ : ደረቀ : to be dry; to overlay, to deck.

- ለከፈ : ሰሐወ : ጉድዓ : ብ : ነካ : (B. 49 vo) to touch, to stroke.
 መክፈ : ትብልያ : ዘ : ወገረት : (A. 14 b, B. 69 vo) to bandage.
 ተተስፋ : ተሳተፈ : ተሐወለ : ብ : ተቀላቀለ : (B. 58 vo) to be mixed.
 ቀሠፈ : ገረፈ : (A. 10 c; B. 59 vo) to scourge.

ተሳተፈ : **ተዋህደ : ብ : አንድ : ሆነ :** to be associated.

ተነገፈ : ብ : ረገፈ : (A. 13 a; B. 60 vo) to fall off.

ነጸፈ : ብ : አነጸፈ : (B. 58 vo) to stretch, to lay out.

አጠፈ : ዘ : አትአመነው : (A. 11 c; B. 69 vo) to confess, to believe.

ከፈተፈ : ሐመዖ : ብ : አሰረ : (B. 62 vo) to bind.

ተወከፈ : ዘ : ተዋበለ : (A. 76) to receive.

ተዓዋፈ : ዘ : ተሰፍከለ : (A. 7 b) to stumble, to take offence.

ገደፈ : መነነ : ዘ : በሐለ : (A. 6 c) to throw.

ጸረፈ : ዘ : ተሳደበ : (A. 6 c; B. 53 ro) to insult.

JUST OUT.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF RAMANANDA

I have read Dr. Farquhar's article ¹ on "The Historical Position of Rāmānanda" with interest not unmixed with a certain amount of surprise. He has devoted a great deal of attention to the differences between the teachings of Rāmānanda and Rāmānuja, but very little to the points on which they are similar. He has, however, made the following admissions :—

1. That Rāmānanda came from the south.
2. That he used Rāmānuja's *Śrī-bhāṣyā*.
3. That the *tīlakas* of the two sects are similar.

I think that these three facts are sufficient to confirm the popular tradition that Rāmānanda was originally a follower of Rāmānuja, but subsequently, owing to his broader views on religious and social questions, founded a separate and more liberal sect. It requires no elaborate reasoning to show that when a new order or sect is established some differences in the forms and rituals will arise ; but to infer from these differences that a separate sect existed, to which Rāmānanda belonged, and which is now extinct, is in my opinion greatly stretching the imagination.

With regard to the presence of *advaita* elements in the teachings of Rāmānanda, tradition says that this was one of the differences which led Rāmānanda to sever his connexion with the main sect. It is believed that in his days the *Dvaitins* and the *Advaitins* were quarrelling with each other over their differences, and that blows were being exchanged with very great frequency. Rāmānanda tried to adopt a middle course to bring about harmony to which the intolerant leaders would not assent. Rāmānanda then founded his sect, which

¹ JRAS. April, 1920, p. 185.

is more liberal with regard to द्वैताद्वैतवाद, with regard to caste, and with regard to rigidity in matters of forms and ritual, contending most vehemently that the Doctrine of Love recognizes no such narrow-mindedness. He, however, never failed to acknowledge that his teachings were derived from Rāmānuja, for the latter's name is daily pronounced by every pious Rāmānandī in the गुरु-शिष्य-परम्परा.

Dr. Farquhar has also made several incorrect statements, to one or two of which I should like to make a brief reference. In one place he has not reproduced the *mantras* of the two sects correctly.¹ They should be :—

1. राङ्ग रामाय नमः *rāṅ Rāmāya namaḥ* ; and
2. ओं श्रीमन्नारायणाय नमः *ōṁ Śrīman - Nārāyaṇāya namaḥ*,

instead of *Om Rāmāya namaḥ* and *Om namo Nārāyaṇāya*. It must be noted that a Rāmānandī believes that the Lord's name "Rāma" is the same as *ōṁ* of the Brahman, and that consequently the use of the *praṇava* (*ōṁ*) with the Rāma-mantra is tautology.

Another incorrect statement is that "there is no evidence that he [Rāmānanda] modified the social rules of caste in the slightest."² A visit to any of the *akhārūs* of Rāmānandī Bairāgīs will convince that Śūdras of all classes are as freely admitted and invested with the sacred thread as the twice-born. Since no social reformer who preached Love could adopt a militant attitude and Hindūs have never been actively proselytizing, few, if any, admissions have been made from among those who belonged to other creeds, but Śaivas and Ācārīs are always reinitiated with great pleasure, and the popular belief "once a *guru*, always a *guru*" does not find great favour with a Rāmānandī.

I hope to be able to deal with the subject in greater detail later on, but meanwhile I hasten to remove some of the misapprehensions which the article is sure to create. I must

¹ p. 188.

² p. 191.

also put in an emphatic protest against the use of the word "harem",¹ in referring to Sītā's captivity in Lankā. In the first place, no reference has been made to any passage which says that she was ever lodged among Rāvaṇa's queens; secondly, the word "harem" carries with it such vicious associations that its employment in connexion with one whom every Hindū regards as a paragon of virtues is, for obvious reasons, objectionable.

SĪTĀ RĀM.

MUTHIGANJ, ALLAHABAD, INDIA.

June 29, 1920.

THE SOMA PLANT

I have read with interest Mr. Havell's short paper on "What is Soma?" published in the July number of this valuable Journal. His identification of Soma with *Eleusine coracana* or *rāgi* is based, I am afraid, on grounds which may be supplemented by others of a more important character. Mr. Havell's impression is that Soma (the plant) resembled cow's udders, but I have not been able to find out the text to which he may have referred. It may be that he refers to R.V. 8, 9, 19, which has been noted by Professor Macdonell as authority for his statement that the shoots swelling give milk, like cows with their udders. This clearly refers to the shape taken by the strainer when the shoots are placed inside it and the juice is strained out. This, therefore, does not help us to identify the plant itself.

Mr. Havell states that the plant itself had a likeness to the fingers of a man's hand. In order to prove this, the original text, if any, on which this statement is based ought to be fully discussed. At the same time, we must remember that even if any text proves this statement to be correct, it will not be of any importance in identifying the plant. If Mr. Havell is referring to the fact that Soma is described as having *parvas*; even then this fact alone does not lead to identification of the

¹ p. 189.

plant, but taken with other facts this might be utilized for the purpose of an identification. The colour of Soma has been variously described, and the internal evidence of the texts is that the different terms refer to the colour of the plant, or the drink itself at different stages of preparation. The word *harih* probably means a pleasant colour, although the word has been generally translated as "tawny". The exact translation requires discussion, but in any case its colour is not such that it will lead to an identification of the plant. The facts therefore on which Mr. Havell relies are that Soma has *parvas*, it is tawny in colour, and that it grows on mountains. These three elements are very general, and are by no means enough to identify the plant.

Mr. Havell seems to believe that the substitutes for Soma given in the Satapatha Brahmana are plants akin to Soma, and he refers to *dub* and *syenahrta*. I believe that in order to ascertain the propriety of substitution we must refer to the Yagnaparibhasa Sutra, and on the basis of the rules prescribed in that work we may be in a position to appreciate the reasons for adoption of particular plants as substitutes. It will be obvious to scholars that simply on the basis of elements utilized by Mr. Havell, it would indeed be difficult to arrive at the identification of Soma with *rāgi*.

I propose that the following facts may be taken into consideration in connexion with the subject under discussion :—

(1) Svetaketu Auddalaki says that the name of the plant is Usana (or Asana) (Sat. Br., V. 1, 1, 12).

(2) The name Soma was given to the plant after the Vaidik people came to know Asana or Usana.

(3) Soma originally was amongst the Kiratas.

(4) Amongst the Kiratas *u* and *a* were articular prefixes.

(5) Therefore Usana or Asana resolves itself into Sana.

(6) According to the Satapatha Brahmana, Uma means the inner portion of the plant Sana. "Inside there is a layer of hemp, for the purpose that it may blaze up. And as to its being a layer of hemp, the inner membrane (Amnion) of the

womb from which Prajapati was born consists of Uma, and the outer membrane (Chorion) of hemp." (Sat. Br.)

(7) The Tanguts call hemp by the name Dschoma.

(8) In Dahuria, the Mughals call hemp by the name Schema.

(9) The Tibetan for hemp is Somaratsa.

(10) In Chinese Si-ma and Tsu-ma are the names of the male and female hemp plants.

(11) Sir George Watt says that the narcotic is really the female *tsu-ma*.

(12) Hemp = A.S. *han-p* = Old Norse *hanp-r*, Lat. *cannabis* = Low German (also High German) *hanaf*; Greek *kappa* = Sk Sana.

(13) Soma has a dark skin (R.V., 7, 42; 9, 107, 5; Nirukta, 1, 7, 20).

(14) The prepared liquid is Arunah, Arushah, Sonah, etc.

(15) Soma is called Amsu (a ray) or that which is full of rays or soft hairs or having soft sprays or twigs. Cf. Sumerian *en-zu* = Moon = Soma.

(16) It is called Varāha (Nirukta V., 1, 4).

(17) It is food for cows, it is a medicinal plant, the plant has a very strong and nauseating smell (*vājagandhyam*).

(18) Its habitat is Mujavan.

(19) Soma has the same habitat as that of Kushtha (Ath.V., 19, 39, 5). The north of the Himalayas is the habitat of Kushtha (Ath.V., V, 4, 8); Kushtha is Saussurea. Therefore, Soma's habitat is north of the Himalayas.

(20) Mujavan is one of the hills to the north of the Himalayas, south of the Kailas ranges, and is very probably the same as Mem-nam-nyim-re, south of Gurla Mandhata.

(21) The use of the drink results in the protrusion of the stomach.

(22) The preparation of Soma is similar to that of Bhang.

(23) The deity Mahadeva is a lover of Bhang.

(24) Bhāṅg is used by the modern representatives of the Vaidik people in the celebration of the worship of the goddess Durga, which is a Soma sacrifice.

(25) Bhang is sacred to Hindus by tradition.

(26) The medicinal and other properties of Bhang should be discussed in connection with the present question and must be compared with those of Soma if any can be gleaned from Vaidik sources.

(27) An attempt may also be made to ascertain if Ayurvedic texts give us any clue to the identification. I am myself not very sanguine about success in this direction, as great scholars have been misled by the following Ayurvedic text : " Shyāmalāmlā cha nishpatrā kheerinee twachi māngshalā. Sleshmalā vamanee ballee Somākhyā chhāgabhojanam " and, further, because Ayurvedic works give fanciful descriptions of various kinds of Soma.

From what has been stated above, may we not conclude that the weight of evidence is in favour of the identification of Soma with Cannabis (Bhang).

I beg to draw the attention of the readers of this paper to my paper on the Soma plant, which has been very kindly published by the editors of the *Bulletin* of the Indian Rationalistic Society of Calcutta.

BRAJA LAL MUKHERJEE.

RAJASEKHARA ON THE HOME OF PAISACI

Some years ago there was a discussion in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society (vols. lxiv and lxvi) between Sir George Grierson and myself about the home of Paisāci. I am not going to repeat the arguments urged by either of us; the result would merely be the old one, that we should agree to disagree. I only want to draw the attention of scholars to a statement which I have lately come across, and which is of importance as being the oldest attempt at localizing the language of the Bṛhatkathā of which we have any knowledge.

Rājasekhara, who lived about A.D. 900, has written a rhetorical work, the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, which has been edited as No. 1 of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series by C. D. Dalal and

R. Anantakrishna Shastry, Baroda, 1916. Here two stanzas are given on p. 51 in which we are told where Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, and Bhūtabhāṣā were supposed to be spoken. Bhūtabhāṣā cannot be anything but the same Bhūtabhāṣā in which, according to Bāṇa, the Br̥hatkathā was written. About this language we learn—

Āvantiyāḥ Pāriyātrāḥ saha Daśapurajair Bhūtabhāṣāṃ bhajante.

“The Avanti-people, those who live about Pāriyātra, together with those born in Daśapura, favour the Bhūtabhāṣā.”

There cannot be any doubt about the identification of these local names. The Āvantiyāḥ are the inhabitants of the country about Ujjain; Pāriyātra is the range from which the Chambal and Betwa Rivers take their rise,¹ and Daśapura is the present Mandasor to the north of Ujjain.

We are thus taken to the same locality where the old Br̥hatkathā was believed to have been composed.²

Rājaśekhara does not give the stanzas in question as his own, but as a quotation. As long as we are not able to verify them it will not be possible to date them. At all events, they take us back to an earlier date than any statement made by later grammarians, and we are, I think, justified in inferring that in the ninth century the country in the neighbourhood of the Vindhya range was considered as the home of the old dialect of the Br̥hatkathā.

Mārkaṇḍeya in his short notes on Paisāci quotes the Br̥hatkathā under the head of Kekayapaisāciki. In his times, therefore, there must have been a different tradition about the Br̥hatkathā. In this connexion I wish to remind you of the fact that M. Lacôte, in his excellent study on Guṇādhya, has made it probable that the Kāśmīrī versions of the Br̥hatkathā are not based on the old work itself, but on a later compilation, in which other dialects may have been substituted for the ancient Bhūtabhāṣā. If that should be the

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii, p. 135.

² Cf. ZDMG, vol. lxiv, pp. 95 ff.

case my own view would be strengthened that the term *Paiśācī* has been transferred by later grammarians to forms of speech which are different from the old tongue in which the original *Bṛhatkathā* was composed. STEN KONOW.

SHAHBANDAR AND BENDAHARA

As Mr. W. H. Moreland in his recent paper, "The Shahbandar in the Eastern Seas" (*JRAS.*, October, 1920), seems to have made out a good case for the conclusion that "these two titles and offices were sometimes confounded by European writers, it appears to me desirable to point out the real distinction between them. I confine my remarks almost entirely to the State of Malacca, which may be taken as typical of the Malay Peninsula, leaving aside the Javanese and other instances cited in the paper. At Malacca in the fifteenth century the Chief Minister of State under the Sultan was the *Bëndahara*, as the title is now spelt in standard Malay. In an appendix to the so-called Code of Malacca (Newbold, *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, vol. ii, p. 312) we are told: "The Bandahara is he who rules the peasantry, the army, and those dependent on the State. His sway extends over all islands, and it is he who is the king's lawgiver."

According to the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* (an early seventeenth century Malay "history"), the *Bëndahara* was chosen by the Sultan from either of two great families, one of which was supposed to be a junior branch of the reigning house. At court "the order of sitting was to be, first the descendants of the royal family, then the bandahara", etc. (I quote from Leyden's translation of this history, published under the title *Malay Annals*, p. 104.) According to the same source, it was with the *Bëndahara* that the Portuguese negotiated on their first arrival at Malacca. The Malay history is not to be relied on for particular historical facts like that; but there is no reason to doubt that it correctly represents the status of the *Bëndahara*. In modern times the office has survived, always as a very high one. In Perak, for instance, the

Bëndahara is the first of the Four High Officers of State. Pahang is ruled by a descendant of the Bëndaharas of the old Johor empire. In fact, the Bëndahara was the Grand Vizier, and almost a minor royalty. In Malacca no other person except him and the children and grandchildren of the king was "permitted to wear a kris having a golden handle weighing nearly a bunkal without express permission from the king" (Newbold, loc. cit., pp. 232-3).

His title is of Sanskrit origin, representing *bhāṇḍāra* (for *bhāṇḍāgāra*), "a storehouse." The office, therefore, unlike that of Shahbandar, goes back to the ancient days of the ascendancy of Indian influence in the Malay Archipelago. How did a Sanskrit word for a storehouse become a Malay title for the highest officer of State? Presumably *Bëndahara* was originally preceded by the title *Dato'* (afterwards raised to *Raja*), and the combination meant "Chief of the storehouse". In other words, he was the Lord High Treasurer, and (as has happened elsewhere with Treasurers) he became the Chief Minister. In the *Sējarah Mēlayu* we find the actual duties of storekeeper delegated to a subordinate official styled Pēnghulu Bëndahari (from the Sanskrit *bhāṇḍārīn*, "keeper of a treasury, steward"), whom we may perhaps style the "Chief Steward". The same work tells us that he was at the head of the other stewards and royal servants, including the collectors of revenue, and that the Shahbandar (or, it may be, Shahbandars) was (or were) under his charge (*Malay Annals*, p. 104, the translation gives the plural, but the Malay original is ambiguous). The Code of Malacca (Newbold, loc. cit., p. 265), under the heading of weights and measures, says that these "and the bazaar regulations appertain to the Shahbandar's department. All nakhodas (captains) of junks, of baloks (a sort of boat), and strangers of every grade must apply to the Shahbandar in case of infliction of wounds, or of fighting and quarrelling. People belonging to the town are amenable to its jurisdiction". (I think we should probably read "his jurisdiction".)

It appears from this that the Shahbandar was a subordinate of a subordinate of the Bëndahara. He was the local town governor and harbour master of a port town to which strangers commonly resorted, and a great part of his duties consisted in dealing with foreign merchants, receiving tolls, etc. To this day, in Perak, there is a Shahbandar whose predecessors were "a sort of harbour master, customs officer, protector of immigrants, and superintendent of trade" (Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects, History*, pt. ii, p. 81). But whereas the Raja Bëndahara is the first in rank of the Four High Officers of State, the Dato' Bandar (short title for Shahbandar) is but the sixth of the Eight who come after the Four. In my time (1890-5) the European harbour master at Malacca was in Malay called Tuan Shahbandar. It appears from a passage in the *Sējarah Mēlayu* (*Malay Annals*, pp. 332-3) that a Kēling (Tamil or Telugu) merchant became Shahbandar at Malacca circa 1500. He is stated to have been almost as wealthy as the Bëndahara, who also did some highly successful trading on his own account; they are reported to have compared notes on the subject of their respective fortunes! This is a concrete case illustrating the principle suggested by Mr. Moreland, that leading foreign merchants were sometimes taken into the local bureaucracy. It is perhaps not unreasonable to conjecture that before becoming Shahbandar this wealthy Kēling merchant had been the recognized head of the local Kēling community, a sort of consul for his fellow-countrymen.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ERRATA

I wish to correct the following errors in the last two quarterly issues of JRAS. :—

OCTOBER, 1920, pp. 535-63.

The interesting account of Mr. Ivanow about the manuscripts preserved at the shrine of Imām Rizā (Ridā) at Meshhed contains many entries from which it is far from clear what works are meant, but the following corrections may elucidate some obscure places :—

- p. 543. No. 286 is the well-known work of Murtaḍā lithographed in Teherān, and in a more accessible edition, Cairo, 1325 A.H. (four volumes).
- p. 549. No. 13. Insān al-'Uyūn is correct; it is a well-known biography of the prophet, and the remainder should read *بسيرة حلبى*.

Nos. 38-9. *تاريخ أبى الفداء*. No doubt the Constantinople print 1286 A.H. (in four volumes).

No. 41. No doubt the work of Qazwīnī.

- p. 550. Nos. 47-8. *فَوَاتِ الْوَفِيَّاتِ*. Probably the Cairo edition of 1283 A.H.

- p. 551. No. 71. *تاريخ يمينى*. The history of Maḥmūd of Ghazna.

- p. 554. No. 10. *فى المواعظ و الحِكَم*.

- p. 555. No. 80. *صفى الدين حلبى*.

- p. 556. No. 125. *ابن نباتة*.

There are many other titles of books which by careful scrutiny could be identified, but the whole library appears to be very disappointing when compared with the libraries in Constantinople.

JANUARY, 1921, pp. 121 ff.

p. 121, 6a, read *النحل*.

p. 122, 33b, „ *الهَوَام*

105a, „ *الايمان*

p. 123, 224b, „ *الخ*

p. 123, 224*b*, read محمد بن

p. 124, 226*a*, „ المعالي

In several cases the vowels have been placed a trifle sideways from the consonants, but this should be no impediment to students. F. KRENKOW.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

I. Le Conseil de la Fondation, n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de novembre, 1919, est composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. De Boer, K. Kuiper, et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

II. Dans l'année 1920 la Fondation a fait paraître, chez l'éditeur Brill, à Leyde, sa sixième publication : Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, par I. Goldziher (édition augmentée des conférences tenues par l'auteur à Upsal en 1913).

III. Les exemplaires disponibles des six ouvrages publiés par la Fondation sont en vente chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill au profit de la Fondation : No. 1, Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Ḥamâsah d'Al-Buḥturî (1909), au prix de 96 florins hollandais ; No. 2, Le Kitâb al-Fâkhîr d'Al-Mufaḍḍal, publié par C. A. Storey (1915), au prix de 6 florins ; No. 3, Streitschrift des Ġazâlî gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916) au prix de 4,50 florins ; No. 4, Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove, together with some chapters from his Ethikon, translated by A. J. Wensinck (1919), au prix de 4,50 florins ; No. 5, De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, door C. Van Arendonk (1919), au prix de 6 florins ; No. 6, Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, par I. Goldziher (1920), au prix de 10 florins.

IV. Le haut montant des frais de publication du No. 6 a obligé le conseil à disposer par anticipation de ses moyens de quelques années à venir.

Novembre, 1920.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LA FORMATION DE LA LANGUE MARATHE. By JULES BLOCH.
432 pages. Paris, 1919.

The first half of this work, dealing with the Marāṭhi language as a whole, was completed in the year 1914 as a thesis for the Doctorate of Letters in the University of Paris, and, though not published at the time, was privately circulated by its author to a few fortunate friends. The War interrupted its further progress, but the whole, including the second part, consisting of an Etymological Index,¹ has now been placed at the disposal of students, and we are in a position publicly to congratulate Monsieur Bloch on the successful accomplishment of a fine piece of scholarship.

Without any doubt this is the most important book dealing with the Modern Indian languages that has appeared since the publication of Hoernle's *Grammar of the Gaudian Languages* in 1880. During the forty years that have elapsed since then there has been collected much information which was not available to that great scholar or to Beames, the third volume of whose *Comparative Grammar* appeared in 1879; and a flood of light has been thrown on the earlier history of Indo-Aryan tongues by the researches of such men as Meillet, Pischel, and Wackernagel. M. Bloch has availed himself of all this, and the result is the work now before us.

There are two methods of approaching the subject of the philology of Indian languages. We may make an intensive study of one particular language, as Hoernle did of his "Eastern Hindī" (now generally known as Bhojpuri), and consider its connexion with the other languages of the family; or we may follow in the steps of Caldwell and Beames, and

¹ Space will not permit me again to refer to this admirable Index, which demands a whole article to itself. But I must here draw special attention to it. It does for Marāṭhi what Horn's *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* does for Persian.

devote our energies to a wide and general review of the whole subject. The latter is, I need hardly point out, the preferable course if it can be accomplished. The author writes from a higher standpoint, and can take a wider view of the land which he has to map out; but too little is known of the earlier history of the modern Indian languages—even of some of the more important—to permit it to be done with complete success. On the other hand, if Hoernle's example is followed, as has been done by M. Bloch, the subject is necessarily approached from one side only, and the general aspect is subordinated to the particular. Nevertheless, if our ultimate aim is a complete conspectus of the whole field of Indo-Aryan philology, such works as these latter are essential preliminaries. Till each important language has been intensively studied we shall be unable to compare them on equal terms. Apart, therefore, from its undoubted merits as a scientific account of Marāṭhī, this book is an important step forward towards the goal to which all students of Indo-Aryan languages look forward.

M. Bloch will be the last to expect universal acceptance for every statement in his book. It is founded on detailed and minute examination of several thousand words and forms, of many of which the origin and explanation are open to discussion. Considerations of space prohibit a detailed criticism, and in this notice I propose to deal principally with points in which I am not in entire agreement with him. From this it is not to be understood that I differ from his conclusions as a whole, or that, mosquito-like, I am assuming the character of a *chidrānvēṣin*. On the contrary, I hope that I shall make it plain that I am dealing with a volume of solid learning, which should in future be at the right hand of every student of the subject.

In several instances the author meets with forms difficult to explain, and treats them as cases of borrowing from other dialects. In this I am usually in agreement with him, though I suspect that my view of what a dialect is differs from what

he and other writers mean by the term. Usually dialects are looked upon as local affairs. They are considered as being peculiar to some special tract of country, and a borrowed term is considered as imported from some outside language. No doubt this does frequently occur, but I think that the theory of *outside* borrowing is often unnecessary. For instance, two or three dialects of Marāṭhī may be spoken in the same village. We have something like this in Europe, where the language of the educated differs from that of the peasant ; but the state of affairs is much more pronounced in India, where dialect is influenced by caste as much as by locality. In the same place there may be Karhādī, Saṅgamēśvarī, Kuḍālī, Dāldī, Chitpāvaṇī, and what not, each spoken by a separate caste, and alongside of the standard Marāṭhī of the Deś. We may assume that what is true at the present time was also true in past days,¹ and we may be certain that when the Prakrits were in flourishing existence numerous dialects existed in each locality alongside of the standard form of speech laid down by the grammarians for each local language. Let us take a few examples.

The confusion of the letters *r* and *l* is a well-known feature of Indo-Aryan languages from the earliest times. It is also known that the East preferred *l*, while the West was marked by a rhotacism of Eranian origin. Wackernagel (op. laud., p. xxi) quotes this fact as indicating that the *l*-speakers were the first Aryans to enter India, and that they had already settled on the Ganges in Vedic times. The point is therefore of importance from several aspects. Now, this general rule of the distribution of *l* and *r* presents some perplexing exceptions. As in other respects, Marāṭhī here generally agrees with the East, as against the West. Yet, while on the one hand, as M. Bloch shows (p. 144), it has numerous words

¹ So Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, xix : "Somit hat die überall vorkommende, aber in Indien am schärfsten ausgeprägte Scheidung der Sprache nach Volksklassen hier schon in vedischer Zeit geherrscht."

with *l* which in Sanskrit have *r*, on the other hand it has a certain number of words in which the reverse is the case, and *r* represents a Sanskrit *l*. The explanation is to be found in the fact, long ago pointed out by Hoernle, that while the Western *r* is cerebral and the Western *l* is dental, the Eastern *r* and *l* are both dental. Sindhī and the Dardic languages of the extreme North-West follow the East in this respect. In regions in which the two letters are both dental they are easily confused, and this has long been recognized by Indian grammarians. The Eastern grammarian Mārkaṇḍeya (Comm. to Intr. 5) says that according to some authorities, with whom he is in accord, संस्कृते ऽपि र-लयोरैक्यस्वरणमिति न दोषः “even in Sanskrit it is not incorrect to look upon *r* and *l* as the same letter.” Almost the same words have been used to me by a Kāshmirī Paṇḍit in explaining the meaning of an obsolete word *chōr*, of which the modern form is *chūl*. He said it was explicable by “र-लयोरैक्यता”. At the present day, in the East, peasants are not able to distinguish between the two letters,¹ and I have no doubt that with its Eastern leaning the same is the case in Marāṭhī. In such circumstances it is quite unnecessary to presume the borrowings from any Western dialect in which *r* is preserved. The dental *r* is there, on the spot, in the mouths of the peasants, and if some of their words have come to the surface, and have ousted the *l* forms which would be usually employed by the educated classes, whose speech is based on the literary language, it is nothing extraordinary.

While discussing *r*, I may allude to the word *uṣṭra*-, which in Prakrit becomes either *uṭṭha*- or *uṭṭa*- (Mārkaṇḍeya, iii, 14). Most modern languages preserve the aspiration, and have *ūth*, but because Marāṭhī has *ūt* we are not entitled to assume that the disaspiration was a local peculiarity in Prakrit. According to Mārkaṇḍeya (xii, 7) the Eastern form would be

¹ Beames, i, 236, mentions the names of three Englishmen which the common folk of an India District were never able to distinguish. The names were Kelly, Clay, and Currie.

uṣṭha- or *uṣṭa-*; but I think that we may be sure that, under that blessed general rule of “*bahulam*”, *uṭṭha-* and *uṭṭa-* were also heard in some uneducated Eastern mouths. There is an old story of Kālidāsa’s ignorant boyhood current in Bihār, which aptly illustrates this contention. His Paṇḍit wife tried to teach him to say “*uṣṭrah*”, but he could not. Sometimes he said *uṭrah* and sometimes he said *uṣṭah*. At length, in desperation, she cried :—

उष्ट्रे लुम्पति रं वा षं वा

तस्मै दत्ता विपुलनितम्बा ।

किं न करोति स एव हि रुष्टः

किं न करोति स एव हि तुष्टः ॥

“In *uṣṭra-* sometimes he omitteth *r* and sometimes *s*, yet God hath given him a round-hipped wife. What doth He not do when He is wrathful, and what doth He not do when He is pleased !” Here we find the uneducated boy not only omitting the aspirate of the Māgadhi *uṣṭha-* but sometimes speaking Apabhraṁśa and retaining the original *r*. The verse is, of course, imaginary, but it gives a very clear picture of the varying pronunciation of Prakrit in the mouths of the uneducated.¹

Another example is the so-called irregular change of the sibilant to *h* in *daśan-* and in the seventies (*ṭkāhattar*, 71, and so on). Although found in Prakrit, this, as M. Bloch points out (pp. 161, 218, 221), is contrary to Marāṭhī custom, which normally preserves the sibilant. He is driven to suggest that the words are borrowed from some dialect of the West or of the Madhyadēśa. It is improbable that while a language should have its own series of numerals for all numbers except for 71 to 78, it should suddenly borrow these from other languages, and I think that we may consider the irregularity to be really another instance of class, as distinct from local, dialect. The literary language of the upper classes generally

¹ The word was popularly pronounced without the *r* even in Vedic times. See Wackernagel, p. i, 167.

preserved its sibilants, but in the case of these numbers the influence of the speech of the lower classes has made itself felt.

Were space available, I could quote other examples of what I am persuaded are borrowings from caste-dialects, such as the homonyms *vāph*, *bāph*, and *bhaph* (§ 84), or the *nh* in *dīnhalā* and *jānhavē* (§ 136). Cf. the eastern *Ardhamāgadhī pañcanhaṁ*. The above examples must serve to illustrate my point.

But there is one dialect of Prakrit—Apabhraṁśa—to which I must devote more space. M. Bloch (pp. 30, 32) declines to trace any Marāṭhī forms to this, omitting it from consideration, and going back straight to Prakrit. It is true that we have full materials for only two forms of Apabhraṁśa—those described by Hēmacandra and Mārkaṇḍēya respectively, the latter being called “Nāgara”, which means either “as used by educated persons” or, possibly, “as used by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt”. Pischel (§ 28) looks upon it as a mixture of widely differing dialects, with which I am inclined to agree, if they are class and not local dialects. As described by Hēmacandra, it seems to me to be a late form of a dialect akin to Śaurasēnī which borrowed freely from the Dēśya grammar and vocabulary, and which, as standard Prakrit died out, gradually obtained prominence, and was finally adopted for literary purposes. It is as much a local dialect as Śaurasēnī, and no more. The internal differences are due to the low strata of the population from which it is partly sprung, and it follows that, as Pischel points out, just as there was a Śaurasēna Apabhraṁśa, there was a Māgadha Apabhraṁśa, a Mahārāṣṭra Apabhraṁśa, and so on. We have no records of the last-named, but that it existed is certain, and we are entitled to assume that each Apabhraṁśa in, say, the period between the sixth and tenth centuries after Christ, bore, as regards its stage of development, the same relation to its corresponding Prakrit that the literary Apabhraṁśa, on which Hēmacandra founded his grammar,

bore to Śaurasēnī.¹ That this assumption is justified I have shown at length elsewhere,² and I refrain from repeating myself. It follows that, making the necessary allowance for the local peculiarities of Śaurasēna Apabhraṃśa as described by Hēmacandra, it may be expected to give us valuable help in solving many riddles presented by Marāṭhī.

M. Bloch is resolute in his rejection of this form of speech. He even hints (p. 201) that it is possible that certain Apabhraṃśa forms, such as *tēhim*, are only transcriptions of other sounds which are unexplained, and thereby he destroys all value that *tēhim* might have possessed in explaining more modern forms; but here I cannot agree with him. Just as all the Prakrits are essentially one language with local or tribal differences, so I believe that all the Apabhraṃśas were one language, with similar differences, possibly more and more exaggerated as time went on. The Apabhraṃśa *Caryāpadas* of Bengal are perhaps of all Indian works the most difficult to understand, but they can often be explained by a reference to Hēmacandra, and if this is the case with the Apabhraṃśa of distant Bengal, I do not see why we may not apply the same key to unlock some of the mysteries of Marāṭhī, a language spoken in the country immediately adjoining Gujarāt.

Apabhraṃśa is, by origin, largely a language of the lower orders, and it is just these people that are often the most conservative in their speech-forms. The Prakrit grammarians crystallized tendencies into general rules. For instance, there was a tendency to elide intervocalic consonants. The grammarians admit that it was only a tendency,³ but they practically (and especially

¹ It is to be noted that, while Hēmacandra, iv, 446, makes Apabhraṃśa to be based on Śaurasēnī only, with (iv, 329) but a few traces of Mahārāṣṭrī, Mārkaṇḍeya (xvii, 1) states distinctly that Nāgara Apabhraṃśa is based partly on Śaurasēnī and partly on Mahārāṣṭrī. This is an additional reason for using it to explain Marāṭhī. After this review went to press, I have received Professor Jacobi's edition of the *Bharisattakaha*, and I am glad to see that the explanation given above agrees in the main with the masterly exposition of Apabhraṃśa contained in that work.

² See *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. i, pt. iii, p. 64.

³ Cf. the *prāyaḥ* of Vr. ii, 2; Hc. i, 177; Mk. ii, 2.

Hēmacandra¹) make the rule general. On the other hand, the conservative peasants kept it as a tendency, sometimes eliding medial consonants, and sometimes retaining them in an intermediate softened form.² When it became used for literature Apabhraṃśa thus presented a strangely mixed appearance, sometimes older and sometimes younger than the Prakrit of the grammarians. It was much nearer the actual speech of the people than the latter, and is hence supremely valuable for the study of the history of the language. I think that in discarding Apabhraṃśa from his consideration M. Bloch has deprived himself of an important tool. Let us take a few examples:—

Old Marāṭhī has a nominative in *u* (§ 186). So, as M. Bloch admits, has Apabhraṃśa. But the nominative singular and plural of *a*-bases in the modern language has dropped all terminations, and appears now as the bare base [*dēv(a)*]. This also happened in Apabhraṃśa.³

In Marāṭhī, original *k* and *kh* in a certain number of words (§§ 97, 99) become *g* and *gh* respectively, as in *aśōg* for *aśōka*-, *kāg* for *kākaḥ*-, and *rēgh* for *rēkhā*-. As M. Bloch has discarded Apabhraṃśa, he is obliged to class such words as semi-tatsamas, though why a semi-tatsama should change a *k* to *g* I do not know. But the same change, as already stated, was common in Apabhraṃśa, and there the reason for it was obvious. While there was a tendency to elide medial consonants, the practical peasant preserved them when they were necessary for the sense. If the medial *k* of *kāka*- had been elided the word would have been indistinguishable from the resultant forms of *kāca*-, *kāyā*-, and *kārya*- (*kajja*-, *kāja*-), all of which, if the rule for elision had been compulsory, would ultimately have become *kāa*-. Such a form of speech would have failed in the one object of language, to be intelligible to the listener.⁴

¹ Cf. i, 209.

² Hc. iv, 396; Mk. xvii, 2. So Kramadīśvara and Rāma Tarkavā-gīśa.

³ Hc. iv, 344; Mk. xvii, 9.

⁴ See *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. i, pt. iii, pp. 59 ff.

M. Bloch derives the Marāṭhī oblique form singular *dēvā* from the Prakrit dative *dēvāa*. Phonetically, this is quite possible, and if we did not know Apabhraṃśa, might receive some acceptance, although, in Prakrit, the occurrence of the dative was very rare. Vararuci, the oldest of the grammarians, denies its existence altogether. Later grammarians allowed it "sometimes", but only in the singular, and then only in a special sense.¹ Surely it is a risky proceeding to put forward this rare case as the origin of one of the commonest forms of the modern language, especially when the meaning required is grammatically that of the genitive, and not of the dative.² How much simpler it is to adopt the old explanation, and to derive *dēvā* from the Apabhraṃśa genitive *dēvaha*. The phonetic equation is equally possible, and none of the above objections apply. M. Bloch (p. 182) objects that the Apabhraṃśa form "may very possibly be merely a transcription of a modern form, perhaps western", and that "in the ancient period the termination *-aha* is exclusively Māgadhī, and is, besides, obscure". The first objection states merely a possibility, the acceptance of which opens the widest fields of speculation. M. Bloch has made a similar remark, already quoted about *tēhim*, and if the principle is assumed, it could be carried much further with somewhat surprising results. But what proof of it is there? Of what modern form is *dēvaha* a transcription? Is it of *dēvā*? Why was the *ā* split up into two letters, and why was a *h* inserted? As for *-aha* being exclusively Māgadhī, that brings us back to my old objection. It is true that in Prakrit proper *-aha* is recorded only as occurring in Māgadhī, but if the grammarians are unanimous in recording it also for Apabhraṃśa, I really do not see why we are to reject their statements; and this fact shows that what was employed by the upper classes in the East was also used by the lower classes in the West. Why, therefore, we are to deny its existence in Mahārāṣṭra Apabhraṃśa, I do not see.

¹ Hc. iii, 132; Mk. v, 131.

² *dēvā-madhyē* = *dēvasya madhyē*, not *dēvāya madhyē*.

Again, there are the Marāṭhī case-terminations, *ē-* and *-ā*. The first indicates the instrumental singular and the latter the oblique plural. M. Bloch (p. 190) derives *-ē* from the Sanskrit *-ēna*, and here I am unable to follow him. I know of hardly any instance in Prakrit where medial *n* has been dropped or weakened to a mere nasalization. The one instance that is generally accepted is the form of the nominative plural neuter (*vaṇāim* for *vanām*), but the isolation of this fact renders it to me doubtful, and I hesitate to accept the equation as conclusive. According to Mārkaṇḍeya, v, 132, the nasalization is optional, and we may also have *vaṇāi*, and this, too, encourages my doubts. M. Bloch (§ 66) gives two other examples—this very *-ēna*, from which he derives *-ē*, and *-ānām*, the termination of the Sanskrit genitive plural, which he considers to be the original of the Marāṭhī oblique plural termination *-ā*.

I think that it is much simpler to equate this Marāṭhī *-ē* with the Apabhraṃśa instrumental termination *-ēm* (*puṭtēm*). It is true that Pischel (§ 146) derives this *-ēm* from *ēna*, assuming that the final *a* has been dropped, and that *n*, having now become final, has been weakened to anusvāra; but he gives no proof of the fact, and I doubt his explanation. It is equally permissible to look upon it as a contraction of the locative termination *-ahī* extended to the instrumental, as has occurred in other modern Indian languages.¹ Whether my contention is accepted or not, it is certain that the Marāṭhī *dēvē* is a nearer relation of the Apabhraṃśa *dēvēm* than of the Prakrit *dēvēṇa*, or the Sanskrit *dēvēna*, and that is my point at present.

The case is even clearer in regard to the termination *-ā*, which M. Bloch would refer to the Sanskrit *-ānām*, Prakrit *-ānam*. I have shown in the preceding footnote that the *n* cannot here be elided, and it is plain that we must seek the origin elsewhere. We find it in the Apabhraṃśa *-ahan*, which

¹ Even if we admit the derivation of *-ē* from *-ēna*, through *-ēm*, this disappearance of *n* occurs only because it is final, after the apocope of the final *a*. The alleged change of *-ānām* to *-ā* is in no way parallel to this, for here the *n* is not, and cannot become, final.

Pischel (§ 370) refers, not to *-ānām*, but to the pronominal termination *-sām*.

In his "Additions et Corrections", M. Bloch is good enough to point out that I do not agree with him in regard to his contention that Marāṭhī possesses no stress-accent. To discuss the question here would occupy a whole article, and I must content myself with expressing my regret that he has been unable to convince me that he is right. I still believe that, though not so strong as in other Indo-Aryan languages, the stress-accent does exist in this form of speech, and has had an important influence on its development. Perhaps our difference is really only one of terminology, for on p. 50 he mentions the existence of "le sommet rythmique" of each word, and it appears to me that this cannot be different from the stress-accent, the existence of which he denies.¹

But enough of discussing points of detail in which I think the author of this excellent work is mistaken. Let me now draw attention to another point, in which he is indubitably right, and in which many students, including myself, have been wrong. The Marāṭhī dative singular in *-s* (*dēvās*) has hitherto been considered to be derived from the Prakrit genitive (*dēvassa*). So long as we confined ourselves to the modern language, the explanation was simple and satisfying. It stared one in the face. But, alas for sweet simplicity! M. Bloch, following Mr. Rājwāḍē, shows that this is impossible. In old Marāṭhī this dative ended in *-si* (*dēvāsi*), which no ingenuity can derive from *dēvassa*. M. Bloch considers that the final *-si* is thus, apparently, an old postposition, added to the oblique form *dēvā*. The origin of this *-si* is very doubtful. With some hesitation he suggests (p. 198) that it comes from the Sanskrit *asrē*, through the Prakrit *assē*, which is phonetically possible, though it requires proof. If I may make another guess I would compare the undoubted fact that, in all other Indo-Aryan languages, the dative post-

¹ M. Bloch has further developed his remarks about the stress-accent in his article on pp. 359 ff. of the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.

position is an old locative or oblique form of the postposition of the genitive. It is possible that the same principle has produced *dēvāsi*, and that it is *dēvassa* after all, but put into a false locative, **dēvassē*, just as in Hindī dative *dēv-kō* is the oblique form, or old ablative, of *dēv-kā*, or the Bihārī dative *dēv-kē* is the old locative of *dēv-k(a)*. I can give no authority for my suggestion, but there are other instances of this kind of double declension, such as, for instance, the Hindī *mēz-par-kā*, of on the table, so that it is not altogether impossible. The matter is one which can only be settled after a careful analysis of the use of the ancient forms, and I do not propose it, save as indicating what may be a useful line of inquiry. I will only add that in the Marāṭhī of the Konkan (L.S.I. vii, 66) we find this dative form used as an oblique base (e.g. *dēvās-lā* instead of the standard *dēvā-lā*), and that, as I maintain, the standard oblique form is derived from the genitive (Apabhramśa *dēvaha*). If my suggestion holds, the following would therefore be the state of affairs: In Prakrit the genitive was also used as a dative. There were two forms of the genitive, *dēvaha* and *dēvassa*. In the stage of the modern vernaculars the former has had the fate of the genitive elsewhere, and has become the oblique form *dēvā*, while the latter—in the locative, **dēvassē*—has become specialized in the dative use, and has survived as *dēvāsi*, *dēvās*. In the Konkan, however, this specialization was not carried out, and *dēvassa*, like *dēvaha*, became the oblique form, while its locative, **dēvassē*, as in the standard, became the dative. In this way, in the standard dialect, advantage has been taken of the two-fold form of the genitive to specialize each for a different purpose.

There is much more that I should like to write about this excellent work were space available. It is written by one who is a master of his subject, who has had a sure view of the goal of his researches, and who has the gift of clear exposition. It is logically and clearly arranged, and its very completeness has compelled the author to include many subjects which still are matters of controversy. If the bulk of what I have written appears to combat some of M. Bloch's conclusions, this has been

done solely in the hope of being able to contribute something to a friendly discussion. As a whole, the book commands my hearty assent. It is what its name implies. It successfully describes, as has not been described before, "La Formation de la Langue Marathe."

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

GLOSSARIO LUSO-ASIATICO. Por Monsenhor SEBASTIÃO RODOLFO DALGADO, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Lisbon. Coimbra, University Press. Two vols. 1919-21.

This admirable work, although it bears the modest title of a glossary, is in reality a treatise showing an enormous amount of research in a rather neglected subject. In England we are familiar with Sir H. Yule's inquiries into the inter-relations of European and Oriental languages in modern times, which resulted in his classical collaboration with Mr. A. H. Burnell in *Hobson-Jobson*, since carefully re-edited by Mr. W. Crooke. Mgr. Dalgado has taken up the subject from the Portuguese point of view, and has proved himself a worthy successor to Yule. His work is not only a Portuguese *Hobson-Jobson*, but something more, for Portuguese in this connexion occupies a different position from other European languages. It was first in the field in its borrowings and lendings, and was the medium through which most of the Oriental loans have reached them. Words of Malayālam, Tamil, Sinhalese, or Malay origin have found their way into Europe through a Portuguese channel, and they retain the form given them by the Portuguese tongue. And in the same way most of the European words now current in the East are derived from Portuguese, and many of these may be met with in daily use not only in the coasts where the Portuguese established themselves but in every part of India. And not only in these respects has Portuguese left its mark, but it is widely represented on the map of Asia, and in names like Bombay, Calicut, Hooghly, Chittagong, Siam, Malacca, or the Moluccas, we continue to echo the forms into which the

vernacular names fell in the mouths of the first Portuguese adventurers.

Mgr. Dalgado has therefore an extensive field of observation open to him, and he is well equipped for the task. He has given long and careful study to the Aryan and Dravidian languages of India and to Sinhalese and Malay, and his studies of the dialects of Portuguese still spoken in the East are unique. These dialects are found outside the limits of the present Portuguese dominions, as, for instance, in Ceylon and Negapatam, and their study is a fruitful source of information.

The scope of the *Glossario* is wide enough to include not only words in popular use but others widely spread in works of learning and research, such as terms adopted not only in Portuguese but in all the literary languages of Europe, illustrating the religious and philosophical ideas of the East. These are mainly taken from Sanskrit or Arabic, and their elucidation is by no means unnecessary for students of Oriental creeds and ideas who are not philologists or acquainted with Eastern languages.

One of the most useful features of this work is the very complete chain of quotations, mainly, but not exclusively, taken from Portuguese writers from the earliest date of the Portuguese arrival in Eastern seas up to the present day, beginning with the Roteiro or Route-book of Vasco da Gama's memorable voyage and other narratives of early travel, followed by the correspondence of Albuquerque, the Book of Duarte Barbosa, and the important works of the great sixteenth century historians. These, as in *Hobson-Jobson*, are arranged chronologically, and form a great body of evidence which is indispensable to all students of the subject. A good example of Mgr. Dalgado's exhaustive treatment will be found under the word *amouco*, which should be read in connexion with the article *a-muck* in *Hobson-Jobson*. The earliest use of this word in Portuguese was found by Yule and Burnell to be that of Duarte Barbosa (*circ.* 1516), and on this they based their contention that the word was

already in use among the Malays in 1511, when the Portuguese first went to Malacca, but Dalgado points out that quite a different word was used in the original Portuguese (viz. *ganiço*), and that *amouco* is only found in the Spanish version of much later date. The first appearance of *amouco* was, in fact, in the works of F. Mendez Pinto, and is referred to the year 1540, although his work was written after his return to Portugal in 1558. And the quotation from the historian Castanheda shows that in 1551 the word *amouco* was still regarded as being derived from India. Quotations like these are very valuable as affecting the question of the actual place of origin of the word, and the same value will be found in many other cases. Dalgado's opinion is that the ultimate origin of the word is the Skt. *amōkshya*, but that it had, like many other Indian terms, been adopted into the Javanese language, and gave rise to the term *āmog* and the verb *mengāmog* in Malay, where in the end it displaced the older term *ganas*, which the Portuguese represented under the form *ganiço*.

Another characteristic article which may be alluded to is on the word *jangada* (Cf. H.J. s.v. *jāngar*). This word, derived from Malayālam *chaṅgādam* and ultimately from Skt. *sanghaṭṭa*, "union or junction," has been extensively adopted in Portuguese, and is used in no less than seven senses, all of which are fully illustrated in the quotations. The same remark may be made as to *pagode* or *pagoda*, which had already been considered by the author in his *Contribuições para a Lexiologia Luso-Oriental* (Lisbon, 1916). Its various meanings, (1) as an image of a deity, (2) as a temple, (3) as the name of a coin, and (4) as a festival, are all exhaustively dealt with, and it is pointed out that its first use in the sense of temple applied only to the places of worship of one particular caste in Malabar. In the last sense, that of a festival or popular assembly, the use of the word is confined to Portuguese, while in the senses (2) and (3) it has spread to other languages. In the first sense it has become obsolete.

Another interesting disquisition deals with the word *macareo*, a bore or tidal wave, which was first used by the Portuguese to describe the well-known phenomenon in the Gulf of Cambay by the historians of the sixteenth century, and was afterwards extended to describe it in other places. The origin of this word and its relation to the French *macrée* or *mascaret* have been the subject of some controversy, and have been already dealt with by our author in his word on Gonçalves Viana and his contributions to Portuguese philology (Lisbon, 1917). It seems certainly to be of Indian origin, and is referred to the Skt. *makara*, a crocodile or marine monster. But the word is not used in the sense of a "bore" in any Indian language. Our author supposes that the Portuguese were told that the "bore" was caused by a *makara* which came to devour men, and that they took this for the vernacular name. This ingenious explanation may not improbably be correct. It seems clear that the French terms are derived from the Portuguese, and not the reverse. Mgr. Dalgado thinks that the form *macrée* was first adopted, and *mascaret* formed later by the insertion of an *s*, in the same way as *pateca*, a melon, was turned into *pastèque*. The French words are unknown before the sixteenth century, nor does any French origin seem to have been suggested.

It would be a difficult task to detect mistakes or defects in this work, but in an undertaking of such a vast scope it is needless to say there must be some. I can only refer to one under the word *sadī*, a term derived from the Persian, and used at Hurmuz for a sum of 100 dinārs. The author compares it with the *sedeo*, a term for a money of account used in Gujarat. But I think there can be no doubt, as I have pointed out in a note on the passage where it occurs (Book of Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Soc., vol. i, p. 156), that *sedeo* is an error for *fedea*, which was in frequent use in the sixteenth century (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. *Fedea*), and that it has no connexion with the *sadī* of Hurmuz.

Mgr. Dalgado has long been known as a student of the

relations between Portuguese and the languages of the East, not only of India but of the innumerable tongues spoken from East Africa to Japan. In addition to the work on Gonçalves Viana already mentioned, the following have been published by the Academia des Sciencias: *Influencia do Vocabulario Português em Linguas Asiáticas* (Lisbon, 1913); *Contribuições para a Lexicologia Luso-oriental* (Lisbon, 1916). His Konkani-Portuguese and Portuguese-Konkani dictionaries were brought out, the first at Bombay (1893), the second at Lisbon (1905). He has also published a number of studies of the still-existing dialects of Portuguese in India and Ceylon.

In this great *Glossario* the result of all his work is summed up and brought together in a convenient form, and it may be hoped that students in England and India who are not acquainted with Portuguese will endeavour to obtain a sufficient knowledge of that language to enable them to avail themselves of the mass of valuable information contained in these volumes.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS FOR BIBLE CLASSES AND PRIVATE STUDY. By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, etc. pp. 193, 6½ by 4½ in. Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; A. R. Mowbray & Co., London. 1919.

A really useful little manual of its kind, and one which bears the stamp of being the work of a scholar well versed in the needs of the learner. The contents comprise directions to students, Patriarchal history, and review-studies. An extract will make the author's method clear:—

74. MELCHIZEDEK, KING OF SALEM.

Read: Gen. 14, 18-20; Ryle, 14, 18-20; The Dictionary. "Jebus." "Salem."

On his return from victory, Abraham was met by the *patesi*, or priest-prince, of Salem. With what city is

Salem identified? What are the proofs of identification? Melchizedek brought forth bread and wine to nourish the returning soldiers. But he does more than that. Being priest of God Most High, whom Abraham recognizes as his own God, he gave Abraham his priestly blessing. Who was the God Most High? In response to the blessing, Abraham gave Melchizedek a tenth part of all the spoil.

The author has no objection, seemingly, to the acceptance of the teachings of the higher criticism—even the most advanced. In tracing the history of the Canon of the Old Testament, he quotes the statement which has already been made, that after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. the Jews, on being exiled to Babylonia, came into contact with a literary people, and it was this which spurred them on to collect their own literary remains. Farther on, under the heading of "The Old Testament and Archæology", he speaks of the use and the abuse of the indications of the records, especially those of Babylonia and Assyria.

Very noteworthy are the sections headed "God", "The Image and Likeness of God", "The second account of Man's Creation", "Survival of the fittest in the natural world", etc. And here, it may be noted, that the Babylonians had—perhaps without knowing it—this same idea, the idea that the best of all created things were those which were selected to carry on the work of God (or the gods) in the world. But with them it was more especially the case in the divine world—the abode of the gods, whether good or evil, in which they believed.

It is a handy and informing little book, and cannot fail to be helpful to the student of that record of old time with which we are so familiar, and which, with many of us, forms a most attractive link with the remote past, when man was beginning to feel his way higher to things on the earth "when the world was young".

T. G. PINCHES.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL IDEAS IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D., etc. pp. 129,
6½ by 4½ in. Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis. ;
A. R. Mowbray & Co., London. 1919.

This somewhat smaller book than the above is the fourth of the same series. The dedication will be recognized by all, especially members of the Royal Asiatic Society, as appropriate—it is “To the Memory of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Pioneer Assyriologist”.

And this is the work of an Assyriologist, enthusiastic and full of the subject to which he has apparently devoted his life—that of comparative religion. This is seemingly shown by his chapter-headings: “The Idea of God in Babylonia and Assyria,” “The Idea of Man,” “The Idea of Mediation,” “The Idea of the Future,” “The Idea of Morality.” And what was these ancient people’s idea of God? They “ask of their gods that they should be as familiar as possible, that they have to do with daily life, that they seem to issue from the heart of common things, and clothe those things with light which makes them radiant”. And this is true of the Babylonians and the Assyrians—just as it would be true of us, did we venture to hope for such intimacy on the part of the Divinity. “The essential connection between the life of the gods and the life of man is the great truth of the world, for ‘the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord’.” “The gods are the fire of the world, its vital principle, a warm, pervading presence everywhere. And of this fire the spirit of man is the candle.”

In “The Idea of Mediation” the author says that “the earliest idea of sacrifice was that of communion. Men and their god joined together in a sacred meal and partook of a sacred animal, in whose veins had run the blood common in gods and man, that is, the life of gods and man”. This is a view which is supported by certain acts of sacrifice recorded in the inscriptions, and is more especially illustrated in the bas-relief in which Aššur-banî-âpli, King of Assyria, is represented pouring out, as an offering to the gods, after his success-

ful return from the lion-hunt, some of the wine which was brought to him, and which he was about to drink to refresh himself after the fatigues of the chase. In this and similar acts we may recognize the truth of Dr. Mercer's contention, but there is no doubt that this was not always the end in view—the sharing of a meal with the gods. The ceremony of sharing Dr. Mercer regards as having developed into a real sacrifice later—and this is likely, though arguments for and against might always be urged.

The book begins with a chronological historical outline, and closes with a bibliography and a short index, which last might have been extended with advantage.

T. G. PINCHES.

GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL IDEAS IN EGYPT. By
SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D., etc. pp. 109,
6½ by 4½ in. 1919.

This, the second book of the series, is upon the same lines as the preceding, and the same chapter-headings, substituting Egypt for Babylonia, serve to distinguish the subjects treated of.

More attractive, probably, than the religion of Babylonia, is that of Egypt, notwithstanding the more familiar nature of the gods and the heroes of the farther eastern land. Indeed, the bright colours and the grotesque strangeness of many of the gods represented in such great profusion on the walls of their temples and elsewhere arouse the curiosity of the beholder, and lead him to inquire what could have been the turn of mind of the nation which conceived divine powers—the creators of the world and of men—in forms often lower than their own—for it is impossible to imagine that they all thought of the animal forms in which their deities were often represented as having the intelligence which even the commonest of human beings possessed.

“Mankind is incurably religious, and all religion is a sweep of the soul towards God. The soul is always athirst for God.”

With these words Dr. Mercer begins his third chapter, "The Idea of God in Egypt." "His (the Egyptian's) world was peopled with gods, because it was full of mystery and wonder." If he was attracted by some noteworthy natural object, he would call a god by its name. Thus the sky (*nut*) was the goddess Nut; the earth (*geb*) became the god Geb; *Rā* (*Ria*, *Ré*) was the sun; and *Hapi* the Nile. But sometimes the god was identified indirectly, and then an animal became associated with the deity. Thus at the Fayume a god was identified with the crocodile, and called Sebek; at the cataract with the ram, and he then received the name of Khnum; in the Delta it was the hippopotamus, and a god there received the name of Rert.

Apparently there was a fundamental difference between the religion of Babylonia and that of Egypt in the matter of Mediation. In the former country, though the king was divine, and the representative of the gods, he was in no sense a mediator—that part was played by the other divinities, and especially by Merodach. In Egypt, on the other hand, the Pharaoh, owing to his divine nature, held the position of the gods' representative on earth, and a mediator was not needed (see Mercer's, pp. 59-60). Farther on in this chapter the popular "cult" as distinguished from the official religion is dealt with. The chapter upon Egyptian morality is especially noteworthy.

It is to be hoped that the author will be able to extend the series. The volumes will form a useful complement to Archibald Constable's excellent series (a low-priced series, too, which is a consideration in these days of enhanced cost and dearth); and perhaps the Morehouse Publishing Co. could see its way to issuing Dr. Mercer's little books in a cheaper edition—the American rate of exchange hits the European reading public rather hard.

T. G. PINCHES.

AN EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC DICTIONARY, with an Index of English words, King-List and Geographical-List, with Indexes, List of Hieroglyphic Characters, Coptic and Semitic Alphabets, etc. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Knt., M.A., D.Litt., etc., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. John Murray, 1920. £15 15s.

Dr. Budge has been gathering material for this dictionary for the last twenty-seven years, and the 25,000 word-forms dealt with are a digest of over 300,000 separate reference-slips which he had collected during that period. The process of elimination and contraction evidently had to be drastic, in order to reduce the work to a size which would not too greatly dismay the publisher; and the absence of much matter that ought not to be absent is, no doubt, mainly to be attributed to the author's anxiety to get the book published at once. It appears that some generous and public-spirited friend had offered to bear the cost of publication, and it is to be presumed that John Murray strictly limited the author to the thousand pages, which the actual dictionary occupies, and to the two hundred pages of other matter.

The money being thus guaranteed, however, the printer and binder seem to have been given a rather free hand, and the result is that the volume is much more handsome and expensive, and one might almost say pompous, than the bald and economical treatment of the material justifies. Dr. Budge is probably partly to blame for this; for he seems to take a particular pleasure in the rich appearance of his books, and one may hazard a guess that he experiences a very pleasant thrill of enjoyment when a work from his prolific pen is deposited upon his table with a good, heavy thud, and when he can turn over the stout pages of beautiful type with the feeling that the best traditions of English printing have been maintained. Such a proclivity is very human.

The ordinary Egyptologist, on the other hand, heartlessly directs his attention only to the subject-matter; and he is

somewhat annoyed to find that while the whittling down of the material ought to have brought the dictionary well within his own or his local library's purchasing-power, the price of the volume has been raised to £15 15s. by reason of the rich leather binding, the fine quality of the paper, the ugly and unnecessarily coloured dedication-sheet, the large and heavy type of the English index, which occupies some two hundred pages, when it could easily have been printed in ten, and so forth. One gets the impression that the work is monumental, and consequently it is a shock to find that the matter does not pretend to be treated exhaustively, and is decidedly faulty.

In the Introduction Dr. Budge modestly writes: "In my work there will be found inconsistencies, misunderstandings, misprints, and probably downright misstatements; but I hope and believe that the dictionary will be useful to the beginner, and will save him time and trouble. Many, many years must pass before the perfect dictionary can, or will, be written, and meanwhile the present work may serve as a stop-gap." But the volume belies these humble words, for neither its form nor its price is in any way modest.

The author's transliteration of the hieroglyphic words into our lettering will somewhat disturb the average scholar. Our alphabet does not supply the exact equivalents of the Egyptian sounds, while the subject of the vowels is full of pitfalls, and most Egyptologists, therefore, have been obliged to resort to a number of modified letters and signs, such, for example, as *š*, *k*, or *č*. Dr. Budge, however, sticks to the old-fashioned *a*, *q*, and *tch* for these, and though he thus makes the words pronounceable he gives them a form entirely unacceptable to his fellow-workers. For instance, where the usual scholar writes *čšbgščškš*, he puts *tchabgatchaga*; for *š'bw* he writes *aāābu*; for *wbšrw* he writes *ubaran*; and so forth. The motive for this is praiseworthy, it is his desire to avoid pretentious pedantry; but, somehow, he only seems to substitute for the precisianism of the German-

taught philologist the ponderosity of the British Museum. This is a pity, because Dr. Budge is no more ponderous and old-fashioned than he is pedantic and precise. He is rather a dashing sort of modernist, an unconventional scholar of amazing scope, a man of vast knowledge and surprising industry, original, casual, bold, and perhaps a little reckless. But nobody would think so by his heavy transliterations.

In the Introduction it is pointed out that a great many references to the texts in which the various senses or forms of a word occur have had to be omitted, owing to lack of space, but this is not quite a correct statement of the case. He should have said that he cut out these references, thinking it necessary to do so for the publisher's sake, but found out too late that they could have remained in without in any way increasing the size of the volume. "Take, for example, his treatment of the word *wenuti*, a kind of priest, or *unut*, as he transcribes it. He gives eleven variants of the word, and not a single reference, nor is there any note of the period to which any one of these forms belongs. In the Theban tomb-inscriptions there are at least five other variants of this word, all closely dated, and in two or three cases the determinating sign (an eye) is found, which is of importance in arriving at the exact meaning of the word ; but Dr. Budge does not give this at all.

Then, again, the translations are often careless, and there is no attempt to show the nice refinements of meaning which present-day knowledge is gradually revealing. For example, the word, *wšr* (his *usher*) generally means "to be empty", but Dr. Budge does not mention the case, in the Meir inscriptions, where it seems to mean "a holiday", nor the instance, in the Kahun Papyri, where it denotes "absence from duty". Again, his rendering of the word *dryt* (his *tchert*) as "hawk, falcon, vulture, kite, glade", is somewhat startling; for "falcon" there is evidence, "kite" is a possibility, but why "vulture" ?

There must be countless words of which no mention is made at all, for a very superficial study of the dictionary reveals

quite a number that are missing. There is no mention of the rare verb *hr*, "to milk," which occurs in the tomb of Akhthoy at Thebes and elsewhere; none of *hlt*, "a mine-gallery," which often occurs in the Sinai inscriptions; none of *sin*, "to wait"; none of *dbw*, "a leaf"; none of *khd*, "current"; none of *db'w*, an official position of some kind; none of *didy*, a kind of red berry. These are just a few instances which happen to have been noticed by the present writer, because they are words which have puzzled him.

Moreover, although Dr. Budge gives a long list of books which he has consulted, he sometimes does not even give a reference to the exhaustive or lengthy discussions in regard to certain words or phrases which occur in these works. For instance, Dr. Gardiner's *Tomb of Amenemhet* is one of the books consulted, but although that Egyptologist there devotes fifteen large pages of small print to a thorough study of the formula *hōp de nisut*, Dr. Budge discusses the matter in five or six lines, and gives no reference to Dr. Gardiner's dissertation, which is the only full statement of the case. Again, in the same work the words *hst-nb* are discussed, but Dr. Budge is satisfied with the literal meaning, and gives no reference to Dr. Gardiner. Similarly, Dr. Blackman's *Rock Tombs of Meir* contains a lengthy note on the verb *ksm*, "to turn aside," but though Dr. Budge gives this as one of the books consulted he makes no mention of the variants of the word and references there collected.

Such are the main points at which the dictionary is open to attack. But much is to be forgiven the learned author, because, after all is said and done, he has produced the only modern dictionary of the Ancient Egyptian language which is really available. The great lexicon which for many years now has been in process of creation in Berlin is nowhere near completion; and up till now the student has been obliged to use Brugsch's *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch*, which was published in 1868, and has had to supplement it by his own notes. Thus every Egyptologist, say what he may,

will find this work immensely useful, and it will be of far greater service to Egyptology than Dr. Budge so modestly thinks.

At the end of the book there is a useful list of kings, in which the names of the Pharaohs are given more or less in full; and there is also a good vocabulary of geographical names. From each of these lists, by the way, a single instance will show how very ponderous is the transliteration employed: in the king-list the author transcribes the throne-name of Amenophis III as *Neb Maāt Rā*, although the Tel el Amarna tablets show it to have been pronounced *Nimmuriya*; and in the geographical list the town of which the modern natives have still retained the old name, Damanhūr, is given by Dr. Budge's method as *Temāi en.Heru*. In this latter instance the ordinary Egyptologist would transliterate the hieroglyphs as *Dm'ynhr*, which, even as the mere skeleton of the word, has a much closer likeness to Damanhūr than the other.

There are also some useful indexes in the dictionary, and a notable feature of the work is the Introduction, in which Dr. Budge gives an illuminating and entertaining account of the labours of earlier Egyptologists, tracing the growth of the study from its crude beginnings, a century ago, to the present time, when the vast body of documentary and monumental literature found in Egypt has been forced to deliver up its secrets with very few reservations.

To sum up, the work is a monument of patience and industry; a most valuable possession for any Egyptologist, beginner or advanced student; it is faulty, it is often aggravating, it is unnecessarily expensive, considering that the cost of production has been met by some nameless philanthropist (to whom much thanks are due), but it puts before us 25,000 hieroglyphic word-forms which have never until now been accessible to the ordinary student in this way. And therefore Dr. Budge can smile at our captious criticisms, because he must know in his heart that he has done a very fine thing, a thing which no one other man has dared to attempt.

ARTHUR WEIGALL.

KHAROSTHI INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED BY SIR AUREL STEIN IN CHINESE TURKESTAN. Part I: Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya Site 1901, transcribed and edited by A. M. BOYER, E. J. RAPSON, and E. SENART. pp. [viii], 153 [1], with six plates. Published under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1920.

The publication of this long-expected work provides a treat for all scholars interested in Indian dialectology or Central Asian studies. The fascinating linguistic and historical problems are here associated with abundant and intimate information concerning the administration and the life of the people of the Khotan region during the early centuries of our era. The story of the discovery of the documents is well known from Sir A. Stein's two important publications *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan*, London, 1903, and *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford, 2 vols., 1905), where the reasons for dating the period of Indian culture in Southern Turkestan are decisively set forth.

The term "inscriptions" does not here bear its most ordinary meaning of texts originally set up for public perusal or attached to dedicated objects or engraved for record of donations and the like. The wooden tablets, pieces of leather, etc., which constitute the material, exhibit for the most part original documents relating to matters of public, largely legal, and private business. Many of them are letters addressed by the king to local officials, giving particulars of disputes or complaints and prescribing the action to be taken. There are numerous lists of personal names with items indicated against each. The private or semi-private communications are in a strain of elaborate courtesy. How this material came to exist in one place has been explained by Sir A. Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 318 seq.), who has also furnished (pp. 363 seq.) a rather full and very useful and interesting statement of what it conveys.

A systematic review of this first part of a large undertaking would be premature. What the editors here present is the

outcome of a work of decipherment. It is needless to dwell upon the difficulty of the task. A mere glance at the plates will reveal to those who have not already drawn the lesson from the specimens reproduced in *Ancient Khotan* what perseverance and finesse was required for dealing with these cursive developments of the Kharoṣṭhī script, even where time has spared the freshness of the writing. Very many new marks and combinations of signs have had to be evaluated, and the delicacy of the task is illustrated by cases where the three editors have not been able to give a consentaneous reading. The great irregularity of the spelling must be reckoned as one of the chief difficulties which have had to be overcome.

There can be no doubt that the operation of decipherment has been crowned with success. Any future discussion must turn upon the values to be assigned to a very few signs or combinations, or upon their phonetic history. We may not know how the official title *cajḥbo* or the personal name *Lpipe* were pronounced, or in what language they originated; but, *qua* readings, they and their numerous analogues may be regarded as in general definitive.

The resultant texts are, as a whole, much more legible than might be expected in the case of a Prakrit mixed with foreign terms and employed as a language not of literature, but of affairs. Helped by the similarities between many of the documents, we are often in a position to make out the sense with moderate completeness.

There is some inconvenience in the separate issue of the texts without introduction, translations, or notes. No doubt the work of interpretation is in principle already done; and in general scholars would waste their time by proffering at this stage suggestions and comments which probably stand already anticipated or refuted in the editors' MSS. It is to be hoped that a rapid progress in the publication will put them in a position to lend a hand. At present we depend upon the information contained in Professor Rapson's com-

munication to the Orientalist Congress at Algiers in 1905, and some short articles by M. Senart and M. Boyer. On matters of grammar and dialect we look forward to very considerable enlightenment.

I may refer to just one or two details which may be regarded as *publici juris*. The reader will be surprised to find our old friend, the title *yabǵu*, the *yaüa*, *yavuga*, *Zaov* of the Kushana coins, frequently occurring as, apparently, a proper name, in lists with other proper names; and perhaps he will also be surprised to find that it is never, it seems, spelt *jabǵu*. It is a good many years since it was pointed out that the Greek spelling with a ζ, together with other circumstances, pointed to a value of *y* similar to that of the French *j* (JRAS. 1906, p. 205). The examples are older than these documents. In the documents the uncompounded *y* seems to be generally preserved and distinguished from the *j*; so that in words like *raya* (for *rāja*) we must recognize a real weakening of the *j* rather than a strengthening of the *y*. Accordingly, it would appear that the dialect of the documents was exempt from the change of *y* to *ž* or *z*, and, further, that in the word *yabǵu*, for which I should be more prepared to find a "Scythic" than a Turk or Chinese etymon, the original initial sound was a *y*. As a proper name, the word may have enjoyed a popularity with parents (cf. "Prince", "Rex", etc.), or may point to family connexion with a real *yabǵu*.

A feature which we miss in the documents is the *ys* (= *z*) of the Saka inscriptions and the Khotanī language (*Ysāmotika*, *ysnaura*, etc.), which was first clearly treated by Professor Lüders in his article on the Sakas. Herewith we may associate the paucity, to say the least, of clearly Iranian words. It looks as if the language of the people under the Prakrit-using government was something other than Iranian or than the later Khotanī; and the titles, such as *cojhbō*, *soḥamaṅga*, do not seem at first sight such as to modify this impression.¹

¹ The obvious suggestion of a connexion with Tibetan presents chronological difficulties, as Sir A. Stein makes clear. But certain linguistic points suggest that the qualification "Western" added to Tibetan may offer a possibility.

The possibility that some of the *ṣ*'s, e.g. in *aṣṣara*, were pronounced as *z*'s does not here come into question.

We may take note of the frequent use of the verb *paribuj*, in the sense of "hesitate" or "delay". It is obviously the equivalent of the *palibudh* of the Aśoka edicts and the Pali texts. The manner of dating is of some interest in other connexions. In the full form we commence with the (clearly regnal) year; then comes the name of the king, with titles, in the genitive case, and then the month and day. This is the form employed in the Taxila inscription of the Satrap Patika, and we may say that it is a natural one. As an example, we may quote document 345:—

Samvatsare 4 4 1 mahānuvara maharāja jīṭughā vāṣmana devaputraṣa maṣe 3 divaṣe 4 1.

"In the year 9 (in the reign) of the great-souled great-king Jīṭughā Vāṣmana, the Devaputra, in month 3, on day 5."

The kings most often mentioned, namely Vāṣmana (years 3, 7, 8, 9, 10), Mayiri or Mairi or Mahiriya (years 4, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28), Aṃguva or Aṃgonka or Aṃkvaga (identical?: years 5, 28, 30), Tajaka (year 3), usually have prefixed to their names some form of the word Jīṭughā (*Cīṭughi*, etc.), which, being attended with an already sufficient number of honorifics and titles (*devaputra*, etc.), will probably be a dynastic or family name. We shall then note that the nomenclature follows the same system as in the case of the Vijaya or Wizya kings of Khotan, and shall await further enlightenment. The feminine names (in *-e*, *-oae*, etc.) will be helpful in regard to the language.

The word *khakhorni*, if I rightly understand it to be an equivalent of a *śvaśurāṇī*, has also an interesting form.

The name *Kuṣaṇa*, common in these records, is one to which in a mere review prudence bids us give a wide berth. Nevertheless, we may refer to the fact that it sometimes appears (e.g. in No. 117) in the form *kursana*. The Greek coins also, we as know, sometimes have a *P*, which is read with the value of *sh* and sometimes *PC* (*Χορρ*, *Κορρ*, etc.).

The Indian alone is content with the ṣ (śh); and this invites reflection. The Indian ṣ , as a cerebral sound, will have had sufficient of an r -nature to meet the occasion without adventitious aid. We would therefore suggest that the native sound represented by the combinations rṣ and PC was in reality a strongly cerebralized śh (sometimes ž), such as exists, I understand, in Chinese.

The little verse in No. 103, with its single and double circles (marking ends of half-verse and whole verse ?), will exercise the ingenuity of those who delight in such things.

Heartily congratulating the joint authors upon their very important achievement, we eagerly await the continuance of their publication.

F. W. THOMAS.

LOKEŚVARA-ŚATAKAM, OU CENT STROPHES EN L'HONNEUR DU SEIGNEUR DU MONDE, PAR VAJRAḌATTA. Édité et traduit par SUZANNE KARPELÈS. Extrait du *Journal Asiatique* (Novembre-Décembre, 1919). Paris, 1919.

In editing the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of this celebrated encomium of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara, perhaps still more in translating it, Mlle. Karpelès has given undeniable proof of courage. The task would have tried the mettle of the most experienced scholars. Composed in the elaborate Gauda style of *kāvya*, and preserved in Nepalese MSS. exhibiting all their eccentricities of reading and spelling, its textual decipherment demands both a rare acumen and a thorough familiarity with Indian poetic usage. Even with a perfect text, a third and a fourth attentive perusal may be required for the exact determination of the sense. The Tibetan, which, as usual, supplies a valuable control of the readings, presents its own textual and metrical difficulties; as regards the construction and meaning, its syntactical weakness renders it, in works of this character, far more problematic than the original. It is on the principle of give and take that the two sources can be brought into one account.

Mdlle. Karpelès is to be congratulated upon the success which has rewarded her endeavours. It is seldom that a false reading has been chosen, and the translation, while free and readable, does full justice to the conceptions of the writer and points his allusions in detail. It need not be said that a Sanskrit poet of the ninth century—for this is Vajradatta's epoch—is exacting in his requirements.

Each of the verses, in *Sragdharā* metre, is in the form of an *āśīrvāda* or blessing. The description of the Bodhisattva commences, according to the rule regarding divine beings, with his feet, or, rather, in this case, with the light of his toe-nails. The toe-nails themselves emerge for a moment in verses 16 and 18, and in verse 26 the feet come into play, to accompany us as far as verse 45. Then, more dispersedly, we treat of the lotus in Lokeśvara's hand, his Amitābha-bearing crest, his compassion, his name, his qualities, his worship, love of him, meditation upon him, his praise, his kindness, his grace, the remembrance of him, his action, his universality, his titles, his constancy, his protection, teaching, and so on, as far as verse 83. Then we come to his hand with its lotus, his arm, his dress, his face, his tresses. It is not easy through this thorny track to maintain the freshness of our receptivity; but we acknowledge the thrill which the author has reserved for verse 97, where we meet the Great Being's eye. Or rather, we meet it not, since with a momentary quiver of apprehensive compassion it is turned upon his too terrific ally, Hayagrīva! From the latter we pass to Bhṛkṣi-Tārā, saving goddess, and we end with an obscurely worded expression (v. 100) of the truth that only the words of Sugata are adequate to the description of the whole assemblage of great qualities. Putting the poem side by side with the famous Ajanta picture of Avalokiteśvara, if it is indeed he, we can to some extent realize what it may have meant to the poet and his hearers.

We may spare ourselves the ungrateful task of detailing the small and rare defects in the texts and the translations. In

a few cases Mdlle. Karpeles might look again at the metre (e.g. 13a, 19c, 20a) or the Tibetan spelling (e.g. 20c, 21). In 5 *ñhāra* should mean "frost", in 22 *svarbhuṛām* "gods", and in 59 Guru and Ākhaṇḍala would be synonyms of Brhaspati and Indra. Verse 24 seems to give us an example of the preposition *pāre* compounded; and as regards verse 100 we might take counsel with the authorities on Indian music.

F. W. THOMAS.

LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF EMIN JOSEPH EMIN, 1726-1809, written by himself. Second edition. Edited by his great-great-granddaughter, AMY APCAR. 4to; pp. xxxii, 532. Calcutta, 1918.

Miss Apcar, the well-known editor of *Armenian Melodies*, has performed a true work of piety, in the old Roman sense, in producing this magnificent edition of the autobiography of her remarkable ancestor, which first appeared in 1792. The original narrative was written by Joseph Emin in English, and corrected by Sir William Jones, from whom is printed a characteristic letter (pp. xix-xx) dated "Gardens, August 10, 1788". In Lord Teignmouth's *Memoirs of Sir William Jones* there is a brief abstract of the really wonderful career of this notable Armenian. "In Emin we see the same man who was [in England, Europe, and Armenia] a sailor, a porter, a menial servant, and subsisting by charity—the companion of nobles and patronized by princes and monarchs, ever preserving in his deepest distresses a sense of honour, a spirit of integrity, a reliance upon Providence, and a firm adherence to the principles of Christianity in which he had been educated." Emin's own view of the story he had to tell is contained in a letter he wrote in 1788: "In twenty years more when I and all my good friends who know my accounts to be true, shall be dead and gone, I shall be looked upon as a mere romancer." And so the story remained until Miss Apcar came across the *Letters of Elizabeth Montagu*,

and was thus put in possession of "the first link in the chain of evidence which thenceforward began to unfold itself"—another instance of a traveller's tale, on sufficient evidence being unearthed, being found to be true.

The story is written in a mixture of the long-winded fashion of the day and Oriental imagery and idealism, but to my mind it is most fascinating. In the second volume of Hickey's *Diary* we find a reflex of Anglo-Indian and English life, manners, and ideals at much the same period; but here we have the life both of the lower and upper classes of English men and women in the latter half of the eighteenth century shown us at first hand, even though the eyes that saw it were those of an Oriental. I commend the narrative to anyone who desires to realize how our forefathers lived and thought both in England and India at that period.

Emin was born at Hamadan in Persia in 1726, in the days of Nadir Shah, and his adventurous life began very early in his native land. In 1744 he joined his father in Calcutta, whither he had previously gone, and in 1751 he ran away to England as a deckhand on the *Walpole*, the "last boat of the season", and arrived at Woolwich in September. His great object was military knowledge to be used "to rescue his countrymen from the yoke of Turks and Persians". How he gained his object and used his knowledge is told in this book, which reads in many places like an historical novel. His early life in England was a struggle for existence, at one time on three-halfpence a day, "without money, without Friend, or any Body but Lord in heaven," and then as a porter on £8 a year. However, an accidental introduction, obtained in a fashion that is real romance, to the Earl of Northumberland, in 1755, changed everything for him, and thenceforward there is hardly anyone of note, up to the highest in the land, whom he did not know. He became a diligent military student, was introduced to the Duke of Cumberland, and joined in the expedition against St. Malo in 1758.

Every kind of name in England and Europe is crowded

into these pages as personally known to him: Sir John Evelyn, Edmund Burke, Mrs. Montagu, Lord Albemarle, Lady Sophia Egerton, Lord Cathcart, William Pitt, Lord Lyttelton, Sir Joseph Yorke, Frederick of Prussia, Dr. Davis, Dr. Monsey, Dr. Patrick Russell, Charles Evelyn, Lady Yarmouth, Lord Huntingdon, Count Vorontsov, Lord Buckingham, the Prince of Wales (George IV), and so on, showing the letters to and from Emin to be valuable historically.

As early as 1758 he commenced, by a letter sent through Basra, his life's work—the saving of his country and the support of the claim of the Bagratid Heraclius, Prince of Georgia, a claimant unfortunately of not much worth. In the course of this quest he visited The Hague, Leghorn, Alexandretta, and Aleppo, with wonderful adventures and failure to reach his object (1758–61). He started again via St. Petersburg, and found his way to Heraclius via Astrakhan, and then commenced life as a military leader in the Near East with a story once more like a novel, ending with the ingratitude of the graceless Heraclius.

It was now 1768, and Emin had found his way to Baghdad and Basra and finally reached Calcutta once more in 1770, a recognized military commander and friend of the great Indian men of the day. Cartier made him “risaldar of the first brigade of Turkswars [? Turk *suwārs*]”. Here he met with doubts as to his story, which were set at rest by a letter from the now Duke of Northumberland. He served with the Corps at Dinapore and Shahabad for a while, but resigned because, as a foreigner, he could not serve in the British Army, and obtained Warren Hastings' leave to try once more in Armenia (1775). But after adventures enough to satisfy anyone he never got beyond Julfa, and by 1785 was back in Calcutta, where he was posted as an ensign to a company of European Invalids by General Sloper, and having thus attained one great ambition, viz. to be a British officer, he wrote his narrative. He lived on till 1809. An astonishing

life, well worth recording and well worth reading, and of value historically.

R. C. T.

THE NĀGARĪ-PRACĀRIṆĪ PATRIKĀ (नागरीप्रचारिणी पत्रिका
अर्थात् प्राचीन शोधसंबंधी वैसासिक पत्रिका). Benares, 1920.

The attention of members of the Royal Asiatic Society may be drawn to the new issue of the Nāgarī-pracāriṇī Patrikā, the official journal of the Benares Nāgarī-pracāriṇī Sabhā. The first number of the Patrikā appeared in the year 1897, and, under one or two changes of form, has steadily adhered to its aim of throwing light on the ancient and mediaeval literature of Northern India. Now and then its pages have contained articles of rare excellence on the greater Hindī writers, but its contents were not unfrequently somewhat mixed, so that occasionally we found popular articles on sanitation or medicine (excellent in their way) cheek by jowl with others of a learned character. The Sabhā has now decided to issue a new series of the Patrikā of a more purely scientific nature, and the first two numbers mark a considerable advance in its activities. They inaugurate what we may hope will long continue to be a journal worthy of an Indian learned society.

The first number of this new series (Vaiśākha, Sam. 1977 = April-May, A.D. 1920) contains amongst other interesting articles an important account of the foundation of the Dūngarpur State in Rājputānā, from the pen of that well-known scholar Paṇḍit Gaurīśaṅkar Hirācand Ōjhā, and a discussion by Paṇḍit Candradhara Śarmā Gulērī on the much disputed question of the so-called Patna statues, which the author, like most Indian scholars, believes to be representations of two kings of the Śiśunāka family. It is illustrated by excellent photographs of the statues and of the inscriptions on them. The same author also gives interesting shorter articles on *dēvakulas*, in connexion with Bāṇa's reference to Bhāsa in the *Harṣa-carita* and the latter poet's *Pratimā-nāṭaka*, and on the inscription on the Garuḍadhvaṇa at

Bēsnagar, the language of which was, he maintains, a mongrel Prakrit written by a Persian, and comparable to what we call "Bābū-English". That veteran historian of Rājputānā, Munshī Dēvīprasāda, contributes a most important list of *janmapatrikās* of 214 celebrated Indians, mostly Rājput̃s, all with dates, the earliest having been written in the Sambat year 1472 (A.D. 1415). Finally, Bābū Śyāma-sundara Dāsa, who has been intimately connected with the Sabhā since its foundation, and was for many years its honorary secretary, contributes a description of an old, and hitherto unknown, recension of the *Vinaya-patrikā* of Tulasī-dāsa, which differs materially from that now current. This is more than a question of mere textual criticism, for no work reveals more intimately the attitude of the great prophet of Northern India to the Deity than this wonderful collection of heart-born prayers.

The second number (Śrāvaṇa, 1977 = July-August, 1920) contains an equally interesting and valuable series of articles, and the Sabhā is to be congratulated on the inception of a really serious journal, edited on lines that will commend themselves to Western science. It is all written in Hindī. The Sabhā is an Indian society, and addresses its readers in an Indian language. The articles are not mere réchauffés of the opinions or discoveries of European savants, but are based on independent research, and therefore, whether we agree with the results arrived at or not, are to be received with the warmest welcome in the West.

G. A. G.

TWO KURDISH GRAMMARS

I.—ELEMENTARY KURMANJI GRAMMAR. By Major E. B. SOANE, C.B.E., Political Department. pp. 197. Baghdad: Government Press, 1919.

The author of *To Kurdistan and Mesopotamia in Disguise* and of *Grammar of the Kurmānji, or Kurdish Language*,

has by this new publication considerably increased our knowledge of one of the most unknown Aryan languages of the world. The dialect treated is that spoken in the Southern districts of Kurdistan, chiefly in Sulaimaniyah Mutaşarrıflik. Chanykow in his *Vermittelung in Sau'd Bulak* (1856), Chodzko in his "Études philologiques" (*Journ. Asiat.*, sér. v, t. ix, 1857), De Morgan in his "Mission scientifique en Perse" (t. v, 1904), and others, had already drawn our attention to the peculiarities of this Kurdish dialect, but here we have for the first time a comprehensive and clear survey of all its ramifications. The aim of the work is, according to the author, more modest, "This sketch is intended primarily for the use of officers and others whose duties lead them to the Southern districts of Kurdistan," but I am sure the work will satisfy all the requirements of a modern philologist anxious to acquire a good working knowledge of Kurdish.

The book is divided into two distinct parts: pp. 1-86 contain an outline of grammar, and pp. 87-197 are filled with a good and useful vocabulary. The order of the grammar is modern in its conception, and contains, besides the phonetical and morphological rules of the language, exercises from Kurdish into English and vice versa, preceded by a "word list".

It is regrettable that one should feel bound to warn the reader against the misprints found in the book. The author writes in this connexion in a letter to the editor of this *Journal*: "I unfortunately had no opportunity of correcting the proofs, hence a number of inconsistencies and some typographical errors." Generally speaking, however, such errors extend only to verbal inaccuracies which any intelligent reader is able to detect and correct, and cannot, therefore, impair the undoubted usefulness of the book.

I shall take the liberty of making two remarks which I wish to present to the author's consideration. On p. 4 *Hama* is given as a Kurdish name for *Muhammad*. I believe that in Kurdish *Hama* stands for *Hamad*, *Ahmo* for *Ahmad*,

and *Muho* or *Mamo* for *Muhammad*. On pp. 26-7 I think that *hayya* means simply "there is", and that it is hardly correct to say that the sentence *Hasan bāok i min hayya* lays stress on the fact that Hasan and not another is my father. I did not know that such an anomaly was found in any Kurdish dialect.

What is more precious for a philologist is the second part of the book, or the vocabulary. I wish the author had here restricted himself to concrete terms and given more space to their different shades of meaning. After all, the abstract words are mostly expressed in Kurdish either by Arabic or by Persian vocables. For instance, it is somewhat useless to know what is the Kurdish equivalent of "heterogeneous" or "importation", because notions such as these cannot be adequately expressed in a half-primitive language, and we would have been more grateful to have fuller information of how e.g. the word *werān*, which in the last analysis means "desert, desolate, ruined", has come to translate the English word "homeless", which I would have rendered by *bai-māl*, *bai-khāna*. It is this extension of the limits of the vocabulary beyond what Kurdish can really express that has possibly caused the author to omit words which by all standards should have figured in a Kurdish dictionary. In this category may be counted the verb "to kill" and the substantive "louse", etc.

We must quickly put a stop to the enumeration of these slight imperfections found, in a lesser or greater degree, in any other book, and heartily thank Major Soane for his successful attempt to lay before us, in such a precise and accurate way, the rudiments of a language which deserves to be better studied by Orientalists. Special thanks are also due to the Government Department (presumably the India Office) responsible for the appearance of such books, which greatly enlarge our angle of vision in our philological and historical studies of the peoples of the Middle East.

II.—ASSYRIAN, KURDISH, AND YEZIDIS. Indexed Grammar and Vocabulary, with a few grammatical notes. By AGHA PETROS ELLOW. pp. 87. Baghdad: Government Press, 1920.

This work differs from the preceding one by its method, by its size, and by the dialect of Kurdish treated in it. Its Kurdish is that spoken by all Yezidis and Kurds between the Black Sea, Lake Urmia, and Mosul. It deals also with another language, the vulgar Syriac, totally different in structure and genius from Kurdish; further, this vulgar Syriac section embraces only the dialect used by the Eastern Christians who inhabit the Hekkari region of Kurdistan. The book is, therefore, bilingual, and written in a very concise form. All the grammatical part of it has only taken four short pages, but it contains paradigms for the conjugation of verbs.

It is unfortunate that the author should have made use of the word *Assyrian* instead of *Syriac* or Aramaic. I am aware of the fact that in the sphere of nationality these Eastern Syrians call themselves Assyrians (a word sanctioned by Dr. Wigram, their well-known missionary), but in the sphere of philology the language they speak is vulgar Syriac, and to avoid confusion this last word should have been used.

In the matter with which it deals this little book is accurate, but on p. 10 the Kurdish word *goshtay paie*, meaning "mutton", is given as translating "beef", and the word *goshtay gayie*, meaning "beef", erroneously translates "mutton", while the Syriac translation of the two is correct.

I take here the opportunity of drawing the attention of philologists to the fact that Kurdish has preserved some ancient Aryan roots disseminated in various languages of Europe in a clearer form than any other Eastern dialect. The following words may serve as examples:—

Buche (German), *buk*. In Kurdish the word signifies "young tree, copse, thick plantation", as in another German

word *busche*, with which we may compare English *bush*, A.S. *bysc*, and Scandinavian *busk*.

Chicken, chucka. The Kurdish root is nearer to English than that of Scandinavian, Dutch, German, and A.S. dialects, in which *ch* appears as *k*. Still more remote is Persian *jūjah*. Cf. vulgar Syriac *chūka*, possibly from Kurdish.

Dale, dali. The word is also used by some Syriac-speaking Christians under the form of *dola*. Found in Scandinavian, but not represented in Greek and Latin. Greek *θόλος* "vault" is somewhat far-fetched, and Persian *darrah*, "valley," is equally remote.

Dart, darid, jarīd. The first Kurdish word is nearer to French *dard*, and the second seems to have been influenced by Arabic-Persian *jarīd*. Cognate with A.S. *darað* and O.H.G. *tart*, etc. We may also compare the Eastern Turkish verb *tart-mak*, "to dart," equivalent to Kurdish *darid avaitin*, "to throw a dart."

Drop, dlop, dropa, from the verb *dlop-andin*. Cf. vulgar Syriac *dalōpa*. Other comparisons in Skeat.

Duc (French), in the sense of horned owl, *tok*. The same word is found in Sanskrit. This comparison has happily weakened Littré's opinion that the origin of the French *duc* is connected with the functions of a duke.

ἐρίον, *heri*. The Kurdish word refers to wool and long fur of animals. In Pushtu *varai*. See further Pictet's *Les Origines indo-europ.* ii, 23.

Foveo (Latin), *vah-in*. The Kurdish verb means "to torrefy". Cf. Greek φάω. Concerning this word see Pott, *Etymol. Forsch.* ii, 2, 256. In speaking of corn Kurdish *vah-in* or *vaw-in* means "to shell", "to boll".

Hallen (German), *kallin*. The Kurdish verb is exactly used in the sense of "to bleat" (sheep). The interchange of *h* and *k* in Aryan languages is well-known.

Horu (A.S.), *kori*. The Kurdish word means exactly "mud, moist earth". Cf. O.H.G. *horaw*.

Isen (A.S.), *asin*. The Kurdish word, which is similar to Pahlawi *asin*, means exactly "iron", and is nearer to German *eisen* than to modern English *iron*. M.H.G. *isern* has both sounds. Zend *ayanh* is somewhat remote, but Persian *āhan* is nearer.

Melken (German), *milten*, *mitten*. The Kurdish verb means exactly "to suck". Cf. Greek ἀμελγω and Lithuanian *melzu*. The interchange of *k*, *t*, *z* is very common. Cognate with Latin *mulgere*, but Skt. *merj*, "to wipe," is remote in meaning. See Skeat under "milk" for further details.

Nullah, *nuāla*. In vulgar Syriac *nuhāla*, and in Hindustāni *nāla*. The Aramaic *nahlā*, "stream, rivulet, dale," seems also to be cognate with it.

πομφός, *pepef*. The Kurdish word primarily means "crop of birds", and by extension every protuberant thing. Cf. Latin *popula* and *popilla* and Bavarian *pampfen*. Cf. also English *pimple*, about which see Skeat and Murray.

Schaben (German), *shav-tin*. We may also compare Latin *scabo*, Swedish *skafva*, Dutch *schaven*, Danish *scave*, Gothic *scavan*, all in the sense of "to scrape". To it are also related Middle English *schaven* and A.S. *sceafan*, "to shave."

Sting (Swedish), in the sense of gad-fly, breeze, *stang*. The Kurdish word means "wasp", and the comparison is obvious. The "stinging" wasp may even have a certain relation to the English verb *sting* and its Teutonic equivalents.

Thweran (A.S.), *twiran*, *tiran*, "to coagulate, to churn" (milk). We may compare also O.H.G. *dweran* and English *twirl*. The Anglo-Saxon verb has even given birth to *thwirel*, "a whisk to whip milk," not represented in Kurdish. On the other hand, Kurdish has

preserved the adjective *twîr* or *tîr*, "thick, coagulated," with which we may compare French *dur*, etc.

Tiur (Danish), *tior*, *tivor-k*. The Kurdish word generally means "wild turtle-dove", while the Danish means "wood-grouse", but the comparison between the two is obvious.

Tun (A.S.), *dun*, *duna*, "pasture, dry hay, straw." We may compare German *zahn* and Keltic *dun*. All seem to be related to Aramaic *tebn*, *tewn* and Arabic *tibn*, "dry hay, straw."

Vaggs (Gothic), *bangah*, *vangah*. The Kurdish word means "the rising ground near the bed of a river". The reduplication of *g* in Gothic is a sign of the disappearance of a letter; from Kurdish we learn that this letter was *n*.

Woold, *bili-nân*. Dutch *woelen*, German *wuhlen*, and A.S. *wilian*, "to twist," are even nearer to the Kurdish root *bilin*, "to twist." Curiously enough, the word is missing in Skeat. The final *d* in the English verb is, of course, excrement.

A. MINGANA.

RECENT ARABIC LITERATURE

النصرانية وآدابها بين عرب الجاهلية, II, 1. Beyrout :
Imprimerie Catholique. 1919.

In this book Père Cheikho continues his researches into the pre-Islamic Christianity of Arabia, with the learning and accuracy which characterize the work of the Jesuit College of Beyrut. The present fasciculus contains collections of passages which deal with the art of writing, with the forms of proper names, with Christian institutions, and with allusions to the content of the Christian Scriptures. The passages are in the main verses attributed to pre-Islamic poets, but the author also utilizes proverbs which claim antiquity and statements by Arabic authors of Islamic

times. There is no doubt about the utility of his collections, though it may be fancied that European critics will want to submit them to that process of sifting whence their function derives its name. How much this process will leave cannot be guessed *a priori*; but certainly some matter will be rejected as irrelevant. Thus Ḥassān b. Thābit is quoted for the Angel Gabriel; surely the source of his knowledge was the Prophet Mohammed, whose court-poet he was. In the case of many of the verses cited the evidence of genuineness would seem to be slight. However, Père Cheikho's merit in bringing together and lucidly arranging all this matter will be gratefully acknowledged.

صباح الاعشى للقلقشندى, Volumes XI-XIV. Cairo :
Government Press. 1917-18.

This masterpiece of Arabic typography, of which the earlier volumes have been noticed in this Journal, has now reached completion; at least, as far as the text is concerned, for it may be hoped that the editors will not fail to supply the much-needed index. The matter contained in the last four volumes is chiefly rules for and specimens of official correspondence and other documents, but the author casually preserves a vast quantity of historical, geographical, and other information which is of great interest. Vol. xiii seems to be specially rich in historical matter, containing among other things a history of the enactments against the *dhimmis* (Jews and Christians) in Islamic states and various truces drawn up in Crusading times; Qalqashandi, unlike many writers on diplomacy, takes the trouble to give date and place of most of the models which he preserves. Owing to the excellence of the editing it is fairly easy to find what is wanted in these fourteen volumes, but careful indices would form a valuable addition to the work. Anything like an analysis of the contents—of which some of the most important were excerpted by Wüstenfeld in his *Geographie und Verwaltung des Aegypten*—would far exceed the limits of a "short notice".

MOSLEM SECTS AND SCHISMS. By 'ABD AL-QĀHIR IBN TĀHIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ; translated from the Arabic by KATE CHAMBERS SEELYE, Ph.D. Part I. New York: Columbia University Press. 1920.

The work *al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, whose author died A.D. 1037, has been before the world in its Arabic original since 1910, when it was edited by an Egyptian scholar, Mohammed Badr. The Arabic edition has many merits, but not a few misprints, some of which have been corrected by European reviewers. Few Arabic works more certainly deserve translation, and it is clear that Dr. Seelye has gone through the courses of study which are requisite for such a task, and has executed it with great ability. In her introduction she has furnished the information which we should expect to find there, and has in addition provided a brief bibliography of works dealing with the subject. In the latter we miss the Persian treatise *Kitāb Bayān al-Adyān*, printed in the first volume of Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, which furnished M. Huart with the true name of the author of the *Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire* published by him, which might perhaps be regarded as belonging to this literature, and the brief notice of the Sects in the *Ghunya* of 'Abd al-Qādir Gilānī (Cairo, 1288, i, pp. 73-84). To these we must now add the notice in the work of Qalqashandi, xiii, 222-51, which is mainly concerned with the oaths taken by the various sects. The matter which Dr. Seelye has had to render is often highly technical, but she appears well able to cope with such difficulties.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LE POÈME SUMÉRIEN DU PARADIS, DU DÉLUGE, ET DE LA CHUTE DE L'HOMME. By S. LANGDON. Leroux, Paris; Luzac & Co., London. 1919.

The French edition of Professor Langdon's work on the remarkable Sumerian text from Nippur which he first brought

to light is practically a new book. He has taken advantage of the discussion and controversies excited by his work to revise it throughout and to incorporate into it a large amount of new material. Fresh light on the subject has been thrown by the texts from Assur published in Germany, as well as by other texts that have been found among the tablets from Nippur in the University Museum of Philadelphia.

When Professor Langdon discovered the text the name of the hero Uttu, or Tagtug as he read it provisionally, was unknown. Since then Uttu has become a familiar figure to Assyriologists as the reputed originator of the various arts and crafts of the ancient world and the father of civilization. The fact exemplifies how little we still know about the beliefs and traditions of early Babylonia, and how dangerous, therefore, it is to argue in regard to them from negative knowledge.

As a Sumerian scholar Professor Langdon has very few rivals, and his translations of Sumerian texts may consequently be regarded as authoritative. But it must be remembered that our knowledge of Sumerian is still to a large extent in the tentative stage, and that where there is no Semitic translation to guide us our rendering of a Sumerian word or phrase often admits of more than one interpretation. Hence there is always room for revision, and with the increase of materials the first pioneering work can always be improved.

The translation of the texts occupies the second half of the Professor's volume. A very valuable introduction fills the first 156 pages. It is by far the best and most brilliant work on the Babylonian conception of the Creation that has yet been written, and it contains a large amount of new and interesting matter. The author has spared no pains to bring it up to date and has arranged his materials in a masterly fashion.

* I believe he is right in holding that the Poem contains an account, not only of the Creation, but also of Paradise, and that this latter forms, as it were, the background of the Biblical story of the Garden of Eden. Like Professor Langdon

also, I believe that Dilmun, the Sumerian Paradise, was situated on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, and is not to be identified with the island of Bahrein, as supposed by Rawlinson and Meissner. That the small islands near the coast were included in Dilmun was natural; hence Sargon speaks of its king Uperi as seeking refuge "in the middle of the sea". But since copper is stated to have come from Dilmun it cannot be Bahrein, unless we assume that it was merely a depot to which the copper was brought from elsewhere. Some years ago I suggested that Uperi is the Biblical Ophir, Sargon having confounded the name of the capital with that of the king.

A very interesting text relating to the Creation is a bilingual (Sumerian and Semitic) poem found at Assur, of which Professor Langdon gives a translation. Here man is stated to have been formed from the blood of two "Artisan deities", who were put to death for the purpose on the Uzuma, which binds together the sky and the earth. Here, as elsewhere, the blood is the equivalent of life, and man is created in order to carry on the services of the gods. Mankind is further divided into the two classes of the artisan (*ummanu*) and the nomad (*nuhu*); it is the Biblical antithesis of Cain and Abel, and reflects the social conditions of Babylonia with its settled artisan and agricultural population on the one side and the nomad Beduin with his herds on the other. To the Sumerian the creation of man meant the creation of civilized man.

Many pages are devoted to pointing out the differences and contrasts in the cosmological theories of Eridu and Nippur. Eridu and Nippur represented the two chief theological schools of Sumerian Babylonia, and it was the amalgamation of their doctrines which resulted in the theology and theosophy of Semitic Babylonia. But originally these doctrines differed fundamentally, as I first tried to show many years ago in my Hibbert Lectures. To the Sumerians of the South and the North the creation and fall of man, the origin of evil and the introduction of death into the world, had in primitive times

presented themselves under wholly different aspects. Long centuries were required before Babylonia became possessed of a common theology. Professor Langdon notes in this connexion that the legend of Adapa, or rather Adamu, which embodied the beliefs of Eridu, has undergone a Canaanitish revision in the form of it which is preserved among the Tel el-Amarna tablets. The serpent also seems to have belonged to the traditions of Eridu, and Professor Langdon observes that the Hebrews appear to have preserved no memory of the time when Eve was a goddess under a serpent form. This, however, certainly was not the case in the later Hebraism with its stories of Lilith, the first wife of Adam. Indeed, that Khavvah was a serpent-goddess rests upon the very doubtful identification of the name with the Arabic *ḥayya*; we now know that Babylonian mythology admitted a serpent of evil as well as serpent divinities, and a tablet, unfortunately much mutilated, has been discovered at Boghaz Keui which contains a Hittite text describing how the evil serpent Illuyankas was overcome and slain.

A. H. SAYCE.

Short Notices of some Recent Publications on Chinese Subjects

MÉMOIRES CONCERNANT L'ASIE ORIENTALE. Vol. III.
14 × 11. 220 pp., 15 plates. Paris: Leroux, 1919.

The greater part (173 pages) is taken up with an important article entitled *Le Jet des Dragons*, by the late Professor E. Chavannes. It deals with the Taoistic rite, practised in China from the seventh to the fourteenth century, of throwing into caves, ravines, or springs prayers for longevity and other boons inscribed on plates of metal or stone. The rest of the volume is filled with *Les Représentations de Jātaka dans l'Art Bouddhique*, by M. Foucher, accompanied with a number of excellent illustrations.

FÊTES ET CHANSONS ANCIENNES DE LA CHINE. PAR MARCEL GRANET. 10 × 6½. 301 pp., 1 plate. Paris: Leroux, 1919.

The enterprising author of this fascinating work has indeed succeeded in making live many of the dry bones of Chinese classical poetry. Refusing to be trammelled by the traditional interpretations of native commentators and their Western followers, he endows songs of the *Shih Ching* with unsuspected human interest. No student of the literature, religion, or social life of ancient China can afford to miss reading it.

The Prix Stanislas Julien has been awarded to M. Granet for this book.

LA POLYGYNIE SORORALE ET LE SORORAT DANS LA CHINE FÉODALE. Étude sur les formes anciennes de la polygamie chinoise. Par MARCEL GRANET. 10 × 6½. 93 pp. Paris: Leroux, 1920.

Under the term "sororate" coined by Sir James Fraser, who studied the subject in *Totemism and Exogamy*, the author writes about marriage customs in ancient China. He finds allusions in classical books to the right, and even the duty, of a man to marry his deceased wife's sister, and also to the institution of polygamy with sisters. An interesting and original thesis, though probably its conclusions will not all meet with general acceptance.

VON CHINAS GÖTTERN. Reisen in China. By F. PERZYŃSKI. 10 × 7½. 262 pp., 80 plates. München: K. Wolff, 1920.

This is a pleasantly written account, well illustrated with photographs, of the author's travels in widely separated parts of China, special notice being given to masterpieces of religious art encountered by the way. An interesting feature of the book is the republication of his discoveries concerning the provenance of the wonderful T'ang pottery *lo-han*, one of which now reposes in the British Museum. The photographs and description of their hiding-place in a cave not far from

I Chou and the Western Tombs, some 60 miles south-west of Peking, satisfy the curiosity excited since the figure was acquired by the Museum in 1913.

CHINESE POTTERY STATUE OF A LOHAN. By R. L. HOBSON.
 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$. 7 pp., 1 plate (coloured). London: British Museum, 1920.

The Trustees of the British Museum offer a cheap shilling-worth in this pamphlet, which contains not only a valuable essay by a leading authority about the figure referred to in the foregoing note, but also a finely produced picture of it in colour.

GEMS OF CHINESE VERSE. Translated into English verse.
 By W. J. B. FLETCHER. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. 242 pp. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1919.

MORE GEMS OF CHINESE POETRY. Translated into English verse. By W. J. B. FLETCHER. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. 208 pp. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1919.

These two books claim our gratitude; for they represent the honest attempt of an enthusiast to translate some 275 poems by famous Chinese poets. Moreover, they offer the unwonted advantage of the Chinese text printed alongside each English version.

DICTONS ET PROVERBES DES CHINOIS HABITANT LA MONGOLIE SUD-OUEST. Par le R. P. JOSEPH VAN OOST, Missionnaire de Scheut aux Ortos. Variétés Sinologiques No. 50.
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. 358 pp. Shanghai: Imp. de l'Orphelinat de T'ou-sè-wè, 1918.

A collection of 1,000 current sayings which will be welcomed by folklorists as well as by students of the language. Its usefulness, however, is not enhanced by the attitude which results in all allusions to native religious beliefs being lumped together in the subject index under the heading "Superstition & culte". If one wishes, for instance, to look up proverbs relating to Lao Tzū, it is necessary to wade through no less

than fifty-five references; while things like *boisson*, *chien*, *rat*, etc., have headings of their own.

MÉLANGES SUR LA CHRONOLOGIE CHINOISE. I. Notes concernant la chronologie chinoise. Par les PP. HAVRET et CHAMBEAU, S.J. II. Prolégomènes à la concordance néoménique. Par le P. HOANG. Variétés Sinologiques No. 52. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. x + 320 pp. Shanghai: Imp. de la Miss. Cath., 1920.

Translators of Chinese have long wanted reference tables to supplement the indispensable volumes of the same series, Nos. 24 and 29. This scholarly work makes it possible to find exact European equivalents to Chinese dates. Surely it is due to an oversight that there is omitted from its bibliography that useful book published in English by Father Huang in 1904, *A Notice of the Chinese Calendar and a Concordance with the European Calendar* (from A.D. 1644 to 2020).

SER MARCO POLO. Notes and addenda to Sir Henry Yule's edition, containing the results of recent research and discovery. By HENRI CORDIER. 9×6 . x + 161 pp., 1 plate. London: John Murray, 1920.

With his usual scholarly thoroughness Professor Cordier has collected a vast amount of fresh material in this volume, which is uniform with and serves as a supplementary commentary to his famous third edition of Yule's *Marco Polo*.

THE TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA. By H. B. MORSE. Third Revised Edition. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. xv + 505 pp. Map and 14 illustrations. London: Longmans, 1921. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1921.

A new edition of this invaluable handbook is specially welcome in view of the many changes that China has undergone during the last few years. Trade statistics and the taxation system are among the more important subjects that have been brought up to date. The chapter on the Government of the Republic is to a great extent new matter, and that on opium has been much extended.

ANCIENT CHINESE FIGURED SILKS, excavated by Sir Aurel Stein at ruined sites of Central Asia. Drawn and described by F. H. ANDREWES. Reprinted from *The Burlington Magazine*, July and September, 1920. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$. 20 pp., 15 illustrations. London : Quaritch, 1920.

Of supreme importance to all students of Asian decorative design is this able monograph by one who not only discusses with expert knowledge the æsthetic as well as the technical aspects of a number of ancient examples of the weaver's art, but represents the fabrics themselves with extraordinary success in a series of pen and ink drawings. There is a preface by Sir Aurel Stein, who cites the need of assuring an open passage westwards for the Chinese trade in silk textiles as the motive that first led Wu-ti to send an expedition into Central Asia. No hint of this is contained in chapter exxiii of Ssü-ma Ch'ien. On the contrary, it is there expressly stated that it was desire to overcome the Hsiung-nu that prompted the Emperor to send Chang Ch'ien on his famous political mission. No doubt Sir Aurel Stein bases his theory on other texts.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. O. Codrington,

Late Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The death of Dr. Oliver Codrington will be deeply regretted by all members of the Royal Asiatic Society who were familiar with his careful supervision of their Library in Albemarle Street for many years and the ever-ready help he was ready to give to all readers and inquirers.

Dr. Codrington, in addition to his ordinary work as Librarian, compiled for the Society a valuable catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. in the Library (1892). His personal work, however, was mainly in the direction of Oriental numismatics, of which probably the most important outcome was his excellent manual of Musalman numismatics, published in our monograph series in 1904. This is an invaluable introduction to the subject, and only those numismatists who went through the toil and trouble, when far from museums and libraries, of obtaining a little elementary instruction when they first took up the subject can appreciate the value of a guide like this and also the labour involved in its composition. Dr. Codrington's earlier career was in New Zealand and Burma, but as early as 1873 he was a member of the Bombay branch of the R.A.S., and undertook to edit its Journal in 1874. To that Journal he contributed a number of valuable papers on various branches of Indian numismatics, including the coins of the Andhras, the Bahmanis, and Kachch, and in 1891 he brought out a catalogue of the Society's collection of coins.

He became a member of the R.A.S. in 1877, and on his return from India in 1886 he at once became an active member, and in 1891 he became Honorary Librarian, a post which he continued to hold till he felt obliged to retire from it in 1919. He joined the R. Numismatic Society in 1886, and

soon became librarian to that Society also. He continued his numismatic work for both societies. For the R.A.S. his most important work was the *Manual of Musalmān Numismatics*, already alluded to, but the following papers in our *Journal* may be noted :—

Notes on Musalman coins collected by Mr. G. P.

Tate in *Seistan* : *JRAS.* 1904, p. 681.

Do. 1905, p. 547.

Notes on coins collected in *Seistan* by Sir A. H. McMahon :

JRAS. 1911, 3. 779.

Coinage of Husayn Baikara : *JRAS.* 1913, p. 432.

The following papers appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* :—

Coins of the Beni Rusūl, etc. : *N.C.* 1894, p. 88.

A coin of Taghlak Shāh : *N.C.* 1894, p. 185.

Coinages of Cutch and Kāthiāwār : *N.C.* 1895, p. 59.

Coins of the Bahmanī Dynasty : *N.C.* 1898, p. 259.

Some rare Oriental coins (Umayyad and ‘Abbāsī) : *N.C.* 1902, p. 267.

Coins of the King of Jinns : *N.C.* 1913, p. 123.

Of the papers those on the coins of Husayn Baikara, of the Bahmanīs, and of Kachch are of great value.

Dr. Codrington's services to Numismatics were recognized by the bestowal on him of the Medal of the Royal Numismatic Society in 1911, an honour which he shared with such well-known Oriental numismatists as Edward Thomas, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Stanley Lane-Poole, and Wladimir von Tiesenhausen.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

The Centenary of Sir Richard Francis Burton

On March 19 we celebrated the Centenary of one of Britain's noblest sons—Sir Richard Francis Burton.

His fame as an Orientalist and anthropologist was only surpassed by his ranking with the world's greatest explorers.

Burton seems to have been drawn to Oriental languages from the earliest time, for when still at Oxford we find him teaching himself Arabic—individual coaching being then unknown. As soon as he had decided to join the Indian Army he began to sacrifice his boxing and fencing for the study of Hindustani.

He left England on June 18, 1842, to join the Native Bombay Infantry at Gujarat, and continued his Hindustani during the voyage. After proceeding to Baroda, Burton put in twelve hours' work a day, and as a result passed first in both Hindustani and Gujarati. An appointment to Sind as regimental interpreter followed, and very shortly another language—Maharàtta—was added to the other two languages in which Burton passed first. The list increased, and before he left India, Persian, Sindhi, Sanskrit, Punjabi, Pushtu, Arabic, Telugu, Turkish, and Armenian were added!

Apart from his books on India, Burton wrote two papers for the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which were both published in Vol. III of the Journal for January, 1849. The first of these was "Notes and Remarks on Dr. Dorn's Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Affghan Language" (pp. 58-69), and the second was "A Grammar of the Jātāki or Belochki Dialect" (pp. 84-125).

A long furlough in England prompted Burton to carry out a project he had already formed in Sind to study the "inner life of the Moslem", and so, after obtaining a year's special leave, he started on his famous journey to Mecca and Medina in 1853. It would be superfluous to give details of the great journey, for it will remain for all time as one of the most hazardous and intensely interesting journeys ever recorded. His *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, 1855-6*, is now a classic, and ranks among the world's greatest travel books.

Immediately after the pilgrimage began Burton's great career as an African explorer, and had the Government of that day looked favourably upon him there is no knowing to what heights he would have risen.

In 1861 Burton married Isabel Arundell, and entered the service of the Foreign Office the same year. He held four Consulates—Fernando Po (1861–5), Santos, Brazil (1865–9), Damascus (1869–71), and Trieste (1872–90). Although exiled at Trieste, a place ill-suited to his health, Burton was able to obtain leave frequently, and we find him paying a return visit to India (1875–6), where he continued the study of his beloved Camöens, exploring Midian (1877–9), from an archaeological and mineralogical point of view, and seeking gold on the Gold Coast (1881–2). All this time Oriental and anthropological details were slowly being collected in his numerous note-books, and most of this mass of information found its way into his great translation of *Alf Laylah wa Laylah*—the Thousand Nights and a Night.

There is no room here to discuss this work in detail, to compare it with the translations of Lane, Payne, and Mardrus, and to speak of the various MSS. used. Suffice to say that Burton's translation is the one always chosen for Oriental students who want to translate word for word and see exactly the original sense of any particular passage. In order to preserve the spirit of the original as much as possible, Burton retained the *Saj'a* or cooing of a dove—the passages in cadenced prose which appear as little eddies of song set like gems in the story.

Writers have often commented adversely on Burton's constant use of archaic or foreign words, but he was merely carrying out the difficult task he had set himself—to translate noun for noun and verb for verb. The composite nature of the MSS. produced local and uncommon words, to meet which no modern English equivalent existed, thus by using fourteenth and fifteenth century words he not only translated literally, but preserved the spirit, *naïveté*, and atmosphere of the mediaeval East. Although not a classical Oriental scholar, his practical knowledge of the East will always stand alone and unsurpassed.

Of his personal character there still remain some who can

speak with real knowledge ; but those few who were honoured with his intimacy, those few who probed beneath the rugged surface—they know what a jewel lay hid for those who cared to seek, and to-day hold the memory of his friendship as the most sacred possession of their lives.

It is not inappropriate to sum up this slight tribute to his memory with a few lines from his well-known "Kasidah":—

True to thy Nature, to Thyself, Fame and Disfame nor hope
nor fear ;

Enough to thee the small still voice aye thund'ring in thine
inner ear.

* * * * *

This "I" may find a future Life, a nobler copy of our own,
Where every riddle shall be ree'd, where every knowledge
shall be known ;

N. M. PENZER.

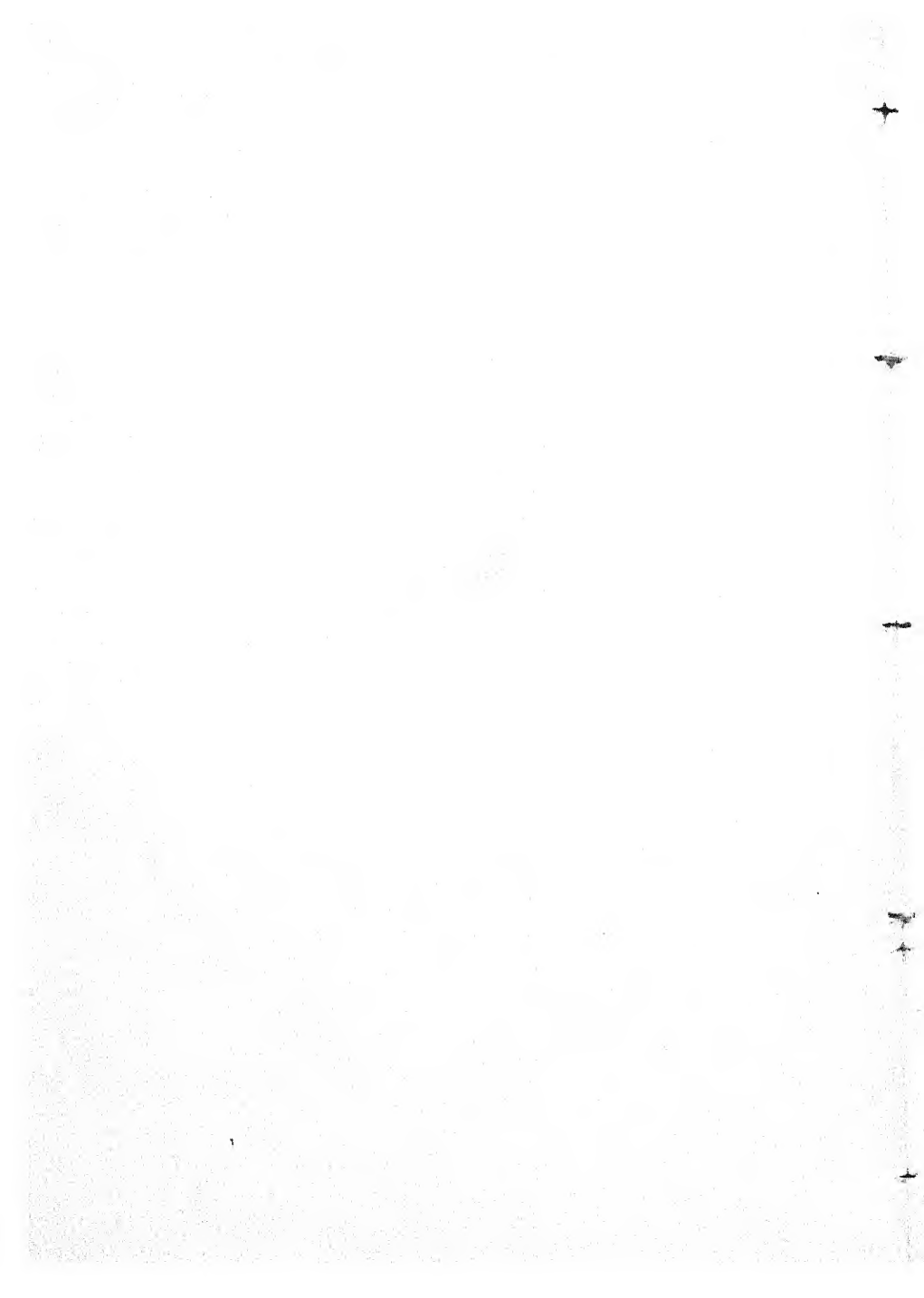
Maulvi Shaikh Laiqahmad Ansari, M.A.S.B., M.R.A.S.

The late Maulvi Shaikh Laiqahmad Ansari, an Oriental scholar of Delhi, came of the family of Shaikh Ansarian of Kairana (U.P.).

Mr. Ansari was for many years on the Staff of the *Morning Post* of Delhi. He was the author of the *Urdu Self Instructor* and *Idiomatic Urdu for Public Speeches*, and was awarded a grant from the Government of the Punjab for the first-named publication, which has been pronounced as most useful by prominent educational authorities. The second book was dedicated by permission to the late Lord Minto, when Viceroy of India, and Mr. Ansari received autograph letters from Lord Amthill and Sir James Latouche eulogizing the book.

His brilliant scholarship won for him a great reputation in the country, and he was sent on a deputation to Calcutta by Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal in connexion with research work.

NAZEER AHMAD ANSARI.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-April, 1921)

The Council elected Mr. Robert Mond to be Joint Honorary Treasurer and member of Council. The following fifty-four were elected members of the Society during the quarter:—

Babu S. Kishore Banerjee, M.A.	Mr. H. Mookerjee.
Rai Chaudhuri B. Bhushan.	Mr. A. P. Mullick.
Mr. S. N. Buchia, B.E.	Mr. C. A. Pittar, I.C.S.
Mr. W. B. G. Carmichael.	Mr. S. Qureshi.
Mr. S. B. Chatterji.	Pandit B. Rai.
Rai Sahib N. C. Chatterji.	Mr. C. Kunham Raja, B.A.
Mr. W. S. Cotterill.	Rao Sahib K. Krishna Rao.
Mr. M. B. Lal Dar, B.Sc., LL.B.	Dr. M. A. Rashid.
Mr. J. N. Das, B.A.	Rev. Wm. H. Rees, D.D.
Lady Deane.	Mr. D. V. Rege.
Captain R. B. Dent.	Professor S. C. Sarkar.
Pandit K. N. Dube, B.A., LL.B.	Mr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, M.A.
Mr. R. A. Eden.	Mr. P. J. Scotland, M.A.
Mr. C. Elgood.	Mr. A. Sefi.
Mr. J. H. F. Evans.	Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B.
Mr. Henry Farmer.	Mr. A. R. Siddiqi.
Mr. H. J. Frampton, I.C.S.	Mr. K. Gangananda Sinha, B.A.
Mr. U. T. Raja Gopala.	Professor M. Sinha, B.A.
Mr. Cyril Gurner.	Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt.
Mr. R. M. Gwynn, M.A.	Mr. G. C. Tambe.
Mr. M. Habib, B.A.	Rev. D. G. Thirtle.
Mr. U. Abdul Hamid.	Mr. H. Maung Tin.
Mr. R. L. Hobson.	Rt. Rev. N. Trollope, Bishop in Corea.
His Excellency the Japanese Ambassador.	M. S. Wali Khan Bahadur.
Miss E. J. Kemp.	Mr. A. R. C. Westlake.
Mr. J. N. Maitra.	Mr. A. N. J. Whymant.
Mr. S. A. Mazhary.	Mr. G. Willoughby-Meade.

On January 18 Miss H. C. Bowser gave a lantern lecture on "The Buddhist Temples of the Diamond Mountain of Korea". On February 8 Miss R. Houston spoke of her experiences under the Bolshevik rule at Tashkent in Russian Turkestan, while on March 8 Mr. D. A. Lane (late of the South Persia Rifles) read a paper on the Nomad Tribes of South-West Persia; Mr. R. Levy on April 12 treating of an old caravan

route under the title of "Baghdad to Tehran: a new variation of an old theme".

The Anniversary Meeting will take place on May 10.

Sir Richard Temple and Mr. Beveridge have sent gifts of £10 each to the funds of the Society, writing that they forward these donations because they are unable to respond to the appeal to enlist new members.

Lord and Lady Pentland invited the Council and members of the Society on February 24 to a reception to meet the Earl and Countess of Reading before their departure for India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, Hon. Secretary, now in India, was elected an Honorary Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on February 4. He is expected in England early in June.

Will any member, able to do reviewing for the *Journal*, kindly send his name and the subject in which he specializes to the Secretary?

Colonel Knox-Niven has presented to the Society an interesting coat of mail which he found in 1901 when camping 4 miles from Rawal Pindi at a spot about twenty feet from the reputed tomb of Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander the Great. The coat was found with a tent-peg driven through it, and was in a rusty and much damaged condition. It has now been cleaned and mounted, and will be exhibited in the Society's rooms.

A very similar coat will be found represented on plate cxi of Joseph Skelton's *Engraved Illustrations of Antient Armour from the Collection at Goodrich Court . . . with the descriptions of Dr. Meyrick* (London, 1830); and an example can be seen in the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (lent by Field-Marshal Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum). This is inscribed in Devanagari characters "Raja Abhai Singh

of Jodhpur", and dated 1750. In this case there are five rows of laminated plates at the back, and the links, alternately punched and riveted, are of a different type. The coat illustrated by Skelton has, like the present example, three rows of laminated plates, but in this case also there is no corresponding similarity of the links, each of which was divided by a cross-bar. In the coat found by Colonel Knox-Niven the links are riveted, and are homogeneous throughout except on the right breast, where a stronger link has been employed. Members interested in the matter are referred to the "Catalogue of Ancient Helmets and Mail", by Baron Alexander de Cosson and W. Burges, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxxvii (1881), pp. 563 et seq., and to ch. xiv, vol. ii of Sir Guy Laking's *Record of European Armour and Arms*, where the difficulties of attempting to assign an approximate date to a coat of mail are fully set out. As Meyrick says (*op. cit.*), "this sort of armour . . . being handed down as a kind of heirloom in a family, renders it impossible to assign the date of it or any satisfactory evidence." The links approximate to those upon European mail of the sixteenth century, and the most that can be conjectured is that it is of much earlier date than the Kitchener suit referred to above. Its present weight is 19 lb. 3 oz.

The coat has been cleaned and mounted under the supervision of Mr. S. J. Camp (Inspector of the Armouries at the Wallace Collection), to whom the Council is also indebted for the above notes.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

The Society will be glad to have copies of the *Journal* of the undermentioned dates, as they are out of print:—

Old Series.—1842, No. 13; 1861, No. 3.

New Series.—1870, Vol. IV, Part II; 1881, Vol. XIII, Part I; 1882, Vol. XIV, Part IV; 1883, Vol. XV, Parts I and II; 1885, Vol. XVII, Part IV.

Present Series.—1903, Parts I and III; 1904, Parts II and III; 1919, Parts I and II.

Mrs. Lockyer, Tacket Wood, Kingsbridge, S. Devon, has many copies of the Society's *Journal* in good condition and would be glad to sell them to members at half-price.

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society has decided to advance the price of its publications, including the *Journal* and offprints therefrom, by 25 per cent to all persons who are not members of the Society. Members will pay the same special prices as hitherto for books already published if they buy them direct from the Society for their own use.

In order to avoid small odd amounts the nearest sixpence above the figure so arrived at (i.e. the old price plus 25 per cent) will be taken as the new price. Thus a book published at 7s. 6d. will be sold retail at 9s. 6d., not 9s. 4½d.

The Council has also decided to allow booksellers a uniform discount of 2d. in the shilling on all its publications. Non-members buying direct from the Society will pay the full retail price, or in the case of subscriptions to the *Journal* the full subscription.

The effect of the change will be to raise the retail price to non-members of single copies of the *Journal* from 12s. to 15s., and the trade price from 9s. to 12s. 6d.

For subscribers who are not members the rate for current annual sets will in future be £2 8s., whether the subscription is paid to a bookseller or direct to the Society, and the rate to the trade £2.

Offprints of papers in the *Journal* will in future be offered for sale at the following rates per copy. Applications for offprints should be made as soon as possible after the article appears in the *Journal* to enable an order to be placed with the printers before the type is broken up. The printers have engaged to keep the type standing for three months for the purpose.

	<i>To Public. and Members.</i>		<i>To Trade</i>	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
10 pages or less	1	6	1	3
20 pages	2	0	1	8
Over 20 pages	2	6	1	10

(Special prices in some cases.)

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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	ओ o	ट t	व b
आ ā	औ au	ठ th	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

◌̣ (Anusvāra) . . . ṃ

◌̤ (Anunāsika) . . m̤

◌̥ (Visarga) . . . ḥ

◌̦ (Jihvāmūliya) . . ḥ̦

◌̧ (Upadhmāniya) . . ḩ̣

◌̨ (Avagraha) . . . ˆ

◌̩ (Udātta) ˆ

◌̪ (Svarita) ˆ̣

◌̫ (Anudātta) ˆ̤

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit;	ك k	ا a
elsewhere . . . <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>	ل l	ي i
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	ن n
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ع . s or <u>z</u>	و . w or <u>e</u>
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض <u>d</u> , <u>dz</u> , or <u>z</u>	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ z	
د d	غ g	
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	
ر r	ف f	
ز z	ق q	

DIPHTHONGS.

اي ai

او au

wasla . . . ' .

VOWELS.

hamza ا or و

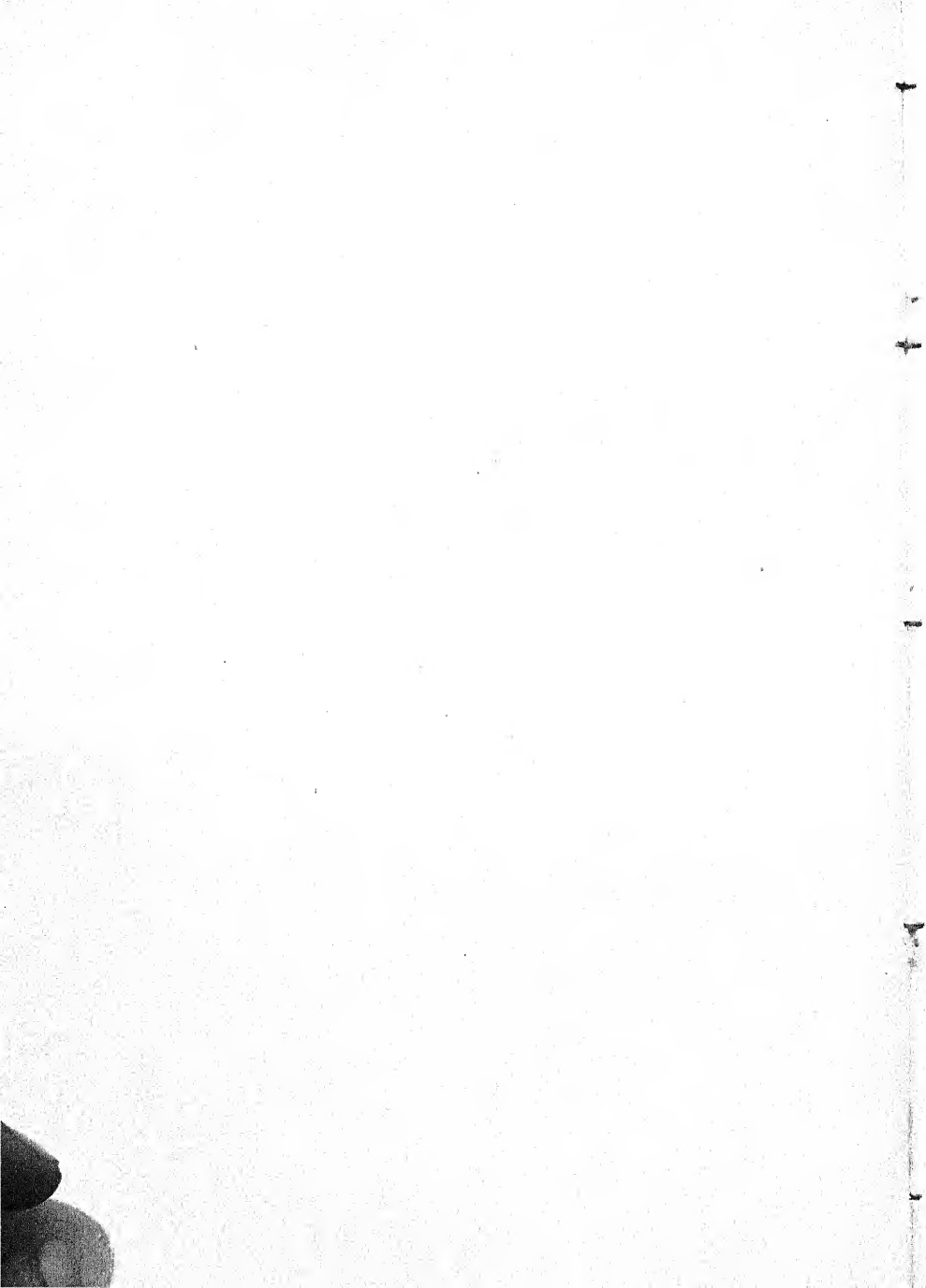
silent t . . h

letter not pro-

nounced . . .

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro- nounced as g k	پ or ت . t	ځ . . . ts
چ . c or <u>ch</u>		چ or د . d	ږ . . . g
ز . z or <u>zh</u>		ژ or ز . r	ښ . . . n
گ g	گ ṅ		ښ . . . ksh



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Gujarati Phonology

By R. L. TURNER

INTRODUCTION

1. In India, perhaps as much as in any linguistic area, we are faced with an extensive mixture of dialects from the earliest times. The conditions have seldom been such as make for the evolution of a number of sharply differentiated languages. Constant invasions, the movements of great armies, the attraction of vast crowds of pilgrims from distant parts to centres of religious worship, the far wanderings of innumerable ascetics, the influence on illiterate peoples of travelling bards, the absence in the great plains of the north at least of pronounced natural boundaries, the continual interplay of kingdom with kingdom, a district being now in this political area now in that—these conditions have all made for widespread borrowings in language, the extension of common linguistic changes over large areas and the formation of common mixed languages, of which modern Hindōstānī, spoken and understood in varying degree over the whole of northern and central India, is an excellent example.

This state of affairs, which makes it impossible to rely upon any of the documents to give an accurate picture of the language spoken by a given people at any given period, has been excellently described by Dr. J. Bloch.¹

¹ *La formation de la langue marathe* (quoted below as "Bloch"), pp. 1-37.

The result has been that the sound-changes, which chiefly distinguish the modern Indo-aryan languages from the primitive as represented more or less in the Veda, were shared in common over the greater part of the area; and even the differences, such as the varying evolution of *r* or of *ṛ*, have been so confused by mutual borrowings of vocabulary, early as well as late, that it is in many cases well nigh impossible to unravel their history.

2. In Gujarātī we have at least a language, the speakers of which have felt for some centuries that it is a language of their own; and it has for a considerable period been spoken over a fairly well defined area. Moreover this area has enjoyed considerable political unity.¹ Although on its northern boundaries it merges into the closely connected language of Mārwārī, yet on its north-eastern boundary the thinly populated Ran of Cutch divides it from great intercourse with Sindhi. Further south comes the sea. In the east from the wild speakers of the closely connected Bhil dialects the more civilized inhabitants of Gujarat were unlikely to make extensive borrowings; and on the south a fairly sharp linguistic line divides Gujarātī from its neighbour Marāṭhī.²

3. The documentary evidence for its more recent history is comparatively full. An extensive poetic literature goes back to the time of Narsingh Mētā (born A.D. 1413);³ while the texts made known to us by Dr. Tessitori⁴ written in a language which he called Old Western Rājasthānī and believed by him to be the common parent of both Gujarātī and Mārwārī, take us to about A.D. 1300. Beyond that Hemacandra describes a literary language, Śauraseni Apabhraṃśa, founded perhaps on a language spoken some centuries before in the Gujarātī area.⁵ He also made a collection of deśī words (i.e. words not

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. i.

² LSI., vol. ix, pt. iii, p. 324.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxiv, p. 74. The traditional text has been largely modernized.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xliii-xlv.

⁵ Bloch, p. 31.

explicable by the ordinary rules for deriving Prakrit words from Sanskrit), the majority of which undoubtedly belonged to the popular language of the district. Before that a previous stage in its evolution is reflected in the Śaurasenī Prakrit: here, however, we have to deal with a language having a long history as a literary language behind it and so full of borrowings that it scarcely can be said to be founded on any one spoken dialect.

4. Sir G. A. Grierson¹ implies that it was the invading Gurjaras of A.D. 400–600 who were responsible for some of the characteristic peculiarities of the language as Gujarātī. For, he says, “it is an interesting fact that where they have not been absorbed into the rest of the population, as in the Plains of the Panjāb (where two districts, Gujarāt and Gujranwālā, are named after them) they are all found to speak some dialect of one and the same language, closely connected with eastern Rājasthānī and with Gujarātī. The grammar of the Gūjars of Swat is almost the same as that of the Rajputs of Jaipur.”²

Further, the Gurjaras appear to have settled in Gujarāt in considerable numbers. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji writes: “That nearly a fourth of the whole Hindu population of Gujarat are Lewa and Kadwa Kanbis (Gujar tribes), and that during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries three Gujar chiefs divided among them the sway of the entire province, explains how the province of Gujarat came to take its name from the tribe of Gujars.”³

An examination of the Asoka inscriptions at Girnar leads to the same conclusion, that the language of the district at that time was not the direct ancestor of Gujarātī. In the two points where we can check dialectical difference observable to the present day—the treatment of *ṛ* and of *ḷ*—the language of this inscription

¹ LSI., loc. cit., p. 323.

² Cf. also Bailey, *Himalayan Dialects*.

³ *Bombay Gaz.*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 5.

agrees rather with Marāṭhī than Gujarāṭī. *r* is predominantly represented by *a* (*vrachā bhati vadhi bhataka dadha kata kaca maga magaryā suhadaya usata vistata vyāhata* against *u* in *paripucchā vuta*); *kṣ* less certainly by *cch* (*achāti chanati chudaka samchāya vrachā* against *kkh* in *ithijhakhamahāmātā khamitave samkhvitena*).¹ Gujarāṭī, on the other hand, shows the predominant treatment: *r* > *i*, *u*; *kṣ* > *kkh*.

It may well be, therefore, that the ancestor of Marāṭhī was further to the north in those days and that it was pushed south by the speakers of the ancestor of Gujarāṭī. Pandit Bhagwanlal says: "As a Rāṣṭrakūṭa copperplate of A.D. 888 brings the Konkan as far north as Variav on the Tapti, the extension of the name Gujarat to Lāṭa south of the Mahi seems to have taken place under Mussalman rule."²

Lastly, seeing that the Gujars are supposed to have entered Gujarat from the east, by the Ratlam-Dohad route, it is interesting to note that northern Gujarāṭī reproduces the palatals *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, by the sibilants *s* and *z*, recalling the development *ch* > *s* in Marāṭhī.

DEFINITIONS

5. Although the process of evolution in a language is continuous, it is convenient for purposes of reference to divide it into periods. In referring below to the different periods in the development of the modern Sanskritic languages of India the following terms will be used.

Indo-european (IE) denotes the period of comparative linguistic unity of the whole of our language group; Aryan the period of unity of the Persian and Indian (Sanskritic) branches.

Primitive Indian (PI) denotes the period of unity of the Aryan languages of India, when the stage of phonetic evolution had reached that generally indicated in the language of the Rigveda.

¹ Senart, vol. ii, pp. 330 and 333.

² Op. cit., p. 5, n. 1.

Middle Indian (MI) denotes the stage between the assimilation of consonant groups to the time of their simplification in most of the Indian languages, i.e. up to some time before A.D. 1300. The monuments of this stage are to be found in a number of what must have been popular words imported into the Rīgveda, in the Pali texts, in the inscriptions of Asoka and subsequent inscriptions, in the various Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa texts, and to some extent in the changes that literary Sanskrit suffered through the influence of the spoken languages.

Modern Indian (ModI) denotes the stage reached after the simplification of double consonants, which in Gujarātī has occurred by A.D. 1300.

Old Western Rājasthānī (OWR) represents the stage of comparative linguistic unity of Gujarātī and Rājasthānī.

Where it is necessary to distinguish the Aryan languages of India from other Indian languages belonging to a different family, such as Dravidian, the term Indo-aryan will be used.

Too great stress cannot be laid on the fact that none of these stages represents a complete and absolute linguistic unity. There were differences of dialect in Indo-european, as there must later have been in Aryan. The Aryan invaders did not enter India as a single body speaking a common language, but in different groups at varying intervals, speaking different dialects (a mixture of these dialects is seen in our earliest monument, the Rīgveda), but sufficiently alike to be classed under the general head of Primitive Indian. Under the term Middle Indian must, of course, be comprised a great number of different dialects, both in space and time. In the OWR texts dialectical differences of considerable extent can be seen; while even in modern Gujarātī we do not reach linguistic unity, except in so far as the literary language, arisen out of a mixture of dialects, is generally used and understood by the educated over the Gujarātī area.

LOANWORDS

6. Loanwords, for the convenience of classification only (since there is no difference of principle involved), may be divided into three groups: namely loanwords A. from other contemporary spoken Indian languages; B. from the literary languages; C. from other languages.

A

7. For the reasons mentioned in the introduction there has been ever since their arrival in India mutual borrowing on an extensive scale between the different Indo-aryan languages. This is plainly mirrored in the Asoka inscriptions, where it probably is not due only to incorrect rendering of the edicts in a language other than that of the court that words displaying such mixture of different dialectical evolution are found in one and the same inscription: e.g. the appearance of PI *kṣ* both as *kḥh* and as *cch*, or of PI *ṛ* as *i* and as *α*. The political conditions of this period were particularly favourable to copious borrowing and the emergence of common languages. This extension of word-forms from one dialect group to others is reflected in the literary languages: for, as is known, a very considerable number of words, from Vedic times onwards, have found their way into the literary language from the spoken languages in a more advanced stage of phonetic evolution than the main body of words comprising the literary language. Speaking generally, the earlier these dialectical words find their way into the literary languages, the greater their extension in the spoken language proves to be. Thus *danda-* (RV), *ghaṭa-* (Up.) showing the cerebral treatment of *dr* and *ṛt* in place of the dental, *kōṭha* (Pali) showing the early elimination of double consonants, are of universal extension over the Indo-aryan languages. Other examples of these dialectical and practically common Indian loanwords will be found at §§ 18, 41, 42.

But borrowing, although doubtless more general at certain epochs when conditions are most favourable, never ceases in a country linguistically situated like India. Thus in Gujarātī we have from a language such as Marāṭhī which has initial accentuation: *al̥to* lac-dye (*alakta-*), *tirchā* crosswise (*tiraśc-*), *pālkhī* litter (*paryaṅka-*); in which *ch > s*: *ās* sugar-cane (*ikṣu-*); from Hindī or some dialect where *v > b*: *bacvū* to escape unhurt (Pkt. *vaccaī*), *bacāv* escape, *bajvū* to be rung (*vāḍya-*), *bajāvṇū* to ring, *bās* smell (*vāsa-*), *bichānū* bedding (*vicchādana-*), *cōbo* (*caturveda-*); from a North-western language where double consonants are preserved: *baccū* child, *macchī* fish, *macchar* mosquito; from a language where *-m- > -ṽ-*: *galhū* wheat (*gōdhūma-*), *gosāī* ascetic (*gōsvāmin-*), *bhuī* ground, beside *bhūmī* (*bhūmi-*).

B

8. Sanskrit, from the time it became a literary language (and there are many indications even in the Rīgveda that its language already was literary in the sense that it represented an older phonetic stage than the then spoken languages), provided for the spoken languages the same inexhaustible fund for borrowing learned words as literary Latin did for its own descendants, the Romance languages. Since, however, a word once become current in a language, whatever its original source, undergoes any phonetic change that affects the language as a whole, it is now impossible to distinguish literary words borrowed at a period when the difference in sound between the literary and the spoken language was still small.

Words, however, containing intervocalic stops and borrowed after the disappearance of the PI intervocalic stops are necessarily apparent. Early examples of such borrowings are to be seen in words whose ancestors in Prakrit show a double consonant beside a single one

in Sanskrit¹ (except, of course, where the double stop represents an assimilated consonant group, e.g. *laggāi* < *lagyati* beside *lagati*). These double stops arose from the fact that at the time of their borrowing there were no single intervocalic stops in the language; and as the speaker in pronouncing a borrowed word uses, to represent its sounds, those sounds in his own language which seem to him most nearly to represent it (or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, which seem to him identical), the speakers in this case replaced the single stop (unknown in their language) of the borrowed Sanskrit word by a double stop (of which their own language then had very numerous examples). Instances of such words in Gujarātī are: *ēk* one (Pkt. *ekka*- borrowed from Skt. *ēka*- which survives in Nep. *yēuṭā* one, beside *yēk*), *jītvā* conquer (Pkt. *jitta*-, Skt. *jīta*-), *lākāḍ* wooden (Pkt. *lakkuḍa*-, Skt. *lakuṣa*-, which survives in Nep. *lauro* stick, Guj. *lōḍo* penis), *thōk* collection (Pkt. *thokka*-, Skt. *stōka*-, which survives in *thōḍā* few).

It is probable that on the model of this equivalence of double stop to single stop, other words containing in Sanskrit a single continuant like *l* or *v* were borrowed with the continuant doubled. Such are H. *jōban* youth (Pkt. *jovvana*-, Skt. *yauvana*-, which would normally survive in H. as **jōn*), *tēl* oil (Pkt. *tella*-, Skt. *taila*-, which would survive as **tēl*), *ēhvā* such (Ap. *ehavañi*, remodelled after *eha*- this, Pkt. *evva*-, Skt. *ēva*). The last two examples can be otherwise, though less probably, explained as being derived from **tailya*- **airya*-.

9. Belonging to a different and later stratum are loanwords of the type *bhagat* devotee, *ragat* blood (*bhakta-rakta*-). Here the anaptyptic insertion of the vowel (by which means the then unknown consonant group was reproduced by the speaker) brought into existence an

¹ Pischel, 890, 193, although the author gives a different explanation. Bloch, p. 105.

intervocalic breathed stop. The tendency to voice intervocalic breathed stops, which earlier had affected all such PI stops, being still in operation, breathed intervocalic stops of such loanwords (in which alone such stops could exist) became voiced. This tendency has come to an end by the time double stops have become single (although, for example, in Nepālī it is still in operation).

The so-called tatsama (or word borrowed from Sanskrit) need not necessarily differ in form from the Sanskrit only because it was borrowed in the past and so has suffered change. It may be the result of a tadbhava (or inherited word) being partially changed after a Sanskrit model. A Gujarātī instance is *śōhvā* look well, in which the tadbhava *śōhvā* has been influenced by the Skt. *śōbhatē* (ts. *śōbhvā*).

Lastly, the tatsama does not always retain its form, even at the time of borrowing, because, as pointed out above, the speakers who make it part of their language reproduce its sounds by the nearest they have in their language. Thus in Hindī Sanskrit words containing *kṣ* or initial *v-* will to-day be reproduced as tatsamas with *ch* or *b-*.

10. Probably Sanskrit was not the only literary language from which loanwords were taken. Pali, as the literary language of Buddhism, undoubtedly affected the spoken languages during the time of Buddhist ascendancy; but Pali loanwords would now be indistinguishable from Sanskrit loanwords.

The Prakrit of Jainism must have been of influence. Perhaps under this head should be put *rēṇ* night (J.Pkt. *rayaṇī*, Skt. *rajanī*), *vēṇ* word (Pkt. *vayaṇa-*, Skt. *vacana-*), which would as original tadbhavas have appeared as **rāṇ* **vāṇ*.

Finally the literary and traditional language of the bards cannot but have played some part in modifying the language of its hearers.

C

11. That the Aryan invaders borrowed from the languages of the peoples they conquered, and that the conquered in adopting the language of their conquerors retained some of their own words is probable but as yet lacks confirmation. In this respect Dr. Bloch's indication¹ that the Indo-aryan languages, as far as concerned intervocalic consonants, went the same way as the Dravidian, is suggestive.

Later an extensive vocabulary was borrowed from Persian and Arabic under the influence of the Muhammadan rulers; a smaller from French and Portuguese traders; and of recent years a considerable number of words from English. The Persian and Arabic words, as being the oldest of this stratum, have in particular shared in the general decoloration of unstressed short vowels.

VOWEL SYSTEM

12. Primitive Indian possessed the following vowels and diphthongs: *a ā, i ī, u ū, ē, ̄, ai, au, ɾ, ɿ*.

(a) In the MI stage, in the earliest monuments we have, the simple vowels remained practically unchanged; the diphthongs *ai, au* and the groups *aya, ava* became *ē, ̄*, which in both cases converged with PI *ē, ̄*. Long vowels before consonant groups were shortened.

ɿ, which appears but rarely in Sanskrit and then only as playing a part in the morphological system of one root, is said to become *ili* in Prakrit: *kilitta-, kilitti- (kl̥pta-, kl̥pti-)*.² The Ap. *katta-* represents **kalpta-*, not *kl̥pta-*. No word containing original *ɿ* survives in Gujarāṭi.

ɾ showed from the earliest times a variety of development as *a, i, or u*. Already in the prakritisms of the R̥gveda it appears in the three forms, though most

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xlviii, pp. 191-4.

² Pischel, § 59.

frequently as *a*.¹ Dr. Bloch, after an examination of the Asoka inscriptions and the literary languages on this point, decides that the predominant development of *r* was *a* to the south-west, *i* and *u* to the north and east.²

(b) The only other change of importance that took place in the MI period was due to the early tendency to shorten final long vowels, which in the modern languages (except Sindhī) have disappeared equally with final short vowels. Apabhraṃśa shows final long vowels becoming short, a process carried further still in Piṅgala Prakrit.³

(c) In distinction to the ancestor of Marāṭhī, the language from which Gujarātī descends developed a stress accent which played a considerable part in the further development of the MI vowel system. This accent fell on the penultimate syllable if long, on the antepenult if the penultimate were short, or on the fourth from the end if both the antepenult and the penultimate were short.⁴ Its effects are scarcely visible in the Apabhraṃśa described by Hemacandra, but in OWR (A.D. 1300 onwards) it has produced considerable changes in the vowel system, e.g. *apatya-aranyam jāmāṭr-* > Ap. *avaccañ arañṇan* > OWR *bācañ rāṇa jamāñ*.

(d) The next important step in the development of the vowel system was due to the simplification of double consonants. The short vowel in front of the simplified group was lengthened in compensation.

(e) The disappearance of intervocalic stops in the MI period left a large number of vowels in contact. These maintained for the most part a separate existence till the time of the OWR texts, when the process of coalescence is seen to be beginning, e.g. :

¹ Wackernagel, §§ 9, 16, 19, 146, 172, 208.

² Bloch, § 30.

³ Pischel, § 100.

⁴ See below, § 15.

Skt.	Ap.	OWR
<i>rājā</i>	<i>rāā</i>	<i>rā</i>
<i>pratōlī</i>	<i>paōlī</i>	<i>pōlī</i>
<i>pībatī</i>	<i>pīāī</i>	<i>pīī</i>
<i>divasaḥ</i>	<i>dīasu</i>	<i>dīsa</i>
<i>bījāṃ</i>	<i>bīāṃ</i>	<i>bī</i>
	<i>ghōḍāaha</i>	<i>ghōḍāha</i>
	<i>aṇṇāēru</i>	<i>aṇēru</i>

āī and *āū* were, however, still maintained, e.g. Ap. *pavisāī karamṭaū*, OWR *paīsāī karataū*.

(f) In a certain number of words, however, the hiatus appears to have been avoided by the insertion of the sound *y*, the effect of which is heard to-day: *rajanī*, *vacanaṇ*, *nagarī*; OWR *rayaṇī*, *vayaṇa*, *nayaṇī*; G *rēṇ*, *vēṇ*, *-ner*.

Jaina Pkt. MSS. write *y* (*laghuprayatnatarayakāra*) in place of older intervocalic stops.¹ But as the great majority of such words in Gujarātī show the simple coalescence of the two vowel sounds, it is probable that those which show *y* are loanwords either from another dialect which regularly avoided hiatus in this way or from literary Jaina Prakrit. Marāṭhī shows a much greater number of words in which hiatus was avoided, usually with the sound *v*.²

(g) Finally in modern Gujarātī all final and unaccented short vowels have disappeared; and the remaining vowels in contact have coalesced: *āī* > *ē*, *āū* > *ō*. Long vowels resulting from coalescence, when unaccented, are shortened. *ī*, *ū*, when unaccented or followed by two consonants, become *i*, *u*.

(h) More recently *āī*, *āū* have become *ai*, *au*, e.g. *bhāī* [*bhai*], *sāhū* [*sau*].

13. Thus the Gujarātī system consists of the following vowels: *a ā, i ī, u ū, e ē, o ō, ε ē, ɔ ɔ̄, ai, au, oi*. Short

¹ Pischel, § 187.

Bloch, §§ 54, 55.

vowels are slightly more open than the corresponding long vowels. *a* is [ʌ]. Dialectically, particularly in the north,¹ *ḍ* appears for *ā*, *e* for *i*, *o* for *u*.

VOWEL-GRADATION

14. Even in Vedic times the PI representatives of the IE system of vowel-gradation had gained a certain analogical extension.² The MI sound changes considerably altered the appearance of the PI system.

PI series become MI.

-	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ě</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ār</i>	<i>i u a, ar</i> or <i>a</i> + double consonant, <i>ār</i> .	

The vowel-gradation, however, still remained an active element in the formation of the language, though considerably reduced in the extent of its application. Where it most generally showed itself was in the difference of gradation existing between simple and causative verbs. PI types *a* : *ā*, *u* : *ō* have been maintained to the present day, e.g. *sarvū* move, intr., *pasarvū* extend, intr., *marvū* die : *sārvū* move, tr., *pasārvū* extend, tr., *mārvū* kill ; *dujhvū* give milk : *dōhvū* milk. The *a* : *ā* series has been disturbed (1) by the lengthening of PI *a* when followed by two consonants, e.g. *tāpvū* be hot (*tapyati*) : *tārvū* to heat (*tāpayati*), *phātvū* be split (*sphatyatē*) : *phādvū* split (*sphātayati*), where the correspondence is now felt to be effected, not by change of vowel, but of consonant ; (2) by the extension of the *-āpaya-* causative suffix, e.g. *karvū* do (*karōti*) : *karāvvū* cause to do (**kārapayati*, Pkt. *kārāvei* replacing *kārayati*), *nāsvū* be destroyed (*naśyati*) : *nasādvū* destroy (with a still later causative suffix).

¹ LSI, loc. cit., p. 329.

² Wackernagel, §§ 55, 65.

Nevertheless, the correspondence has remained an active force, *a* being felt to be the sign of the intransitive verb, *ā* of the transitive ; and it has resulted in new formations of the type *palvā* be kept, as a passive to *pālṽ* keep (*pālayati*) after the analogy of *sārvā* : *sarvā*, etc.

Nouns of the type *śēl* wash-stone (*śilā*, *śailya*-), *mōl* crop (*mūla*-, *maulya*-), *mōtī* pearl (*muktā*, *mauktika*-), *sōtī* tailor (*sūcī*, *saucika*-), *kōḍh* leprosy (Pa. *kōṭha* : *kuṣṭha*-*kausṭha*-), *pōthā* book (*pustaka*-), *mōth* fragrant grass (*mustā*) rest either on PI originals or were formed on the analogy of others. In the latter case the classical *vṛddhi* forms would be sanskritized MI words. *śēl* and *mōl* (with *l*, not *ḷ*) at any rate rest on forms containing *-ly*.

The change of *r* to *a*, *i*, or *u* led to a number of new analogical formations on the types *a* : *ā*, *i* : *ē*, *u* : *ō*.

a : *ā* :—

bhrta- > *bhaṭa*- : *bhāta*- (*bhāḍ* a pimp's profits).

vṛta- > *vaṭa*- : *vāṭi*- (*vāḍ* hedge).

i : *ē* :—

gṛha- > Pkt. *giha*- : *gēha*-.

gṛhṇāti > Pkt. *giṇhaṭi* : Pkt. *geṇhaṭi* (perhaps *ghērvā* surround, with *ṇ* replaced by *r* due to the influence of other forms containing *r*, e.g. *gharaṇ* (*grahana*-)).

√**khṛt*- (: Goth. *skildus*) > *khṛt*- : *khēṭa*- village (*khēḍ* agriculture, through contamination with *khēṭ* (*kṣētra*-)).

u : *ō* :—

**sphṛt*- (Germ. *spalten*) > *sphṛṭyatē* (*phṛṭvā* be split) : *sphōṭayati* (*phōḍvā* split).

ACCENT

15. Normally the stress¹ in Gujarātī falls on the penultimate syllable or on the last if that is long and is

¹ For a fuller account of the being and origin of this accent, see Turner, JRAS. April, 1916, §§ 18-43. Cf. also R. G. Bhandarkar, Commemoration Volume, art. Bloch, "A propos de l'accent d'intensité en indo-aryen," p. 359.

derived from a long Skt. syllable (final *ā, ī, ū, e, o* derived from the contraction of two short MI vowels do not bear the accent, and, indeed, are not full long vowels), e.g. *sāsro kāmāl kapūr vakhāṇ*. In the second case, however, there is a tendency, unless the word is followed by an enclitic like *che* is, or a postposition, to give even stress, e.g. *kūpūr : kapūr che*.

This accent is the descendant of the stress accent mentioned above (§ 12. c.), which must have arisen at some period between Vedic times and about A.D. 1300, by which time its effects are clearly visible.

It is liable to analogical displacement.

(1) In paradigms, whether of nouns or verbs, it remains always on the same syllable, e.g. *jīvāmi* (after *jīvasi jīvati*) > OWR *jīvañ*, G. *jīvā* live; *ghōṭakānām* (after *ghōṭakāḥ*, etc. > *ghōḍāḍ*, G. *ghōḍā* oblique plural). Similarly in mod. Gujarātī itself, *jīveche* after *jīve*, etc.; gen. *ghōḍāno* after nom. *ghōḍo*, etc.

(2) Since the majority of verbs would thus naturally have the accent on the initial syllable, in a certain number of compound verbs with a long middle syllable, the accent has been transferred to the initial syllable, e.g. *vināśyati* > **vañāse* > *vāñase vāñse* be destroyed, similarly *upajvā* be produced (*utpadyatē*), *valāgvā* stick to (*vilagyati*), *parākhvā* examine (*parīkṣatē*), *ḷākhvā* recognize (*apalaksatē*), *ḷābvā* hang (*apalamba-*), *palatvā* return (*pallattai*) opposed to *aphālvā* scatter (*āsphālayati*). This change was doubtless furthered by the fact, firstly, that compound verbs of the type *śsarvā* decrease (*apasarati*), *visarvā* forget (*vismarati*), *sābharvā* remember (*saṁsmarati*), *ūcarvā* speak (*uccarati*), etc., normally had the accent on the preposition; and secondly, that the verbs which show the shift are intransitive (compare on the other hand *aphālvā*, which is transitive and retains the original accent), and so by the change of *ā* to *a* fall in with the general formative principle of transitive and intransitive verbs.

(3) *bālap* childhood (*bālatva*-), *kālap* blackness (**kālatva*-) retain the accent of *bāla*- *kālu*-. *vāṇaj* trade (*vāṇijya*-), if not a tatsama, has been affected by the accent of *vāṇiyo* trader (*vāṇija*-). *ānach* disgust (*anicchā*), *ālakh* invisible (*alaksya*-) have the accent of *āṇsan* fasting (*anaśana*-), etc., and have also been influenced by the necessity of preserving the initial syllable for the sake of being understood.

At least one of the neighbours of Gujarātī, namely, Marāṭhī, had a different system of accentuation—a stress predominantly on the initial syllable. From some such accentuated language words of the type *ālto* (*alakta*-), *tīrchū* (*tiraśc*-), *kāḍcho* ladle (HD *kaḍucchao*) must have been borrowed.

In compounds of two nouns the accent of the first has more often been retained, e.g. *Rāthoḍ* OWR *rāthauḍa* (*rāṣṭrakūta*-), *Sīhot* OWR *sīhaūta* (*siṃhaputra*-), *Phāḷodhī* OWR *phalavadhī* (*phalavardhikā*), *dēsoṭo* OWR *desavataū* (*dēśu-vṛtta*-).

SPONTANEOUS NASALIZATION

16. There seems from the earliest time to have been a tendency to pronounce vowels with the velum incompletely raised, which results in the vowel becoming nasalized. In the Asoka inscriptions the variant spelling long vowel or short vowel with anusvāra may be taken to represent this tendency. In the Prakrits there are many examples, particularly of anusvāra + stop representing the assimilation of consonant groups and usually of groups containing *r* + consonant.

In Gujarātī this tendency to nasalization, though present, is less in evidence than in other MI languages. Generally speaking, only those words have this spontaneous nasalization which are so found in other languages and are attested in Prakrit, while, on the other hand, a considerable number of words are without the

nasalization in Gujarātī which have it in some or all the other languages.

Thus with nasalization: *mājār* cat (*māṛjāra*-, Pkt. *mamjāra*-), *vāḷkū* bent (*vakra*-, Pkt. *vaṃka*-), *āḷh* eye (*akṣi*-), *pāḷh* wing (*pakṣa*-, Pkt. *paṃkha*-), *āsu* tear (*āśru*-, Pkt. *aṃsu*-), *ūcū* high (*ucca*-), *ūṭ* camel (*uṣṭra*-), *chāḍvū* abandon (*chardayati*). The last is nasalized only in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī.

Without nasalization: *māgvū* ask for (*mārgati*), *mājvū* clean (*mārjati*), *sāp* snake (*sarpa*-), *kāḷkḍī* cucumber (*karkatīkā*), *sācū* true (*satya*-), *ōṭh* lip (*ōṣṭha*-), *ūbhū* upright (*ūrdhva*-).

Similarly the spontaneous nasalization of simple long vowels is found less frequently in Gujarātī, e.g. *bhēs* buffalo cow (*mahiṣī*), *bāhyū* arm (*bāhu*-). The question, primarily in regard to Marāṭhī, is discussed at length by Dr. Bloch.¹

VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES

17. In open syllables, except for PI *ai*, *au*, *ṛ*, all vowels remain unchanged. *ai*, *au* became *ē*, *ō*, which converged with PI *ē*, *ō*.

a

khaṇ moment (*kṣaṇa*-), *gaḷū* throat (*gala*-), *kamaḷ* lotus (*kamala*-), *karvū* do (*karōti*), *sasro* father-in-law (*śvaśura*-), *dahī* curds (*dadhi*-), *sahiyar* female friend (*sakhī*), *jaḷvū* burn, intr. (*jvalati*), *janvū* bear young (*janayati*), *saso* hare (*śaśa*-).

In the OWR words in which Dr. Tessitori² gives *i* or *u* from *a*, Gujarātī shows *a*. Most of the OWR examples of this change can be explained by special conditions. *tijai*, *dhina*, *kṣitri* are tatsamas (*tyaj*-, *dhanya*-, *kṣatriya*-); *khina* is probably due to the influence of **kṣina* ts. from *kṣaṇa*-; *giu* < *gaṇu*, perhaps due to quick pronunciation

¹ Bloch, § 66 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, xliii, p. 55.

(cf. H. [*gia*'] = *gayā*); *jiniu* < *janiu*, due to the following *i*. Only for *iṇḍai* (*aṇḍa*-) and *giṇai* (*gaṇayati*) does there seem to be no explanation. The vocalization of *giṇai*, however, appears also in H. *ginnā* (beside G. *gaṇvū*, N. *gannu*); and Dr. Tessitori remarks that Marwārī retains this OWR *i* < *a*. The occurrence of *i* beside *a* may then be due to dialect mixture. Similarly *u* < *a* in the presence of a labial. Gujarātī uniformly shows *a*.

ā

mājār (*mārjāra*-), *nām* name (*nāman*-), *jāṇvū* know (*jānāti*), *nās* loss (*nāśa*-), *vakhāṇ* praise (*vyākhyāna*-), *bhāi* (*bhrātṛ*-), *tāvvū* (*tāpayati*), *vālū* sand (*vālukā*), *pasāi* riches (*prasāda*-).

In a few verbs we have Gujarātī *a* for *ā* (= Skt. *ā*, or *a* before consonant group) in the accented syllable. These are mostly transitive verbs, and have been reformed with *a* for *ā* after the type *sarvū* (*sarati*): *sārvū* (*sārayati*); e.g. *dhakhvū* be angry (*dhakṣati*), *dhasvū* push through, intr. (*dharṣati*), *ghasvū* rub against (*gharṣati*) has perhaps been influenced by the passive *ghasāvū*. This replacement of *ā* by *a* in intransitive verbs is very common in Marāṭhī.¹

Dr. Tessitori² quotes OWR words as showing *a* < *ā*: *bimaṇaū* (**dvi-mānaka*-), *vīṇavaī* (*viṇṇāpayati*), *saī* (*śatāni*); *bimaṇaū* as the name of a measure is suspect of borrowing; *vīṇavaī* represents Skt. *viṇṇāpayati*, and *saī* for *saāī* is due to sing. *saū* (*śatam*).

i

śir head (*śiras*-), *chiṇvū* slit (*chinatti*), *viṇvū* select (*vinayati*), *cir* for long (*cira*-), *ciṇvū* fold (*cinōti*), *ṭilo* caste-mark (*tilaka*-), *vimaḷ* clean (*vimala*-), *viṇ* without (*vinā*), *pisvū* grind (*pinasṭi*, *pinṣati*).

¹ Turner, JRAS., April, 1916, p. 238.

² Ind. Ant., xliii, p. 5.

lakhvū for *ts*. **likhvū* (*likhati*) is perhaps due to the influence of forms where the first syllable is unaccented : *lakhāvū*.

ī

bī seed (*bīja-*), *hīṇ* wicked (*hīna-*), *śīl* nature (*śīla-*), *khīr* rice boiled in milk (*kṣīra-*), *dīvo* lamp (*dīpa-*), *kīḍo* insect (*kīṭa-*), *ahīr* herdsman (*ābhīra-*), *nīlū* blue (*nīla-*), *pīdvū* hurt (*pīdayati*), *jīrū* cummin-seed (*jīra-*), *śīm* boundary (*śīmā*).

u

kuḷ family (*kula-*), *dhuvū* shake, intr. (*dhunōti*), *ur* breast (*uras-*), *khur* hoof (*khura-*), *musḷū* pestle (*musala-*), *puḍī* bundle (*puṭikā*), *suṇvū* sleep (**supati*, Pkt. *suvaṛ*).

ū

dhūḷ dust (*dhūli-*), *mūḷ* root (*mūla-*), *jū* louse (*yūkā*), *ūṇū* not quite full (*ūna-*), *ūs* salt (*ūṣa-*), *kapūr* camphor (*karpūra-*), *majūs* box (*majjūṣā*), *sūrū* brave (*śūra-*), *rūdū* proper (*rūpa-*), *jāvū* gambling (*dyūta-*).

ē

= PI *ē* : *mēh* rain (*mēgha-*), *nēh* love (*snēha-*), *mēlvū* mix (*mēlayati*), *tēṇe* by him, OWR *tenaṛ* (*tēna*), *chēḍo* end (*chēḍa-*), *dēs* country (*dēśa-*), *bhēv* secret (*bhēda-*).

= PI *ai* : *gēru* red chalk (*gairika-*), *kēsudā* saffron flowers (*kaiṃśuka-*).

ī *i* < *ē* in *phīṇ* foam, beside *phēṇ* (*phēna-*), *dier* husband's younger brother (*dēvara-*), is unexplained.

ō

= PI *ō* : *bōlvū* sink (*bōlayati*), *rōvū* weep (*rōdati*), *sōs* thirst (*śōṣa-*), *dōhvū* (*dōhayati*), *ghō* iguana (*gōdhā*), *lōhī* blood (*lōhita-*), *gōras* whey, *gōrśī* pot to contain whey (*gōrasa-*), *mōhvū* enchant (*mōhayati*), *kōs* 1½ miles (*krōśa-*), *gōḷ* round (*gōla-*), *ghōḍo* horse (*ghōṭaka-*), *chōḍvū* let go (*chōṭayati*), *thōḍū* (*stōka-*), *dōr* rope (*dōraka-*).

= PI *au* : *gōrū* fair (*gaura-*), *dhōvū* wash (*dhauti*),

kōḷī Śūdra caste (*kaulika*-), *pōḷī* wheaten cake (*pauli*-), *cōr* thief (*caura*-), *ōsaḍ* drug (*auṣadha*-). Cf. also the words given in § 14.

ɾ

18. The development of the PI vowel *ɾ* is confused from the time of our earliest documents.¹ In Middle Indian it appears as *a*, *i*, or *u*. According to Dr. Bloch the repartition was probably this: in the south-west *ɾ* > *a*; in the north and north-east *ɾ* > *i*, or *u* in the presence of a labial. Since the earliest times, however, there has been constant mutual borrowing, and all the modern languages present examples of all three developments in their vocabulary. But in maintaining that Gujarātī belongs in this respect to the south-west group Dr. Bloch is perhaps wrong. The language of the Asoka inscriptions at Girnar, which show the *a* treatment predominating,² cannot be held to support his view, for, as shown above (§ 4), it probably does not represent the ancestor of Gujarātī.

On the contrary, the predominant treatment in Gujarātī (as undoubtedly in Śaurasēnī Prakrit) is *ɾ* > *i*, *u*, e.g. *vīchī* scorpion (*vṛścika*-): the N.W. dialects, from which presumably M. *vicū* is borrowed, show -*u* in the termination corresponding to Pkt. *vimchua*-, which points to the Gujarātī word not being borrowed at least from a N.W. dialect; *kīdhā* done (*kṛta*-) with -*dh*- after *lādh*- (*labdha*-) etc., *maḥīrū* mother's house (**māṭṛgarhakam* > **māiharaū*) not found in the N.W. dialects; *dīthā* seen (*dṛṣṭa*-); *vuthvā* to rain (*vṛṣṭa*-); *haiyā*, *haidā* memory, OWR *haīdaū* (*hr̥daya*-) represents older *haīa-ḍa*- by metathesis of *a* and *i* in Ap. *hīaa*-.

Several words which show the *a* treatment are used in a special sense, while the cognates with *i*, *u* retain their more general and original meaning. This points to the

¹ Bloch, §§ 13, 31, and literature there quoted.

² Senart, ii, p. 330.

first class rather than the second having been borrowed, e.g. *maḍḍū* corpse (*mṛta-*), but *muo* dead (*muddū* corpse is the result of contamination); *pāṭhā* tumour on the back (*prṣṭha-*), but *pūṭh* back.

In a number of other words the position of the vowel in an unaccented syllable precludes us from deciding whether the treatment was *i* or *a*, e.g. *nivadvū* (*vṛta-*), *dēvaḍ* (*vṛti-*), *vaḍe*, prep. (*vṛta-*). Lastly, in a number of verbs *a* may represent not *ṛ* but *ar*. This is borne out by the fact that the N.W. languages also show *a* here, e.g. *dhasvū* (*dharṣati*), but *dhūṭ* impudent (*dhṛṣṭa-*). In *mau* soft (*mṛdu-*), *pōhlū* broad (*prṭhula-*) there is common Indian dissimilation of *u* between two labials to *a*.

Initially *ṛ* appears as *ri*. *a*, *i*, *u* < *ṛ* converge with PI *a*, *i*, *u*.

ri : *rijhvū* be pleased (*ṛdhyati*), *pārdhī* hunter (**pāpa-riddhi* : *pāpa-rddhi-*), loan word *rīch* bear (*ṛkṣa-*).

i : *vīchī* (*vṛścika-*), *dīthā* (*dṛṣṭa-*), *dīśvū* appear (*dṛśyatē*), *mahīrū* (**mātrgarhakam*), *śīyāl* jackal (*śṛgāla-*), *bhīgāro* wasp (*bhṛṅga-*), *mīṭhā* sweet (*mṛṣṭa-*), *śīg* horn (*śṛṅga-*), *gīdh* vulture (*gṛdhra-*), *haidū* (*hṛdaya-*), *ghī* (*ghṛta-*).

u : *vuṭhvū* (*vṛṣṭa-*), *muo* (*mṛta-*), *pūṭh* (*prṣṭha-*), *bhujvū* roast (*bhṛjjati*), *bhūṭhū* parched (*bhṛṣṭa-*), *gūthvū* plait (*grathnāti*), *ghūtvū* rub (*ghṛṣṭa-*), *puchvū* ask (*prechati*), *sunvū* hear (*śṛṇōti*), *mōsāl* mother's house (*mātr-sālā*).

a : *mau* (*mṛdu-*), *pōhlū* (*prṭhula-*), *māṭī* earth (*mṛtti-*), *taṅkhalū* a straw (*tṛṇa-*), *maḍḍū* (*mṛta-*), *pāṭhū* (*prṣṭha-*).

VOWELS IN CLOSED SYLLABLES

19. In the MI stage all long vowels before two consonants were shortened. These short vowels converge with the corresponding PI short vowels. Later, in the period preceding the OWR texts, when the double consonant was shortened, or in the case of the group

nasal + consonant when the nasality was produced simultaneously with the vowel, the preceding short vowel, if in the syllable bearing the chief stress, was lengthened.

MI a

< a : *kām* work (*karman-*), *āj* to-day (*adya*), *sācū* (*satya-*), *kān* ear (*karṇa-*), *mākhān* butter (*mrakṣaṇa-*), *hāth* hand (*hastā-*), *vājh* barren (*vandhyā*), *rād* widow (*raṇḍā*), *sājh* evening (*sandhyā*), *cāk* wheel (*cakra-*), *vān* colour (*varṇa-*).

< ā : *rānī* queen (*rājñī*), *māgvū* (*mārgatī*), *mājvū* (*mārajati*), *āp* you (*ātmā*).

< ṛ : *māṭī* (*mṛtti-*), *pāṭhū* (*prṣṭha-*).

MI i

< i : *pīṭh* flour (*piṣṭa-*), *cīl* kite (*cilla-*), *śīkh* advice (*śikṣā*), *śīdhū* upright (*siddha-*), *śīkū* sling (*śikya-*), *vīj* lightning (*vidyut-*).

< ī : *śīs* head (*śirṣa-*), *jīnū* thin (*jīrṇa-*), *tīnū* *tīkhū* sharp (*tikṣṇa-*).

< ṛ : *mīṭhū* (*mṛṣṭa-*), *dīṭhū* (*dṛṣṭa-*), *dhīṭ* (*dhṛṣṭa-*), *śīg* (*śṛṅga-*).

MI u

< u : *būdḥ* wise (*buddha-*), *phul* flower (*phulla-*), *dūdḥ* milk (*dugdha-*), *sūkḥū* dry (*śuṣka-*), *pūt* son (*putra-*), *sūdḥ* sense (*śuddhi-*), *ūbī* ear of corn (*umbikā*), *pūn* charity (*punya-*), *mūṭhī* handful (*muṣṭi-*).

< ū : *ūn* wool (*ūrṇa-*), *ūbhū* (*ūrdhva-*), *sūnū* empty (*śūnya-*), *kūco* brush (*kūrca-*).

< ṛ : *pūṭh* (*prṣṭha-*), *bhūṭhū* (*bhṛṣṭa-*).

MI e

< ē : *khēt* (*kṣētra-*), *jēṭh* elder (*jyēṣṭha-*), *pēkhvū* see (*prēkṣatē*), *sēṭh* merchant (*śrēṣṭhin-*).

< ai : *śēl* (*śailya-*), *tēl* (**tailya-* : *taila-*).

MI o

< *ō* : *gōt* family (*gōtra-*), *kōṭhī* factory (*kōṣṭha-*), *gōṭho* cowpen (*gōṣṭha-*), *jōdh* strong (*yōddh-*), *rōpvū* plant (*rōpyatē*), *pōkhvū* sprinkle the bride (*prōkṣatē*), *jōg* fit (*yōgya-*), *cōkhū* clean (*cōkṣa-*).

< *au* : *mōṭī* (*mauktika-*), *pōlhū* (*paustaka-*).

DEVELOPMENT OF OG. *ī*, *ū*

20. Stressed *ī*, *ū* (from MI *ī*, *ū* or *i*, *u* before consonant group) are shortened when followed (1) by two Gujarātī consonants, between which a MI short vowel has been dropped; or (2) by two or more unstressed syllables. In the first case the shortening probably occurred before the dropping of the syllable following; but it is impossible to date the change, because the written language does not show whether the syllable has dropped or not, while the language of poetry retains the syllables long after they have been dropped in ordinary speech.

ī

(1) *jīvū* alive (*jīvati*), *ichvū* wish (*icchatī*), *cibhḍī* (*cirbhaṭikā*), *pīpū* ficus (*pippala-*), *diśvū* (*dṛśyatē*), *dhikvū* (*dhikṣatē*), *pījvū* card cotton (*piñjā*), *khijvū* be vexed (*khidyatē*), *khilḍo* peg, *viḷḷī* lightning, *khicḍī* rice and pulse, opposed to *dīṭhū*, *mīṭhū*, *śīdhū*, etc., *khīj* annoyance, *khīlo* peg, *vīj*, *khīc* jowar flour, etc.

ū

cusvū suck (*cūṣati*), *ujlū* bright (*ujjvala-*), *kukḍī* hen (*kukkuṭī*), *kuṭṇī* whore (*kuṭṭinī*), *puchḍī* tail (*puccha-*), *tutvū* be broken (*truṭyati*), *udvū* fly (*udḍayatē*), *ugvū* grow (*udgata-*), *kuṭvū* beat (*kuṭṭayati*), opposed to *sūkhū*, *mūṭhī*, *ūbhū*, *sūnū*, *bhūṭhū*, *dūdh*, *bhūkh* hunger (*bubhukṣā*), *phūl*, *pūṭh*, etc.

(2) *upaṇvū* winnow (*utpunāti*), *ughadṽū* be fine (*udghaṭ-*), *ugmaṇū* east (*udgamana-*).

In the verbal paradigm the number of dissyllabic forms

with an open syllable is very small. The present tense is rendered trisyllabic by the addition of *chā*, etc. (e.g. *cūsūchā* > *cusūchā*, etc.), while in all tenses from the past and present participles the first syllable is closed (e.g. *custo*, *cusyo*). The tendency is therefore to generalize the short vowel throughout the whole verb, and to preserve the long only in isolated forms like *dīthā* : *dīśvā*, *bhūthā* : *bhujvā*; but even here the short vowel has sometimes triumphed, e.g. *sutā* (*supta*-) after *suṇvā*.

Even in dissyllabic words with open *ī* *ū* the vowel is shorter than in corresponding monosyllables; and this shortening is sometimes marked in writing: e.g. *cuḍo* or *cūḍo*, *durā* or *dūrā*, *junā* or *jūnā*, *kukar* or *kūkār*, etc.

In a few words, even where *i* and *u* are to be expected, the influence of the long *ī*, *ū* of the cognate Sanskrit word has sufficed to generalize the long vowel at least in the literary language, e.g. *dīpvā*, *jīvvā*, *cīrvā*.

The monosyllables *dādḥ*, *jāt*, though often written with *u*, I have always heard with *ū*.

VOWELS WITH THE SECONDARY ACCENT

21. When carrying the secondary stress of the word, short vowels remain unaltered, long vowels are shortened, and consonant groups are simplified without compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel.

a: *parjālvū* flame (*parijvālayati*), *paraṇvū* marry (*pariṇayati*), *parsēv* sweat (**pariṣvēda*-).

u: *ujlāi* brightness (*ujjvala*-).

ā: *cakvā* ruddy-goose (*cakravāka*-), *pakhvāj* side-drum (*pakṣa-vādyā*-), *kāthiyāro* woodcutter (*kāṣṭhika-kāra*-), *agiyārī* fire-temple (*agni-āgāra*-).

ī: *kidiyārū* ant-hole (*kītaka*-).

ū: *kukvā* stammering (**kukka-vāda*-).

ō: *koṭhār* granary (*kōṣṭhāgāra*-).

UNACCENTED VOWELS

22. All MI short unaccented vowels, unless protected by two following consonants, either become *a* or disappear altogether. Long vowels preserve their quality, but are shortened.

The weakest positions are: (1) the absolute beginning of the word; (2) between the main and the secondary stress or vice versa. In both of these, short vowels disappear altogether. The next weakest positions are: (1) the initial syllable preceding the main stress; (2) the syllable following the main stress in an originally tri-syllabic word. In both these short vowels lose their timbre and long vowels their length.

PREACCENTUAL VOWELS

23. (1) Initial *a*, *u* are lost.

a: *rān* desert (*aranya*-), *rīthī* soapnut tree (*aristha*-), *lāī* firebrand (*alāta*-), *jhājhū* more, OWR *jhājhaū* (**adhyadhyaka*-), *jhākh* glance (*adhyakṣa*-).

u: *vākhro* furniture (*upaskara*-), *vāyṇu* marriage-feast (*upāyana*-).

bēsvū sit, *bēthū* having sat, OWR *baīsai*, *baīthaū* (*upaviśati*, *upaviṣṭa*-) must be considered loanwords on account of their *b*- < -*v*- in face of *vākhro*.

The preaccentual vowel before two consonants remains in *uchālvū*, *ughādvū*, *ugāmvū* (*ucchālayati*, *udghātita*-, *udgāmayati*) through the influence of *ūchālvū*, *ūghādvū*, *ūcarvū*, etc.

(2) Except when absolutely initial, *a*, *i*, *u* appear as *a*.

a: *pavāḍo* slander (*pravāda*-), *jalō* leech (*jalaukā*), *kahānī* story (*kathānaka*-), *vahālū* beloved < **vabhallaka*- (*vallabha*-), *karāl* dreadful (*karāla*-).

i: *vahāṇū* dawn (**vibhāna*-, HD *vihāṇam*), *caṇōṭhī* berry (HD *cinōṭhī*), *vanasvū* be destroyed (*vinaśyati*), *valagvū* (*vilagyati*), *varvū* ugly (*virūpa*-), *vasmū* uneven (*viśāma*- after *sāma*-?).

u: *Davē* (**duvēda-*), *dharāl* (*dhurālu-*), *sahelū* easy (HD *suhellī*).

ūv < *um* remains: *kūvāro* unmarried (*kumāra-*).

i and *u* remain (a) when immediately followed by a MI vowel: *viāvū* bear (*vi jāyatē*); (b) when followed by two consonants, *citāro* painter (*citrakāra-*), *nīsāso* sigh (*niśvāsa-*), *dubhāro* pain (*durbhāva-*), see § 23 (3): *vachodvū* to wean (**vicchotayati*) after the analogy of *valagvū*, *vanasvū*, etc.

In *visarvū nīvadvū* *i* represents accented *i* (*vismarati nīrvṛta-*); *vilādī* cat (*viḍālī*), *kuhādo* axe (*kuthāra-*) are perhaps loanwords.

(3) Preaccentual Old Gujarātī *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*, whatever their origin, are shortened.

ā: *avās* abode (*āvāsa-*), *avāi* report (*āvādā-*), *ahīr* (*ābhīra-*), *camār* of the shoemaker caste (*carmakāra-*), *kapūr* (*karpūra-*), *naṭhāro* wicked (**naṣṭa-kāra-*), *mājār* (*mārjāra-*), *vakhān* (*vyākhyāna-*), *kapās* cotton (*kārpāsa-*), *pakhālṽvū* wash (*prakṣālayati*), *paṭhāvvū* send (*prasthāpayati*), *janōī* sacred thread (*yajñōpavīta-*).

kadhān spoilt corn (*kā + dhān*), *kapūt* bad son, *kathām* privy parts (*kā-*), *lagādvū* set to (: *lāgvū*), *dhavādvū* cause to run (: *dhāvvū*), *nhavādvū* wash (: *nhāvū*), and so in all causatives in *-āvvū*, *-ādvū*.

ī: *śiyālo* cold weather (*śītakāla-*), *divēl* lamp oil (**dīpatāilya-*), *bhikhārī* beggar (*bhikṣā-kāra-*), *nīsāso* (*niśvāsa-*), *citāro* (*citrakāra-*), *pījāro* cotton-carder (**piñjā-kāra-*), *śikhāvvū* teach (**śikṣāpayati*).

ū: *jugār* gambling (*dyūta-udgāra-*), *sut(h)ār* carpenter (*sūtradhāra-*), *cunāro* lime-burner (*cūrṇakāra-*), *dhutāro* cheat (*dhūrta-*), *uchālṽvū* toss up (*ucchālayati*), *ughādvū* (*udghātayati*), *ugāmvū* (*udgāmayati*), *ubhā* grains of uncooked rice (*udbhāta-*), *dubhāro* (*durbhāva-*).

ē: *śevāl* moss (*śevāla-*), *jēthānī* husband's elder brother's wife (: *jēth*), *peṭāro* box (: *pēṭ*), *vehvār* bride and bridegroom's fathers in relation to each other (*vairāvīka-*).

ō : *govāl* herdsman (*gōpāla-*), *ghoḍār* stable (*ghōṭa-agāra-*), *sohāg* good fortune (*saubhāgya-*).

POSTACCENTUAL VOWELS

24. In the postaccentual position only short vowels can come under consideration, except where, for analogical or other reasons, there has occurred a shift of accent. Excluding the final syllable which will be dealt with separately, there are three postaccentual positions represented by three types: $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$, $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$. In the first the syllable remains, but the vowel loses its timbre, appearing always as *a*; in the other two positions the vowel is lost altogether (except as specified below, § 38). The decoloration of the unaccented short vowel has been carried through in OWR.

(1) Type $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$.

a : *kamaḷ* (*kamala-*), *pāthar* stone (*prastara-*), *kājaḷ* lampblack (*kajjala-*), *mājar* clump of blossoms (*mañjara-*), *gāgar* pot (*gargarī-*), *thāvar* fixed (*sthāvara-*), *kākaṇ* bracelet (*kaṅkana-*); *pākhar* armour for elephants (*prakṣara-*), *pāpaḍ* a cake (*parpaṭa-*), *jhālar* curl (*jhallarī-*).

i : *vēraṇ* revengeful (*vairiṇī-*), *haraṇ* doe (*hariṇī-*), *māgsar* (*mārgasīra-*), *tītar* partridge (*tittira-*), *kaṇas* ear of corn (*kaṇiśa-*), *parakhvū* examine < **pārikh-parīkṣatē*), *vaṇ* without = *vin* (*vinā-*).¹

u : *mākaṇ* bug (*matkuna-*), *phāgaṇ* (*phālguna-*), *māṇas* (*mānuṣa-*), *gūgaḷ* a gum (*gulgulu-*), *laṣaṇ* garlic (*laśuna-*), *āgaḷ* finger's breadth (*aṅguli-*), *ūdar* mouse (*undura-*), *lākaḍ* (HD *lakkuḍa-*).

The change of *u* to *a* in *paṇ* but (if this is connected with *punar*) is already found in Pali *pana*.

(2) Type $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$.

a : *āglī* bolt (*argalikā-*), *pācmū* fifth (**pañcamaka-*), *kākdī* (*karkatīkā-*), *āgṇū* courtyard (*aṅgana-*), *kābrū* spotted (*karbara-*), *jājro* carrot (*jarjara-*), *dublū* thin

¹ For change of accent see above, § 15.

(*durbala-*), *ājñī* sty in the eye < **añjanikā* (*añjana-*), *muṣṭā* (*musala-*).

i : *gābhñī* pregnant (**garbhiniḥ*), *gharñī* house-wife (**garhiniḥ*), *paḍōs* neighbour (*prativasa-*), *kuṭṭñī* (*kuṭṭini-*); MI *i* in *tatsamas* : *pharsū* astringent (*spariśa-* : *sparsa-*), *kārmū* strange (HD *kārima-*), *ujāgrū* wakeful (HD *ujjāgira-*).

u : *sasro* (**śvaśuraka-*), *āglī* finger (*aṅguli-*), *tāḍlā* rice grains (*taṇḍula-*), *kukḍī* (*kukkutī-*), *cōgnū* fourfold (*caturguṇa-*), *pāḡlū* lame (*paṅgala-*), *pāsrū* erect (**prāmśuraka-* : *prāmśu-*), *hiḡlū* vermilion (*hiṅgula-*), *kaḍcho* (HD *kaḍucchao*).

(3) Type $\underline{\text{—}} \text{ — } \text{—} \text{ —}$.

a : *cakvā* *kukvā* *pakhvāj* (see § 21).

i : *parjālvū* *parsēv* (see § 21).

FINAL VOWELS

25. PI *-ah*, *-ih*, *-uh* appear in MI as *-ō*, *-ī*, *-ū*. Other final vowels remained unchanged. Consonant, however, with the fact that final vowels are relatively shorter than the corresponding vowels of internal syllables, there are three main stages to distinguish in their further development.

(1) *-ō*, *-ē* became *-u*, *-i*; other long vowels *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū* were shortened. The shortening of final *-ā* is already found in the Asoka inscriptions, e.g. at Girnar *rāja tada tatha yatha*.¹

(2) In OWR all final vowels (following a MI consonant) are in process of disappearing. Whether they have disappeared altogether or having lost their timbre have simply become *-a*, it is impossible for reasons explained above to say.

(3) In Mod. Gujarāti all final vowels have disappeared, e.g. Skt. *hastah*, Pkt. *hatthō*, Ap. *hatthu*, OWR *hāthu* *hātha*, G. *hāth*.

¹ Senart, ii, p. 329.

In considering the history of final vowels, distinction must be made between those immediately following a MI consonant, as in *hattho* and those following a MI vowel (owing to the disappearance of a PI consonant), as in Pkt. *ghōḍaō* (*ghōḍakah*), where the final vowel survived into the OWR period and afterwards coalesced with the preceding vowel, e.g. OWR *ghōḍaū*, G. *ghōḍo*. This latter class will be described below in § 26.

Before *-m*, which became MI *-ṁ* (? nasalized labial spirant), PI long vowels were shortened in MI, e.g. *jihvām* > *jibbhaṁ*. This shortening was probably a sandhi effect, occurring at first in word groups where, owing to the following word beginning with a consonant, the vowel was followed by two or more consonants. Next the nasal consonant was lost, and the nasality transferred to the vowel. The labial position of *-ṁ*, however, was reflected in the history of *-am*. Following a MI consonant *-am* appeared as *-u*,¹ as in Apabhraṁśa, and is lost in Gujarātī; after a MI vowel it retained its nasality as *-aū* (OWR *-aū*, G *-ā*).

-a: voc. sing. *pūt* < *putra*, etc.

-i: *ākh* eye < *akṣi*.

-u: *vīj* < Pa. *viṇṇu*, Skt. *vidyut*.

-ā: *khāt* bed (*khaṭvā*), *jībḥ* tongue (*jihvā*), *sān* sign (*saṁjñā*), *vāḡh* (*vandhyā*), *rāḍ* (*randā*), etc.

-ī: = PI *ī*: *dhaman* bellows (*dhamanī*), *cōth* 4th day (*caturthī*), etc.

= PI *-ih*: *āg* fire (*agnih*), *āc* blaze (*arciḥ*), etc.

-ō: *hāth* < *hastah*, *dāt* tooth < *dantah*, etc.

-am = PI *-am*: acc. sing. masc. *hāth* < *hastam*, etc., *dūdḥ* < *dugḍham*, *kāl* < *kalyam*.

= PI *-ām*: acc. sing. fem. *jībḥ* < *jihvām*, etc.

-im: acc. sing., masc. or fem. *āg* < *agnim*, etc.

¹ Pischel, § 351-2.

VOWELS IN CONTACT

26. The disappearance of PI intervocalic stops left a large number of MI vowels in contact. For the most part these maintained a separate existence into the Apabhraṃśa period, and it is only in OWR that we first see them generally coalescing.

The process of avoiding hiatus by contracting two separate vowels into one syllable depends for its carrying through largely on speech tempo. There was thus a long period during which words were used sometimes in their contracted, sometimes in their uncontracted, forms. This condition is shown to some extent in the literary Prakrits, influenced no doubt by the surrounding spoken languages. Pischel gives numerous examples of such contractions.¹ In some cases the contraction was undoubtedly early and general. As instances in Gujarātī there are *mōr* peacock (*mayūra-*); *mōra-* is attested in Pa.; *maūra-*, which is found in Prakrit beside *mōra-*, *mōlē*, *mōraya-*, is a Sanskritized form. That G *mōr* rests on MI *mōra-*, not *maūra-*, is shown by its having *ō*, not *ō̄*. In Middle and Modern Indian, *-y-* is a most unstable element and was the first of the intervocalic consonants to disappear. The close *ē* and *ō* of *kēl* plaintain (*kadalī*), *bōr* jujube-tree (*badura-*) presuppose their derivation from MI *kēlī* and *bōra-* which are attested in Prakrit (< **kadilī*, **badurō*?).

In OWR the following vowels have already coalesced: (1) vowels of a similar nature: *ā* + *ā̄*, *ī* + *ī̄*, *ū* + *ū̄*: e.g. *uṇhālaū* < *uṇhāālaū* (*uṣṇakāla-*), *rā* < *rāā* (*rājā*). (2) *a* + *ē* > *ē*, *a* + *ō* > *ō*: e.g. *anēru* < Ap. *aṇṇaēru* (**anyakārya-*), *pōli* < *paōli* (*pratōli*). (3) *i* + *a*, *i* + *u* > *ī*, *ū* + *a* > *ū*: e.g. *dīvī* < **dīvia* (*dīpikā*), *dīsa* (*divasa-*), *pī* < *piāi* (*pībati*); *amī* < **amiū* (*amṛta-*), *jāmāi* < *jāmāiu* (*jāmātṛka-*); *cūu* < *cuaū* (*cyuta-*), *mūu* < *muaū* (*mṛta-*); *jū* < *jūa* (*yūkā*), *rūḍaū* < *rūḍaūū* (*rūpa-*).

¹ Pischel, §§ 166-7.

The remaining vowels in contact $a + i$, $a + u$ are still held apart. In Gujarātī these two coalesce and form $ē$ and $ō$ respectively.

In the accented syllable in Gujarātī the long vowels resulting from crasis maintain their length; in the unaccented (preaccentual and postaccentual) syllables they are shortened, and in the postaccentual syllables they become more close. Mr. N. B. Divatia¹ claims that they are distinguishable in quality from the close vowels, but admits them to be more like the close than the open vowels. I denote them here as e , o .

(1) SIMILAR VOWELS

27. $ā + ā > ā$: *vāṇū* (vacana-), *chāṇ dung* (chagaṇa-), *camār* (carmakāra-), *kābhār* potter (kumbhakāra-), *śiyāḷo* (śitakāla-), *unāḷo* summer (uṣṇakāla-), *phalār* light meal (phalāhāra-), *bhādār* treasury (bhaṇḍāgāra-), *māḡ* representation of a low-caste woman (mātāṅga-), *chāvaṇ* thatch < **chādāpana*- (*chādayati*).

$ū + ū > ū$: *bhūkh* hunger < *bukhukhā* (*bubhukṣā*); *gū dung* < **gūu* **gūho* (*gūtha*).

(2) $ō$ AND $ē$

(a) $ē + a > ē$: *dēharū* temple < **dēvagarhakaṃ*, *nēḍū* affection < *nēhaḍaū* (*snēha*-).

$ē + u > ē$: *bēhu* both < *dvē-ubhau*. Where $-u$ (< $-ō$) is final, it becomes $-v$ in Gujarātī, e.g. *bhēv* < *bhēō* (*bhēda*-), *parsēv* < *sēō* (*svēda*-), *mēvlo* rain, an extension of *mēv* < *mēhō* (*mēgha*-).

$ō + a > ō$: *sōnū* gold < *sōaṇṇa*- (*sauvarṇa*-), *janōī* (*yajñōpavīta*-).

$ō + ā > ō$: *vōhro* trader (*vyavahāra*-), unless this is a tatsama.

(b) $ō + ī$: (1) where in Gujarātī i belongs to an interior syllable it is absorbed: *jōṣī* astronomer (*jyōtiṣin*-).

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xliv, p. 19.

(2) Otherwise *i* forms a diphthong with *ō*, which becomes more open: *ṣi*, e.g. *kōyaḷ* [*kṣōḷ*] cuckoo < *kōila-* (*kokila-*), *sōyo* < *sōi* + *o* (*saucika-*), *hōi* < *hōi* (*bhavati*), *nōi* < *na* *hōi*. (3) Where final *-i* represents *-iā*, *-iu* it remains a separate syllable, e.g. *ḍōi*, *chōi*, *phōi*, except in *sōy* (*saucika-*), which is due to *sōyo*.

(c) *a* + *ē* > *ē*: *anērū* < *annaēraū* (*anyakārya-*).

a + *ō* > *ō*: *pōl* (*pratōlī*).

(3) *ī* + *a* or *u*

ī + *a* > *ī*: *pīlū* (*pītala-*), *śīlū* (*śītala-*), *vīmo* venture (*viyama-*), *nīm* rule (*niyama-*); nom. sing. fem. *-ī* < *-iā*, *-iā* < *-ikā*: *mākhī* (*makṣikā*), *mūthī* (*muṣṭi-*), etc.

ī + *u* > *ī*: *pahī* < **pahiu*, *-iō* (*pathika-*), *dhanī* owner (*dhanin-*), *māchī* fisherman (*matsika-*), etc.

piu lover (*priya-*) is an archaic form.

(4) *-iam*, *-ium*

MI final *-iam*, *-ium* became *-ī* with loss of nasalization, due perhaps to the high position of the tongue leading to a corresponding raising of the velum and closure of the nasal passage. On the other hand, MI *-aam*, OWR *-aū*, being a low vowel, preserves the nasality (see below, § 28).

-iam: *amī* nectar (*amṛtam*), *mōtī* (*mauktikam*), *mahī* curds (*mathitām*), *khāi* food (*khāditām*), *ghī* (*ghṛtam*).

dahī curds represents not *dadhikam* but *dadhīni*, Pkt. *dahīni*, *dahīm*, *dahī*.

-ium: the suffix *-ī* of verbs used in combination with *śakvā* be able (e.g. *mārī śakeche*) is not the conjunctive participle (< Pkt. *-iā*), but originally the infinitive (< Pkt. *-ium*, Skt. *-itum*).

(5) *u* + *a*

u + *a* > *ū*: *sūdo* parrot < **suadaū* (*śuka-*); *ukhān* (*upakhyāna-*), nom. sing. fem. *ū* < *-ua*, *-uā* < *-ukā*: *vahū* (*vadhū-*), *sāsū* (*śvaśrū-*), *vālū* (*vālukā*).

(6) $\tilde{i} + \acute{a}$, $ia\ddot{u}$

$\tilde{i} +$ accented $\acute{a} > iy\bar{a}$, $y\bar{a}$. This must be clearly distinguished from $\tilde{i} +$ unaccented a above; e.g. $\acute{s}iy\bar{a}\bar{l}$ ($\acute{s}rg\bar{a}la-$), $\acute{s}iy\bar{a}\bar{l}o$ ($\acute{s}itak\bar{a}la-$), $piy\bar{a}s$ thirst ($pip\bar{a}s\bar{a}$), $piy\bar{a}r$ ($priyak\bar{a}ra-$).

MI $-ia\ddot{u} > -yo$, past part. $-yo < -ia\ddot{u} < *-ita-ka-$, e.g. $m\bar{a}gyo$, OWR $m\bar{a}gia\ddot{u}$.

 $a + i$ or u

28. (1) The earliest contraction in MI occurred where, owing to the early loss of intervocalic y or v in interior syllables, a and i or a and u came into contact.

$a + i$ (on loss of $-v-$ under conditions not yet specified) $> \bar{e}$, Pa. $th\bar{e}ra-$ ($sthavira-$).

$a + u$ (on loss of $-y-$): G. $m\bar{o}r$, Pa. $m\bar{o}ra-$ ($may\bar{u}ra-$).

The history of $k\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{i}$ plaintain (Pkt. $k\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{i} < ?*kadil\bar{i}$: Skt. $kadal\bar{i}$), $b\bar{o}r\bar{d}\bar{a}$ jujube-tree (Pkt. $b\bar{o}ra- < ?*badura-$: Skt. $badara-$) is obscure.

(2) Otherwise MI $a\bar{i}$, $a\bar{u}$, due to the loss of intervocalic stops, were maintained separately into the OWR period. They then became the diphthongs ai , au , which have remained in some of the MI languages, but in Gujarātī further developed to \bar{e} , \bar{o} .¹ Before and after this \bar{e} Gujarātī s remains unchanged.

(a) $\acute{a}i$: $p\bar{e}sv\bar{u}$ enter ($pravi\bar{s}at\bar{i}$), $b\bar{e}hr$ deaf ($badhira-$), $ch\bar{e}$ is (Pa. $acchati$), $s\bar{e}$ 100 (OWR $sa\bar{i}$ for $s\bar{a}\bar{i}$, Ap. $sa\bar{a}\bar{i}$, Skt. $\acute{s}at\bar{a}ni$ under influence of $sa\bar{u}$, Skt. $\acute{s}atam$), $b\bar{e}hn$ sister ($bhagin\bar{i}$), $bh\bar{e}s$ buffalo-cow ($mahi\bar{s}\bar{i}$), $p\bar{e}hrv\bar{u}$ put on (OWR $pahirai$), $b\bar{e}sv\bar{u}$ sit ($upavi\bar{s}at\bar{i}$).

$\acute{a}\bar{i}$: $p\bar{e}th\bar{u}$ ($pravi\bar{s}ta-$), $b\bar{e}th\bar{u}$ ($upavi\bar{s}ta-$), $p\bar{e}hl\bar{u}$ first (Ap. $pahilla\bar{u}$), $gh\bar{e}l\bar{u}$ mad $< *gahilla\bar{u}$ ($grathila-$).

$a\bar{i}$: $gh\bar{e}r\bar{u}$ deep-coloured ($gabhira-$).

(b) $\acute{a}u$: $n\bar{o}l\bar{i}yo$ mongoose ($nakula-$), $p\bar{e}hl\bar{u}$ ($p\bar{r}thula-$), $b\bar{o}hl\bar{u}$ big ($bahula-$), $\bar{l}\bar{o}d\bar{o}$ ($lakuta-$), $h\bar{o}n$ this year ($adhun\bar{a}$),

¹ Discussed more fully in Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Jubilee Volumes (Orientalia), art. Turner, "e and o vowels in Gujarātī."

chō let be! (Pa. *acchatu*), *tō* then (*tatah*), *bhō*, m. fear (*bhaya*-), *vōh* flow (*vaha*-), *sō* 100 (*śata*-); *cōbo* (*caturvēda*-) is shown by its *b* to be a loanword.

ai: *cōth* (*caturthī*), *cōk* (*catuṣka*-), *cōmāsū* monsoon (*caturmāsa*-), and other words with *cō* = Skt. *catur*-, *pōñū* $\frac{3}{4}$ (*pāda-ūna*-), *sōphā* aniseed (*śatapuspā*-).

(c) Similarly in other words of doubtful etymology G. *ē*, *ō* correspond to other MI languages *ai*, *au*, e.g. *khēvū* (H. *khaīcnā*), *gēḍo* (H. *gaīrā*), *thēlī* (H. *thailī*), *bēl* (Pkt. *bailla*-, H. *bail*), *mēlū* (H. *mailā*), etc.

(d) Loanwords with the diphthongs *ai*, *au* appear with *ē*, *o* in Gujarātī, whether (1) tatsamas, e.g. *vēr* (*vaira*-), *berāg* (*vairāgya*-), *gōrav* (*gaurava*-), *sōbhāg* (*saubhāgya*-), or (2) Arabic, Persian, or English loanwords.¹

(3) In final postaccentual syllables *ē*, *ō* are shortened and become more close, being nearer to *e*, *o* than to *ε*, *ο*.

(a) *-ai* : *ne* and (Ap. *aṇṇai* : *anya*-), 3rd sing. pres. *-e* (*-atī*), 2nd sing. *-e* (Ap. *-ahī*), 3rd plur. *-e* (Ap. *-ahī*), inst. sing. *-e* (Ap. *-aī*, Pkt. *aēṇa* = *aem*, Skt. *-akēna*), loc. sing. *-e* (Ap. *-ahī*, Skt. *-asmin* or Pkt. *-aē*, Skt. *-akē*).

-ai, 3rd sing. imperat. *-o* (*-atu*), 2nd plur. pres. *-o* (Ap. *-ahu* < **-athah*), nom. sing. masc. *-o* (Ap. *-ai*, Skt. *-akah*).

(b) In compounds the accent of the first member was retained. This is shown by the OWR forms where the second member is weakened, a long vowel or consonant being shortened, e.g. *rāthavūḍa* (*rāṣṭrakūṭa*-), *cītavūḍa* (*citrakūṭa*-) *sīhavūṭa* (*śimhaputra*-).

Words of this type appear with *o* in Gujarātī.

29: *ī* + G. *ō* or *ā* became *-iyo* *-iyā* : *vāniyo* trader : **vāñī* < *vāñijah*; *sāthiyo* auspicious mark : **sāthī* < *svastikah*, *āgiyo* glow-worm, *govāliyo* cowherd, *kāliyā* black, *ghāsiyo* grass-cutter, etc., *nāliyo* : **nālī* < **nakulikā* (*nakula*-).

ū + G. *ō* or *ā* became *-uvo* *uvā* : *kuvo* well < **kūvū* (*kūpa*-), *jajjābuvo* a waterplant : *jābū*, *juvo* an insect : *jū*.

¹ Examples in my article quoted above.

SAMPRASĀRAṆA

30. (1) The tendency towards samprasāraṇa or the absorption of short *a* by preceding *av* or *ay* was at work early in the history of the Indo-aryan languages; and already in Pali Skt. *aya* *ava* were represented by *ē*, *ō*, which, in their subsequent development, converge completely with MI *ē*, *ō*, whether representing PI *ē*, *ō* or *ai*, *au*.

PI *aya* : *dēvū* give (P. *dēti* < **dayati* : *dadāti*).

PI *ava* : *hōvū* be (*bhavati*), *ōs* dew (*avaśyā*), *ośiyālū* dependent (*avaśin-*), *ōchū* remaining (*avacchita-*), *kōḷiyū* (*kavala-*).

(2) This principle continued active in the MI period after intervocalic *-p-*, still maintained in Pali and the Asoka inscriptions, had become *-v-*, e.g. Pkt. *ōsarāi* (*apasarati*) *ōāsa-* (**apavāsa*), *ōhattha-* (**apahasta-*).

MI *ava* < PI *apa* : *khōvū* lose (*kṣapaṇa-*), *ōṭ* ebb (*apavṛtti-*).

Skt. *apa* appears in some G. words as *ō*. In these cases *apa* *ava* was reintroduced as a literary loan at a later period, e.g. *ōsarvū* (*apasarati*); while under certain conditions, as perhaps when PI *apa* was followed by two or more consonants, it remained as *ava* through the MI period, e.g. *kōḍī* cowrie (OWR *kaṇḍī*, Pkt. *kavaddiā*, Skt. *kaparda-*, attested in RV *kapardīn-*).

(3) *aya* and *ava* of new formation in late MI are also affected by the same principle, but the process begun in OWR, where we have forms like *gavakha*, *kasavaṭi*, *phalavadhī*, *karavata*, beside *gavūkha*, *kasaūṭi*, *phalaūdhī*, *karaūta*, has not gone so far, and the resultant sounds at present are *ē*, *ō*, as in the case of MI *aī*, *aū*. Similarly, in the postaccentual syllable they become *e*, *o*.

(a) Late MI *aya* (in loanwords from Skt., literary and Jaina Pkt., or some dialect which avoided hiatus between *a-a* by *-y-*), ts. *nēṇ* (*nayana-*), *rēṇ* (OWR *rayanī*, Skt. *rajanī*), *vēṇ* (OWR *vayaṇa*, Skt. *vacana-*).

Late MI *ava* < Skt. *ava* : *nōm* 9th day (*navamī*) reformed after *nav*.

< Skt. *avā* : *gōkh* (*gavākṣa*-).

< Skt. *apa* : *ṣarvū* (*apasurati*), *ṣgalvū* melt (**apagalati*), *ṣr* other (*apara*-), *nōkhū* separate (*anyapakṣa*-), *kōṇ* who? (OWR *kaiṇa*, *kavaṇa*, Skt. *kaḥ punah*), *kōḍī* (*kaparda*-).

< Skt. *apā* : *ṣrū* on this side (*apāra*-).

< Skt. *amā* : *sōghū* cheap (*samargha*-), *sōpvū* give over (*samarpayati*), *sōgū* disguise (*samāṅga*-), *sōdhā* a scent (*samagandha*-).

mōghū dear (*mahārga*-) after *sōghū*. *jōl* turns (*yamala*-) is shown to be a loanword by the disappearance of postaccentual *-m*-.

(b) In the postaccentual syllable of compounds (see above, § 28) late MI *ava* : *Phalodhī* (OWR *phalavadhī* < **phala-vardhikā*), *kasotī* (OWR *kasavati* < *kaṣa-pattikā*), *bārot* (OWR *bāravata*-), *dēsoto* (OWR *dēsavatai*), *karot* (OWR *karavata* < *kara-pattra*-).

EPENTHESIS

31. Beside words with the termination *-rya*- there existed doublets with *-ria*-, *-riya*-. These are found in the Rīgveda¹ and in considerable numbers in the Prakrit dialects²; e.g. Pkt. *kajja*- or *kēra*- (*kārya*-), G. *kāj* and *anērū* (**anya-kāria*-). In Gujarātī *-ērū* as a suffix has been extended in use: e.g. *ghaṇērū* plentiful (*ghana*-), *bhalērū* kind (: *bhalū*), *vachēro* foal (: *vācho*).

In Surat and Broach *ry* > *ir*: e.g. *māryo* > *māiro*. In standard Gujarātī there is epenthesis in the group *vy*: e.g. *āvvyo* > *āivyo*.³

ANAPTYXIS

32. In a number of words containing *-rs*- in Sanskrit, an anaptyctic vowel, usually *i*, has been inserted between *r* and *s* in Prakrit.⁴ Whether these represent old doublets,

¹ Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 48a, 1.

² Pischel, § 134, 176.

³ LSI ix, 2, p. 331.

⁴ Pischel, §§ 131-40.

like Latin *extemplo* beside *extempulo*, etc., or are loan-words from literary Sanskrit, cannot be said. The beginnings of the process are, at any rate, seen in the Rigveda: here a svarabhakti vowel is sometimes developed where a consonant is in conjunction with *r* or a nasal.¹ In any case some of the Pkt. words showing this phenomenon, if tatsamas in origin, must have been borrowed from Sanskrit after the assimilation of -rs- to -ss- and before the disappearance of intervocalic consonants, e.g. *ādarśa-*, Pkt. *ādarisa-*, *sarṣapa-*, Pkt. *sarisava-*. These appear in Gujarātī as *ārso* mirror, *sarsav* rape-seed. Similarly *amla-* appears as Pkt. *ambila* (< **ambla-*), G. *āmḷā* hog-plum.

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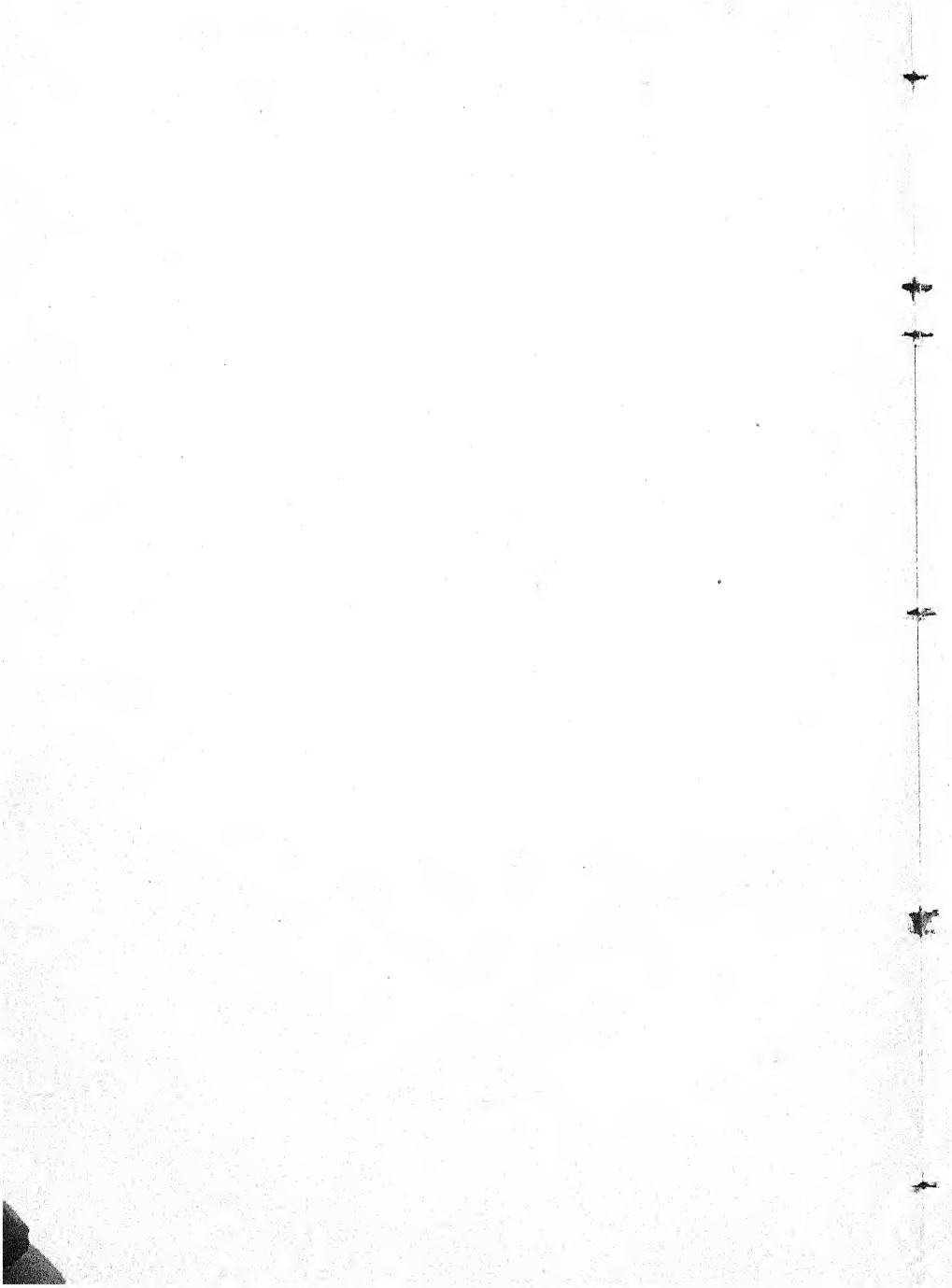
33. A number of words in Gujarātī containing *a* < Skt. *a* have variants with *ē* in the accented syllable, *e* in the unaccented, in place of *a*. In some cases only the *ē* forms are used; e.g. *ghēr* at home < **ghari* < **garhe*.

The majority of these words are nouns, all of which are feminine, and mostly corresponding to Skt. forms in -ī. It appears that this *ī*, surviving into the OWR period, has affected, at least in some Gujarātī dialect, the quality of the preceding *a*.

kēḷ or *kaḷ* f. waist (*kaṭī-*), *mēs* f. ink (*maṣī*), *hēḷ* f. fetter (*haḍī-* in Divyāvadāna), *khēḷ* f. paste (: M. *khāl*), *cēḷ* or *caḷ* f. itching, *pēr* f. manner (: N. *parī*), *tēḷ* f. bank (*taṭa-*), *nēḷ* or *naḷ* f. tube (*nala-*), *sēr* or *sar* f. string in *mōṭīnī sēr* a string of pearls.

Compare also the pronunciation *tērīkh* beside *tārīkh* date.

¹ Macdonell, op. cit., § 21.



The Plays of Bhāsa

By A. BANERJI-ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A.

TOWARDS the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Kālidāsa made his *début* with an apology for his temerity in addressing an audience accustomed to such old, well-established authors as "Bhāsa and others".¹ After the lapse of fifteen centuries Kālidāsa has held his own, while Bhāsa is practically forgotten. The reason is not the decisive verdict of Time, but the unfortunate loss of his works. But lately came a surprise. In 1912 Gaṇapati Śāstrī discovered and published thirteen dramas in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series,² and claimed them as Bhāsa's. For the past eight years Orientalists have been considering this claim, the general trend of opinion being unfavourable. The present article proposes to supplement the progress already made in the investigation of this question, and to point out the facts practically settled, thus paving the way for further research.

The method followed here is, firstly, to criticize the probability of the various theories advanced as regards the authorship of the Trivandrum group,³ and, secondly, in the light of this criticism to attempt to determine its age and authorship, with special reference to the internal evidence. There are three important theories—

1. Gaṇapati's⁴: That the author is Bhāsa, and the age about fourth century B.C.

2. Lesný's⁵: That these plays are older than Kālidāsa's (fifth century A.D.), but younger than Aśvaghōṣa's (c. third century A.D.).

¹ F. Bollensen, *Mālavikā und Agnimitra*, pp. 3-4.

² Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, vols. xv-xvii, xx-xxii, xxvi, xxxix, xlii.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Introduction to *Svapnavāsavadattā*, vol. xv, 1912.

⁵ *ZDMG.* 1918, p. 203 f.

3. Barnett's¹: That the age is the seventh century A.D., and the author is unknown.

We begin with the last as the most improbable. In its support are quoted only two pieces of evidence: (1) the technique of the Trivandrum group is similar to that of a seventh century play called "Mattavilāsa"²; (2) a supposed reference to a seventh century king called "Rājasinhha"³.

(1) The technique comprises three parts: the plays open with the stage direction or *nāndī*, omitting the *nāndī* itself (i.e. the verse in praise of the Deity); after the *nāndī* the director (*sūtradhāra*) enters and recites the introductory verse (praising the Deity); then comes the assistant of the stage-manager (*pāripārśvika*) and discusses the play.

Barnett's point is that this peculiar technique is no indication of "a date earlier than that of Kālidāsa" (fifth century A.D.), because "*Mattavilāsa* (seventh century A.D.) shows exactly the same features of technique"⁴. Here there is evidently a confusion of two issues. The first issue, viz. whether it is an evidence of antiquity, stands by itself, and need not be obscured by the second issue, viz. how it is retained in a farce of the seventh century A.D. The first issue can be settled in the affirmative by comparing it with the suggestive note of Sten Konow⁵ on the stage-management of *karpūramañjarī*, which "has on this point preserved traces of a more ancient stage of development in this branch of literature". There the prologue is divided into three scenes: (i) the director (*sūtradhāra*) enters and recites the benediction (*nāndī*), i.e. a praise of the Deity [then exit]; (ii) the stage-manager (*sthāpaka*) enters, praises the Deity, and describes the preparations for the play; (iii) the assistant of the

¹ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, 1920, pp. 35-8.

² Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, vol. iv.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1, and *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1920, p. 38.

⁴ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, 1920, p. 38.

⁵ Sten Konow & Lanman, Rājasekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 196.

stage-manager (*pāripārśvika*) enters and discusses the merits of the play. Sten Konow rightly observes that "to judge from some indications in the rhetorical literature, we must suppose that in early times a *Sthāpaka*, as well as the *Sūtradhāra*, had something to do with the arrangement of the play". This is abundantly borne out by Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, v, 163-4, and *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 283a, b. Besides the *sūtradhāra*, the existence of another actor, known as the *sthāpaka*, i.e. introducer, is explicitly recorded by Dhanañjaya in his *Daśarūpa*.¹ But in most of the known plays the *sthāpaka* has disappeared. Pischel² has suggested that this fact is owing to a reformation by Bhāsa. This reformation took the practical shape of omitting the superfluous. As shown above, in the earliest times there were three different characters with three different functions. The superfluity lay in the first function overlapping the second; the *sūtradhāra* had to praise a deity (i.e. the *nāndī*), the *sthāpaka* also had to praise a deity, besides introducing the play. This extravagance of piety, however creditable to his predecessor's patience, failed to impress Bhāsa's more fastidious contemporaries. So he suppressed the first praise, i.e. the *nāndī*, thenceforward uttered in the green-room, if at all, and made the *sūtradhāra*, thus set free, perform the function of the *sthāpaka*, viz. to introduce the play as well as praise a deity. The *sthāpaka* thus disappeared from the scene. This characteristic, a bold reform, served to distinguish Bhāsa from every other dramatist, and is contained in the well-known verse of Bāṇa³—"by his plays with introductions spoken by the *Sūtradhāra* (Director)" and not by the *sthāpaka* (stage-manager) as usual hitherto. This trait of Bhāsa exactly tallies with the technique of the Trivandrum group. It clearly proves an early age, and is a point in favour of their identity.

How then does it occur in a seventh century play? The

¹ Haas, *Daśarūpa*, pp. 79-80.

² Pischel, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, p. 1234.

³ *Harṣacarita*, v, 15.

answer is quite obvious. Kālidāsa presumably profited by Bhāsa's experiment and its result. He suppressed the second praise and restored the first praise, i.e. the *nāndī* which introduces the play, the *sūtradhāra* coming on the stage after it. Bhāsa's reform gradually fell into disuse, probably owing to the loss of his works. But his memory still lingered amongst a few in the south-east of India, and Mahendravarman tried in the seventh century A.D. to reinstate his technique in his *Mattavilāsa*. He was neither the first nor the last to attempt such a thing. About A.D. 900 Rājasekhara¹ made a similar attempt in his *Karpūramañjarī* to resuscitate Bharata's technique in its entirety. *Pārvatīpariṇaya* again bears a close resemblance to *Karpūramañjarī*. It would be absurd to claim from the similarity of their technique only that Bharata and Rājasekhara were contemporaries; it would be equally absurd to suggest that the author of the Trivandrum group and Mahendravarman were contemporaries on the same ground. It is Fluellen over again: "There is a river in Macedon; and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth; . . . and there is salmons in both." But even the salmon are not alike. According to Barnett,² "the *Mattavilāsa* shows *exactly* the same features of technique" as the Trivandrum series. According to Sylvain Lévi,³ "the Trivandrum 'Bhāsa' conforms *scrupulously* to the classical rules of the Indian Aristotle Bharata." According to MM. Haraprasad Śāstrī,⁴ "Bhāsa (of the Trivandrum Series) disregards *altogether* the rules of dramaturgy laid down in Bharata." All these three strong statements are equally wrong. The fact is that the Trivandrum author was following a *Nāṭyaśāstra* similar to but not the same as the current Bharata; perhaps one of those referred to by Pāṇini⁵ as composed by Śilāli or Kṛśāśva prior to Bharata,

¹ Sten Konow & Lanman, Rājasekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*, 1901.

² *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, p. 38.

³ *Vāsavadattā*, par Albert Baston, Préface, p. iii.

⁴ *JBAS*. 1912.

⁵ *Pāṇini*, iv, iii, 110, 111.

or perhaps one by himself as suggested by *Arthadyotanikā*.¹ Whereas Mahendravikramavarman, while imitating Bhāsa, felt himself constrained to follow at least those of the rules of Bharata which in the interval, from after Bhāsa to his own time, had been adopted almost universally. To give a single illustration, rule v, 254 of Bharata² lays down "the mentioning of the poet's name". The Trivandrum author is apparently unaware of it and so ignores it, exactly as Bhāsa would have done. While a seventh century playwright, Mahendravikramavarman, has to obey it. This is a point in itself sufficient to show that they belonged to widely different periods of dramatic development.

Barnett's second piece of evidence is still more liable to criticism. He takes *rājasimha* as the name of a seventh century king Teramāran Rājasimha I (c. A.D. 675). It is true that seven³ out of the thirteen dramas under discussion contain, in the final verse, the line "may our *rājasimha* rule this world", with slight variations. But there is absolutely no evidence to show that it names a king Rājasimha, and does not simply mean a "lion-like", i.e. great king. On the contrary, there is sufficient evidence to show that the latter is the only proper and possible meaning: firstly, because three of the books⁴ do not mention any king whatever; secondly, in three others⁵ the simple *rājā* and *narapati*, which can never mean anything more than "king" in its general connotation, are substituted for *rājasimha* in the very same context, with the same words, signifying the same thing. Every Indian court poet is a living illustration of Max Müller's Henotheism; his patron the king naturally appears to him as a lion and the only one. It is impossible to escape from hundreds of such *rājasimhas* in successive centuries, but to

¹ Sylvain Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, 1890, p. 160.

² Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Kāvya-mālā Series, v, 154.

³ *Swapna.*, *Pratijñā.*, *Pañca.*, *Avimā.*, *Bāla.*, *Dūtavā.*, and *Abhiṣeka.*

⁴ *Madhyama.*, *Dūtāgħa.*, and *Cārudatta.*

⁵ *Karna.*, *Pratimā.*, and *Ūrubhaṅga.*

fancy an identity without positive proof would be a hasty supposition. Thus the seventh century theory ceases to be of any interest in further discussions on the subject.

2. Then comes Lesnŷ's¹ theory that (a) the plays are older than Kālidāsa's and (b) younger than Aśvaghoṣa's.

(a) Even a cursory glance at the Trivandrum Prakṛts bears out the first point. The following characteristics are amply illustrated by the thirteen books : (i) The Trivandrum author (T.) often drops *k, g, c, j, t, d, p, b, v,* and *y* between vowels, cf. *avimāraa* for *avimāraka*, etc., Kālidāsa and later (K.) as often drop as retain ; (ii) T. sometimes changes *y* into *j*, but more often retains the *y*, K. always changes *y* into *j* ; (iii) T. has *dissadi* all along except three times *disadi*, K. always *disadi* ; (iv) T. shortens the vowel and doubles the consonant in *ēvaam*, etc., as well as retains the older form, K. never uses the older form ; (v) T. uses the three forms *ea*, *eka*, and *ēkka*, K. only *ēkka* ; (vi) T. changes *ry* into *yy*, the older form according to Hemacandra, K. *ry* always into *jj* ; (vii) T.² uses *hmi* and *hṇ*, K. *mhi* and *ṇh* ; (viii) T. uses both *amhāraṇ* and *amhāṇaṇ* as the gen. pl. 1st pers. pron., K. only *amhāṇaṇ* ; (ix) T.³ uses both *ahake* (only once) and *ahan* as nom. 1st pers. pron., K. *hake* and *hagge* ; (x) T. uses both *√rh* and *√rih* or *√ruh*, i.e. with an epenthetic or without, K. only *√rih* ; (xi) T.⁴ has *āma* meaning "yes" as found in Old Pāli, K. has lost the form altogether ; (xii) T. *karia* meaning *kṛtvā* and *gacchia* meaning *gatvā*, K. *kadua* and *gadua* regularly, while, *karia* in Nāgarī and S. Indian MSS. is exceptional ; (xiii) T. *kissa* (Śaurasenī), *kiśśa* (Māgadhi), and *kisa* (once), meaning the ablative *kasmāt*, K. *kīsa* (Śaurasenī), *kīśa* (Māgadhi), and *kissa* (once), similarly T. *dissa* (Śaurasenī), *diśśa* (Māgadhi), and *disa*, K. *dīsa* (Śaurasenī), *dīśa* (Māgadhi), and *dissa* (only in Ardha-Māgadhi and Jaina

¹ ZDMG. 1918, p. 203 f.

² Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, p. 78.

³ Sukthankar : JAOS., vol. xl, pp. 248-59.

⁴ MM. Haraprasad Śāstri : JBAS. 1912.

canon); (xiv) T. does not double initial in *khu*, sometimes changes it into *hu* as *ṇa + khu* becomes *ṇahu*, K. doubles initial *khu* after short vowels and *e* and *o*, but not after long vowels; (xv) T. has *tava* and *te*, the gen. 2nd pers. sing. for all dialects, K. *tu(m)ha* and *tujjha* for Śaurasenī, while *tava* is restricted to Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī; (xvi) T. has *tuvaṃ* and sporadically *tumaṃ* as the nom. 2nd pers. pl., K. has only *tumaṃ*; (xvii) T.¹ *vaam* and *vayam* (both Śaurasenī) and *amhe* (thrice) as the nom. 1st pers. pl., K. only *amhe*.

In each of the above instances the Trivandrum Prākṛt must be regarded as older for any of the following reasons:—

(a) Vararuci, Mārkaṇḍeya, Hemacandra, etc., the oldest known Prākṛt grammarians, mention them as old forms, though instances are not always available; (b) Aśvaghoṣa (second and third centuries A.D.), admittedly prior to Kālidāsa (fifth century A.D.), has the same forms; (c) they are used in ancient inscriptional Prākṛt; (d) they are retained in Old Pāli.

An analysis of the Prākṛt thus leaves no reasonable doubt that the Trivandrum author is earlier than Kālidāsa (fifth century A.D.). And out of the seventeen instances quoted, all, save perhaps four, point to a period of transition when, along with the older forms, the newer were just coming into use.

(b) The second part of Lesný's theory claims the Trivandrum author as younger than Aśvaghoṣa (second and third centuries A.D.). Aśvaghoṣa, it is suggested, stands to him in the same relation as the latter stands to Kālidāsa. The first agrees with the second in using forms altogether lost to the third. Aśvaghoṣa's forms again are, it is urged, sometimes as much older than the Trivandrum author's as the latter's are to Kālidāsa's. The following are instances in point: (i) Aśvaghoṣa (A.) nowhere changes *y* into *j* (cf. Lüders,²

¹ Sukthankar: *JAOS.*, vol. xl, pp. 248–59.

² Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, 1911.

1911, s. 48); T. often changes (cf. *jadi* for *yadi*), sometimes not (cf. *yāhi* for *yāhi*). (ii) A.¹ does not drop consonants between vowels (cf. Lüders, ss. 36, 42, 48, 60); T. sometimes drops them (cf. *modaa* for *modaka*). (iii) A. changes *t* into *ḍ* only once, cf. *surada* for *surata* (Lüders, s. 48); T. frequently changes medial *t* into *ḍ*, cf. *ghoḍaa* for *ghoṭaka*, and medial *t* into *ḍ*, cf. *avajidi* for *avajiti*. (iv) A. does not change *n* into *ṇ* (cf. Lüders, s. 48); T. changes *na* into *ṇa*, cf. *attāṇam* for *ātmanam*. (v) A. turns Śaurasenī *jñ* into *ññ* (cf. Lüders, s. 49); T. turns *jñ* into *ññ* or strengthens it into *ṇṇ*, cf. *viññāna* and *viṇṇāna* for *viññāna*. (vi) A. only simplifies a consonant group (cf. Lüders, ss. 49, 55); T. both simplifies it and lengthens the preceding vowel, cf. *śīsa* for *śirṣa*. (vii) A. only *dissadi* (cf. Lüders, s. 55); T. *dissadi* as well as *dīsadi* (thrice). (viii) A. retains the older form *evām* (cf. Lüders, Pischel, Gramm., § 541); T. rarely retains *evām*, but shortens the vowel and doubles the consonant, cf. *dēvva* for *daiva*. (ix) A. turns *ny* into *ññ* (cf. Lüders, s. 49); T. changes *ny* and *ny* into *ṇṇ*, cf. *aṇṇa* for *anya*. (x) A. keeps untouched *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, and *bh* (cf. Lüders, ss. 42, 52); T. modifies the consonant, cf. *ahimuha* for *adhimukha*. (xi) A. changes *ry* into *yy* (cf. Lüders, s. 60); T. the same as Aśvaghōṣa, cf. *kayya* for *kārya*. (xii) A. uses *āma* in the sense of "yes" as in Old Pāli (cf. Lüders, s. 46); T. the same as A.

On the basis of the above evidence, Lesný² agrees with Winternitz³ in assigning to the Trivandrum author a date at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. But a closer examination of the list will show that the difference between Aśvaghōṣa and the Trivandrum author is by no means so marked as that between the latter and Kālidāsa. Out of the twelve instances cited, in only two (ix and x) do the two authors differ substantially, just as in two others (xi and xii) they are exactly alike, and altogether different from later dramatists. The rest are cases where Aśvaghōṣa uses only

¹ Lesný, ZDMG. 1918, p. 203 f.

² Ibid.

³ Festschrift für Ernst Kuhn, s. 301.

one form, the Trivandrum author two—one identical with Aśvaghoṣa's, the other not necessarily similar to Kālidāsa's. The arguments for the fourth century theory are mainly three : (a) A. uses forms which are neither known to Kālidāsa nor lead up to him as some forms of T. do ; (b) A. contains some forms unknown to T. ; (c) T. uses two or more forms for the same word, only one being found in A. The first two prove the contrary equally well.

(a) T. uses forms which are neither known to Kālidāsa nor lead up to him ; cf. (i) T.,¹ like A., uses *ni* as nom. acc. pl. of neut. *a*-stem (cf. Lüders, s. 59), K.² *ni* and *in* ; (ii) T. uses *attāṇam* (cf. *Avimā.* 21, 28, 70, 77, 82, 83, and *Abhiṣe.* 15, 21, 28), later *attāṇaam* ; (iii) T. has *āma*, meaning yes, later altogether lost.

(b) T. contains some forms unknown to A. as well as to later dramatists. Cf. (i) A. uses *vayaṁ* as the nom. pl. 1st pers. pronoun, K. *amhe* ; T., besides *vayaṁ* and *amhe*, uses *vaam*,³ which is unknown to either. (ii) A. the hypothetical *am[h]āk[am]*⁴ corresponding to *tum[h]āk[am]* as the gen. pl. 1st pers. pronoun, K. *amham* or *amhāṇam* ; T., besides *amhāṇam*, uses *amhāam*, unknown to either. (iii) The doubtful case of *hmi* (Old Māgadhī) ; A. *iya . mhi*, cf. Lüders, *SBAW.* 1911, s. 410 ; K. *mhi* ; T. *hmi*.

(c) It is true that T. sometimes uses more than one form for the same word, only one of which agrees with Aśvaghoṣa's, but is this an indication of a long interval between the two ? Is it enough to place the Trivandrum author subsequent to Aśvaghoṣa ? Their striking similarity is admitted, but the points of divergence are emphasized. These latter are essentially problematic. They rest on the assumption that the materials for comparison between Aśvaghoṣa and the Trivandrum author are as sufficient as those for a comparison between the latter and Kālidāsa and his successors. Nothing is further from the truth. The supposed differences might

¹ *ZDMG.* 1918, p. 205.

² *Ibid.* ; also Pischel, *Gramm.*, 367.

³ *ZDMG.* 1918, p. 204.

⁴ Sukthankar, *JAOS.*, vol. xl, pp. 48-59.

disappear to a large extent if more facts from Aśvaghōṣa were available to supplement the very scanty materials at hand. This possibility is strengthened by inscriptional Prākṛt. Aśvaghōṣa lived about second or third century A.D., Aśoka in the third century B.C. The latter's inscriptions sometimes bear out the antiquity of a few of these very forms, which, being unknown to the extant Aśvaghōṣa, are sought to be relegated to a later period. The following may be singled out: (i) A. never changes *y* into *j* (cf. Lüders, s. 48); T. sometimes does, sometimes not; Aśoka sometimes changes *y* into *j*, though extremely rarely, cf. *ja*, *javarajaya*, and *jacavaṭhiya*, all three Kālsī forms,¹ in Senart's Index to the Aśoka Inscriptions. (ii) A. never changes *n* into *ṇ* (cf. Lüders, s. 48); T. changes *na* into *ṇa* (see above); Aśoka sometimes does, though rarely, cf. *nihamanaṃ* for *niyamanam*, Kālsī form, Senart's Index. (iii) A. keeps untouched *kh*, *dh*, *gh*, *th*, *ph*, and *bh* (cf. Lüders, ss. 42, 52); T. modifies the consonant (see above); Aśoka sometimes modifies, though rarely, cf. *ni(go)hakubhā*² for *nya(gro)dhaguhā* (Barābar inscr.) and *āhāle* for *ādāre* (Sārnāth inscr.), cf. Senart's Index.

If even so early as the Aśokan period (third century B.C.) such sporadic instances are available, there is nothing against their being known about Aśvaghōṣa's time or earlier still and preserved in the Trivandrum series. A further consideration, as Lesný³ points out, lies in Aśvaghōṣa's Prākṛt fitting in with those of Vararuci and Kātyāyana—some of whose forms are later than the Trivandrum author—e.g. *ry*, *jñ*, and nom. acc. pl. of neut. *a*-stem. Thus, from part of the internal evidence, i.e. a study of the Prākṛts, it is clear that the Trivandrum author was immediately after, if not contemporary with, Aśvaghōṣa (second and third centuries A.D.). This is corroborated by two other points:—

(a) The influence of Aśvaghōṣa is writ large on subsequent writers like Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. He was "the

¹ É. Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piṇḍasi*, vol. ii, Index, p. 570.

² Ibid., p. 580.

³ Lesný, *ZDMG*. 1918.

Buddhist Ennius, who gave the first inspiration to the Hindu Virgil", as Cowell¹ remarked long before the Trivandrum find. The influence of the Trivandrum author,² again, on the same is at least as prominent and certainly more explicit. But with the exception of a single śloka,³ *Buddhacarita*, xiii, 60, and *Pratijñā*, i, 18, Aśvaghosa and the Trivandrum author are mutual strangers. A long interval between the two stands in the way of the latter's independence of the former, who had such a hold over playwrights that succeeded both. The only explanation is close proximity in time, each unknown or of little importance to the other.

(b) The religious spirit of the two authors, while entirely antagonistic, conforms to the known account of the second and third centuries in India. In the north, Kaniṣka was setting up Mahāyāna Buddhism,⁴ the result of a "complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic, and Hellenic elements", as a forlorn hope against the rising supremacy of revived Brāhmaṇism—first asserted by Puṣyamitra, then triumphantly proclaimed by queen-mother Balaśrī in the second century,⁵ and carried on by the Brāhmaṇical Andhras in the south. The violent diatribe⁶ against the Brāhmaṇas in Aśvaghosa's *Vajrasūci* explains and is explained by the dignified contempt for the Buddhist in *Pratijñā*, pp. 43-6, and a calm vindication of a Brāhmaṇa's superiority in *Pañcarātra*, i, 25, p. 7. One may well appreciate the brilliant Buddhist's bitterness in having to pronounce his fine denunciations against the Brāhmaṇas in the latter's own language or renounce every chance of reaching the mass. But all was over by the end of the third century. Buddhism was not only defeated but discredited. And the poignant Brāhmaṇa-Buddhist controversy which stirs the subtle

¹ E. B. Cowell, *The Buddha-karita* of Aśvaghosa, 1893, pp. vi-x.

² T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Introduction to *Svapnavāsavadattā*, pp. iii-xi.

³ Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama*, 1920, p. 51.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1908, p. 284.

⁵ Bühler, "Inscription at Kārī, No. 17": *ASW*, iv, 109.

⁶ Édouard Huber, Aśvaghosa's *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, Préface, p. vii.

chords in Aśvaghoṣa and the Trivandrum author, raises no living echo in Kālidāsa and his successors. It would, therefore, seem unreasonable to separate the first two by any long period of interval. On the other hand, every consideration, so far, tends to place them both in the second or third century A.D.

It is easier now to deal with the last theory, of Gaṇapati, that the date of these works is about the fourth century B.C., and that their author is the Bhāsa mentioned by Kālidāsa.

The first part of his theory is disproved by even a partial examination of the internal evidence, i.e. of the Prākṛts, as shown above. The second part raises two questions: (1) What possible connexion is there between Bhāsa and the Trivandrum group? (2) Does the traditional account of Bhāsa suit the Trivandrum author?

(1) It has been demonstrated by Gaṇapati in his introduction to the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, pp. ii-xx, and summarized by Max Lindenau¹ in his *Bhāsa-Studien*, that the thirteen dramas (and the fragment of a fourteenth) are composed by the same author. One of them is the *Svapnavāsavadattā*. In one reading, it is *Svapnanātaka*, in another *Vāsavadattā*, the full name evidently being *Svapnavāsavadattā*. Abhinavagupta, the tenth century commentator of Bharata and Ānandavardhana speaks of one *Svapnavāsavadattā* as the work of Bhāsa. Rājaśekhara (c. A.D. 900) mentions Bhāsa as the author of *Svapnavāsavadattā*, and alludes to its conflagration-motive.² The Trivandrum *Svapnavāsavadattā* agrees with this, both as to the name and the characteristic detail. Hence the author is claimed to be the same, viz. Bhāsa. But it is composed by the same author as the twelve others. Therefore the whole Trivandrum series must be attributed to Bhāsa.

(2) Can the Trivandrum author be the Bhāsa mentioned by Kālidāsa and others? To ascertain this one has to apply to

¹ Max Lindenau, *Bhāsa-Studien*, Leipzig, 1918, pp. 7-8.

² Rājaśekhara's *Sūktimuktāvatī*.

him the epithets and qualifications traditionally extant about Bhāsa. These are mainly four : (i) " he who gained fame by making the director begin the play ;¹ (ii) " friend of fire " ; (iii) " the laugh of poetry " ; and (iv) " ancient ".

(i) The first has already been discussed above, where it has been shown how the Trivandrum author is the only dramatist now known who exemplifies this reform prior to Kālidāsa. Peterson's² doubt whether this qualifying epithet marking that peculiar characteristic of Bhāsa which appealed to Bāṇa (seventh century A.D.) has any precise value at all is interesting but gratuitous.

(ii) Vākpati, in his *Gauḍavaḥo*³ (A.D. 700), v. 800, finds pleasure, amongst other poets, in Bhāsa, " the friend of fire " (*Jalaṇanitte*). The current view⁴ is extremely superficial. Why should he be called so simply because he introduces a conflagration scene ? Harṣa⁵ (seventh century) introduces the same in *Ratnāvalī*, Act iv. Lévi's⁶ suggestion that Harṣa borrowed from Bhāsa is a mere assumption. The credit for the conflagration-motive lies neither with Harṣa nor Bhāsa, but with Brhatkathā. The episode is taken bodily out of *Kathāsaritsāgara*,⁷ chap. xvi. Baston⁸ and Suali⁹ are right in emphasizing that " the differences are of little importance ", and they do not entitle either to be called a " friend of fire ". The real explanation is furnished by the Trivandrum author. He introduces fire—not in any allegorical

¹ Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, v, 15.

² Peterson, *Report on Search for MSS.*, 1882-3, p. 117.

³ S. P. Paṇḍit, *Gauḍavaḥo*, v, 800.

⁴ *The Times Literary Supplement*, December 9, 1920, p. 818.

⁵ *Ratnāvalī*, published by the Committee of Public Instruction, Calcutta, 1832, p. 98 ; cf. also *Vāsavadattā*, translated by L. H. Gray, New York, 1913, Introd. 1.

⁶ Sylvain Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, 1890, p. 158.

⁷ Hermann Brockhaus, *Kathāsaritsāgara. Drittes Buch. Taraṅga*, xvi, p. 211, and English translation (C. H. Tawney), vol. i, bk. iii, ch. xvi, p. 109, sl. 14.

⁸ Albert Baston, *Vāsavadattā*, 1914, p. 17.

⁹ M. Suali, " I drammi di Bhāsa " : *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, vol. xxv, p. 111 f.

form, but as the god of fire himself—at every possible opportunity. In twelve¹ out of thirteen dramas there are direct references to Fire. Nay, he not only introduces Fire but often calls him by the very name with which he is associated in the verse quoted, viz. *Jalaṇamitte*, i.e. friend of Fire called *Jalaṇa* (Burner).² There is no other author to whom this epithet could be applied with similar significance.

(iii) Jayadeva, the author of *Prasannanārāghava*, places before Kālidāsa, Bhāsa “the laugh (*hāsa*) of poetry”. Genuine wit is a rarity in the classical dramas. The *Vidūṣaka*’s fondness for food, and comic distortions of words, elsewhere, however admirable in themselves, are no wit, but mere attempts at such and, as Macdonell³ remarks, “not of a high order.” The reason is not far to seek. The *Vidūṣaka* as a renegade Brāhmaṇa, *mahābrāhmaṇa*, is not allowed to be decent even in witticism. The puns, however, are the distortions of natural hilarity forced into a mask of clammy convention. For wit, one has to look back. The Trivandrum author

¹ The only exception *Cārudatta*.

² *Abhi.*, pp. 70, 71, etc.; *Dūtagha.*, p. 63; *Ūrubha.*, p. 107, etc. Other references to Fire:—I: *Pañca.* (1) *havirdhūmañi.*, etc., p. 2; (2) *tripta’gnih.*, etc., p. 2; (3) *eṣā dīptaika.*, etc., p. 3; (4) *agniragni.*, etc., p. 3; (5) *Śakaṭi.*, etc., p. 3; (6) *etāmcakra.*, etc., p. 3; (7) *valmīkamūlāt.*, etc., p. 4; (8) *dahyamānasya.*, etc., p. 4; (9) *Śuṣkena.*, etc., p. 4; (10) *vanam.*, etc., p. 4; (11) *gato.*, etc., p. 4; (12) *etadagner.*, etc., p. 4; (13) *sruḡbhāṇḍa.*, etc., p. 5; (14) *avanata.*, etc., p. 5. II: *Avimā.* (1) *iṣṭam.*, etc., p. 5; (2) *dagdhāḥ.*, etc., p. 60; (3) *tavāyam.*, etc., p. 105. III: *Bālaca.* (1) *vahnir.*, etc., p. 33; (2) *roṣeṇa.*, etc., p. 52; (3) *catuḥ-sāgara.*, etc., p. 52. IV: *Śvapna.* (1) *tatastasmin.*, etc., pp. 11–12. V: *Pratijñā.* (1) *kāṣṭhādagnir.*, etc., p. 23; (2) *agni.*, etc., p. 34; (3) *agnim.*, etc., p. 67. VI: *Madhyama.* (1) *huta.*, etc., p. 3; (2) *rakṣasā.*, etc., p. 7; (3) *yathā.*, etc., p. 25. VII: *Ūrubha.* (1) *prāṇāgni.*, etc., p. 88; (2) *vaira.*, etc., p. 89; (3) *ādīptā.*, etc., p. 99; (4) *vahnitvam.*, etc., p. 104; (5) *jvalantaḥ.*, etc., p. 167; (6) *sadahanā.*, etc., p. 110. VIII: *Abhi.* (1) *eṣa.*, etc., p. 30; (2) *hutāśanam.*, etc., p. 41; (3) *jvalanam.*, etc., p. 70; (4) *jvalanād.*, etc., p. 71; (5) *jvalato.*, etc., p. 71; (6) *ayam.*, etc., pp. 72–3. IX: (1) *jvalano.*, etc., p. 31. X: (1) *vahneḥ.*, etc., p. 39; (2) *bhīmasya.*, etc., p. 34. XI: *karna.* (1) *roṣāṇalo.*, etc., p. 76. XII: *Dūtagha.* (1) *pañcā.*, etc., p. 52; (2) *prcchāgnim.*, etc., p. 60; (3) *apṛāpta.*, etc., p. 63; (4) *agnir.*, etc., p. 65.

³ A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 350.

offers a strong relief. As an exponent of humour—both boisterous (cf. *Pratijñā*, pp. 59–61, Act. iv) and quiet (cf. *Pratimā*, p. 13, Act i, *Madhyama*, p. 22)—he pre-eminently deserves the title of “the laugh of poetry”. The first verse, mistakenly quoted by Lévi¹ as an illustration of Bhāsa’s wit, is in reality a confirmation of anthological inaccuracy. His definition of *hāsa* or laugh of poetry, as the play of alliteration,² is unsatisfactory. An alliteration is more of an artificial grimace (*prahāsa*) than a graceful laugh (*hāsa*). Lévi’s meaning would suit the author of *Kādambarī* or Jayadeva much better. But if it means delightful wit, any number could be instanced from the Trivandrum series in support of its claim to the title.

(iv) In his introduction to *Mālavikā*,³ Kālidāsa speaks of Bhāsa as “ancient” (*purāṇa*). Kālidāsa lived in the fifth century A.D. The Trivandrum author has been assigned (see above) to the second and third century A.D. It is quite natural for the former to mention a poet of the second or third century A.D. as “ancient”. More so, when the latter’s success and fame had stood the test of two centuries, amid the exuberance of contemporary and succeeding ventures, which found their consummation in the maturity of Kālidāsa, who represents not the springtime but the ripe autumn of classical glory.

There is only one objection left, Vallabhadeva’s *Subhāṣitāvalī*,⁴ *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*,⁵ *Harīharāvalī*,⁶ etc., profess to quote about ten stanzas from Bhāsa. How is it that none of the verses recorded in those anthologies as Bhāsa’s occurs in the books under discussion? The difficulty is more apparent than real. Firstly, the anthologies are very far from being accurate; one particular verse is ascribed by

¹ Sylvain Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, 1890, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 159.

³ F. Bollensen, *Mālavikā und Agnimitra*, pp. 3–4.

⁴ *Subhāṣitāvalī*, 1286, 1353, 1619, 1628, 1821, 1994.

⁵ *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 8, 17, quoted by Aufrecht.

⁶ Peterson, *Report II*, p. 58, and *JRAS.* 1891, pp. 331–2.

*Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*¹ to Lakṣmīdhara, the same being attributed, by two other anthologies, to Bhāsa. Secondly, there is no surety that the thirteen dramas discovered up till now represent the whole of Bhāsa's works. One instance would be sufficient to prove the point. *Buddhacarita* is, beyond doubt, composed by Aśvaghōṣa. Yet, excepting one solitary verse, bk. viii, 13, quoted by Rāyamukūṭa on the *Amarakoṣa* (1, 1, 1, 2) and Ujjvaladatta on the *Uṇādisūtras* (1, 156) (none of the two being an anthology)—there is no mention of it anywhere. To make the analogy complete several verses are quoted from Aśvaghōṣa in the anthology called *Subhāṣitāvalī*,² but none of them occurs in the poem preserved. The very same anthology again quotes verses as Bhāsa's which do not occur in the present series. The conclusion is the same in both cases.

Thus the present state of our knowledge places the author of the thirteen dramas definitely before Kālidāsa (fifth century A.D.), and just after or contemporary with Aśvaghōṣa (second or third century A.D.), and admits of no serious objection to identifying him with the Bhāsa mentioned by Kālidāsa and his successors.

¹ Thomas, *Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*, p. 163.

² Peterson, *Subhāṣitāvalī*, pp. 8, 528, 529, 3100, 3142.

A Loan-tablet dated in the Seventh Year of Saracos

By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES

AS historical inscriptions of this, the last king of Assyria, are wanting, any additional light on his reign, however meagre that light may be, will probably be regarded as welcome, and this must be my excuse for the publication of this interesting but comparatively unimportant inscription.

Like his predecessors, Saracos (Sin-šar-iškun) called himself "the great king, the powerful king, the king of the world, the king of Assyria". He was also "the favourite of Aššur, Enlil, and Ninlil; the beloved of Merodach, and Zēr-panitum, the choice of the heart's desire of Nebo and Merodach", etc. From the phrasing of this cylinder-inscription, it is clear that he regarded himself as much king of Babylon as of Assyria, and from the fact that the text came from Nineveh, it might be supposed that his sympathies were as much with the one country as with the other—indeed, as neighbouring nations, speaking the same language, this feeling would in no wise be unreasonable. Less than sixty years, however, had passed since the death of the somewhat ruthless Sennacherib, and this was probably too short a time to allow the Babylonians to forget what had happened during the earlier years of his reign and in the time of Aššur-bani-āpli—the "great and noble Asnapper", when the latter was in conflict with Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Saosduchinos), his brother. That they had the right to resist the Assyrian claim to overlordship there is no doubt, and it is therefore certain that the action of the armies of Aššur-bani-apli, king of Assyria, aroused again Babylonian resentment against the dominion of the more northerly power.

There is, then, no doubt that Sin-šar-iškun, the last king of Assyria, made a great mistake in following in Aššur-bani-

âpli's footsteps, and entrusting the leadership of his army, sent to suppress a rebellion in Babylonia, to Nabû-âpla-ušur (Nabopolassar), instead of placing himself at the head of his troops to suppress the revolt. Ambitious, and probably of deep Babylonian sympathies, Nabopolassar turned his arms against his Assyrian master, and the fall of Assyria, the friendless oppressor and despoiler of nations, followed (607 B.C.). The story of this catastrophe is well known, and we await only the ancient cuneiform records for details and confirmation.

The text which I now translate records a loan of silver, and was drawn up at Erech. It is one of the inscriptions belonging to Mr. W. Harding Smith, and is numbered W. 67. Length 41 mm., height 30·5 mm.

OBVERSE

1. Išten manû kaspi ša ^{m.} Bêl-zêri âbli-šu ša . . . -a.
2. ina êli U-pa-qu âbil ^{m.} . . .
3. ul-tu ûmu tišû ša warah A[bi ina êli]
4. išten ma-ni-e êšrit šiqli kaspi ša šatti ina muḥḥi-šu
5. irab-bi bît ^{m.} Âbla-a u bît ^{m.d.} Nabû-šum-ukîn
6. mârê ^{pl.} ša ^{m.} U-pa-qa maš-ka-nu ša ^{m.} Bêl-zêri
7. âwêlu ra-šu-u ša-nam-ma a-na
8. êli ul i-šal-laṭ a-di
9. Bêl-zêri kaspâ-šu i-šal-li-mu.

REVERSE

10. âwêlu Mu-kin-nu ^{m.} Nadin-a âbil ^{m.d.} Nergal-iddina
11. ^{m.d.} Na-na-a-zalli abil ^{m.d.} Nabû-bêl-îli
12. ^{m.} Âbla-a âbil ^{m.d.} Bêl-ušallim
13. u âwêlu šangû ^{m.d.} Maruduk-bêl-îli
14. âbli-šu ša ^{m.d.} Nabû-zêr-iddina Uruk ^{ki} warah Abi
15. ûmu tišû šattu sibittu ^{m.d.} Sin-šarra-iš-kun
16. šâr mât Aš-šur ^{ki} ina e-dil bâbi.

TRANSLATION—OBVERSE.

1. 1 maneh of silver of Bêl-zêrî son of . . . -a
2. unto Upaqu son of . . .

3. From the 9th day of the month Ab upon
4. the 1 maneh 10 shekels of silver for the year upon him
5. it increases. The house of Ablaya, and the house of Nabû-šum-ukîn
6. sons of Upaqa, (are) the security of Bêl-zêrî.
7. Another possessor ov-
8. er (them) shall not rule until
9. Bêl-zêrî his silver shall have received.

REVERSE.

10. Witness : Nadinaya, son of Nergal-iddina ;
11. Nanaa-zalli, son of Nabû-bêl-îli ;
12. Ablaya, son of Bêl-ušallim ;
13. and the scribe, Merodach-bêl-îli,
14. son of Nabû-zêr-iddina. Erech, month Ab,
15. day 9th, year 7th, Sin-šar-iškun,
16. king of Assyria. By the bolt of the gate.

FREE RENDERING.

1 maneh of silver belonging to Bêl-zêrî son of [Ablay]a, due from Upaqu son of . . . From the 9th day of Ab (onwards) it increases unto him (at the rate of) 10 shekels per maneh yearly. The houses of Ablaya and Nabû-šum-ukîn, sons of Upaqu, are the security of Bêl-zêrî. Another possessor shall have no right to them until Bêl-zêrî shall have received his money.

In line 13 I have transcribed *sangu*, literally "priest", but *šup-šarru*, "scribe," is also possible, and perhaps the word intended.

As 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 in line 14 stands for "son of", it is possible that 𐎶 in lines 1, 2, 10, 11, and 12 stands, as in later documents, for "descendant of", but there is doubt whether any distinction between these two expressions was made so early as 607 B.C.

Though somewhat early, this text is couched in the usual form. Noteworthy points are the high rate of interest, 16½ per cent, and the fact that the borrower's two sons are

mentioned as securities—if their father failed to repay the money they would find themselves homeless—that is, unless they possessed more than one house.

In line 5 we have the ideograph 𒌦 with the meaning of *rabû*, “to increase.” This is a rare rendering of the character, and its use here is due to the fact that only two movements of the hand were needed to write it. When spelt out, so as to express the form in full—namely *i-rab-bi*—seventeen impressed wedges were necessary.

In line 6 the form *Upaqa* instead of *Upaqu* (line 2), or, better still, *Upaqi*, implies either that the case-endings were neglected, and *qu* and *qa* were pronounced as *q*, without any vowel; or else that the final *a* in line 6 may be due to Aramaic influence.

It is noteworthy that Sin-šar-iškun here bears the title of “king of Assyria” only. The omission of the words “king of Babylon” may be due to the fact that in later days Babylonia was regarded as part of Assyria, and designated by that name. But we have also to take into consideration that the scribe who wrote the tablet may not have wished to acknowledge the overlordship of Assyria.

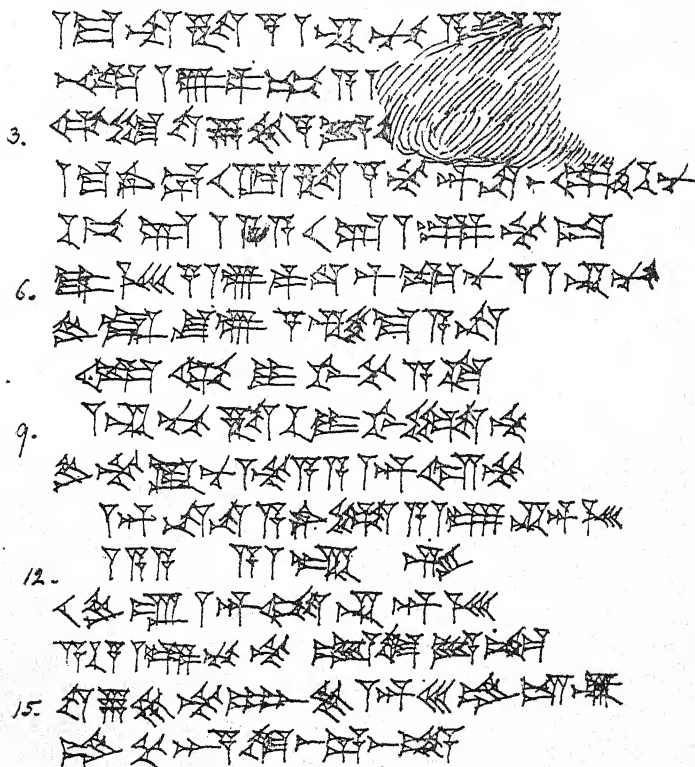
Ina édil bábi. The contract was probably drawn up near the principal gate of Erech, or the gate where it was customary for men to meet for purposes of trade.

In his short but very noteworthy *Ancient History from the Monuments, Assyria* (S.P.C.K., 1875 or earlier), G. Smith places “Bel-zakir-iskun” (misprinted *-iskum*) before Assur-ebil-ili, the former with six, and the latter with thirteen (or fourteen) years (626–620 B.C. and 620–607 B.C.). These are the old conjectural readings of Sin-šar-iškun and Aššur-étil-ilāni, son of Aššur-bani-āpli, respectively. We have, of course, to reverse the order, and also, apparently to give Saracos or Sin-šar-iškun an extra year. In any case the present contract proves that he ruled seven years at Babylon, the date of which would correspond roughly with the end of July, 606 B.C.

The identification of the gods of the Babylonian pantheon

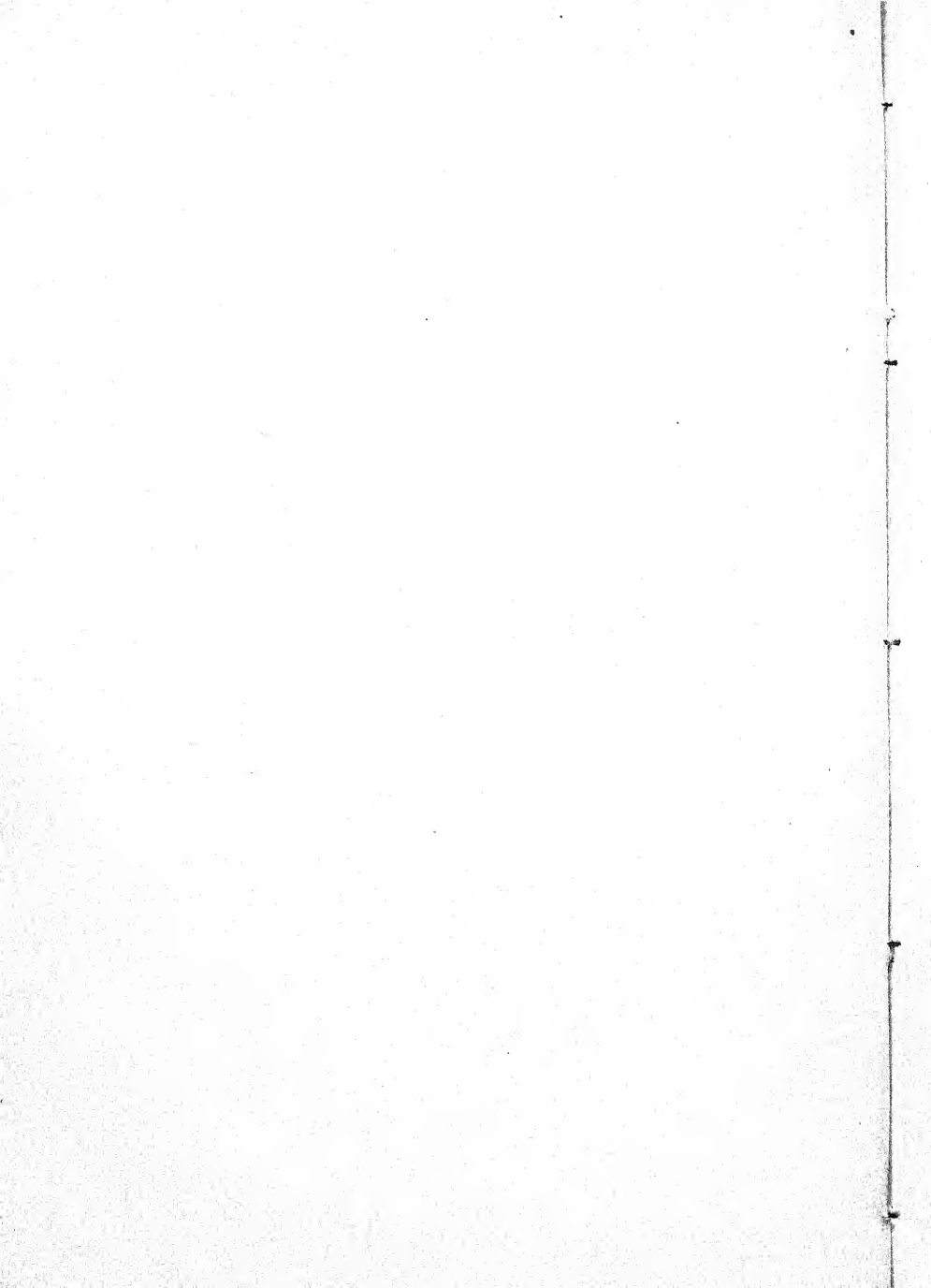
is illustrated by the names Nabû-šar-ili and Maruduk-šar-ili, "Nebo is king of the gods" and "Merodach is king of the gods". This accords with the indications of the "monotheistic tablet", on which the chief deities are identified with Merodach, the great head of the pantheon. It would also account for the popularity of the name of Nebo in Merodach's capital, as in many of the other great towns of Babylonia.

HARDING SMITH COLLECTION. W. 67.



Bêl-zêri's loan to Upaqu. Dated at Erech in the 7th year of Saracos, king of Assyria.

Note.—The two wedges on the edge of the break at the end of line 3 should be almost horizontal—they apparently form the beginning of the same character as occurs at the end of line 14.



Three Assyrian Roots

By G. R. DRIVER, Magdalen College, Oxford

1. THE ROOT AND MEANING OF *KĀMTUM*

IN the Annals of Ashurbanipal (Rassam Cylinder, col. iv, l. 85) for *attaddi ana nakamāti* Streck adopts the variant *at-ta-ad-di a-na ka-ma-a-ti*, which he translates "ich warf sie auf den Maueranger". He apparently follows Delitzsch (*Ass. Handw.*, p. 334, col. ii) and Muss-Arnolt (*Lexicon*, p. 399) in taking *kamātu* as the plural of a noun *kamātu*, outer gate (Jensen, K.B. vi, 496), derived from *kamū*, to bind, to surround. Now there is here a variant reading *na-ka-ma-a-ti*, heaps, which gives the preferable sense "I cast them forth in heaps". It has therefore occurred to the writer that *kamāti* in our text is the plural not of *kamātu* but of a word *kāmtum*.¹ This I take to be derived from a root *kāmu*, to cover over, to heap up, which is found in some of the cognate languages (Arabic كف I, covered; II, heaped up; كف heap; Syriac ܕܟܝܢܐ concealed). Thus *kamātu* in this passage would be an alternative, with the same meaning, for *nakamāti*, which may originally have been a gloss or scribal conjecture for the rare *kāmtum*.²

At the same time Professor Langdon has suggested to me that the derivation of *kamtum* from the root *kāmu*, which is not itself found in Assyrian, offers a solution

¹ For the spelling *ka-m-tum* (for *ka-am-tum* = *kāmtum*) compare *mar-tum* (for *mārtum*), K. 257, obv. 21, *qiš-tum* (for *qīštum*), V R. 33, col. vii, l. 4, etc. For the plural *ka-ma-a-ti*, from a hollow root, *na-ra-a-ti* (from *nāru*), IV R. 22, 10/11, may be adduced as a parallel form.

² Professor Langdon thinks that *kāmu* may have been the original word for "to heap up", and that the verb *nakāmu*, of which the root does not occur in the cognate languages, is a denominative formed from the noun *nakamtu*, treasure, heap, which is properly a derivative from *kāmu*. The spelling *nakamtu* for *nakāmtu* would be parallel to *na-bar-tum* for *nabārtum* (see Muss-Arnolt, 639a).

of its occurrence in several places in the omen-texts. In these passages *kamtum* occurs as some sign on the liver, foreboding disaster; the meaning would then be a "heap" or, as we should say, a "lump" or abnormal growth. The passages are as follows:—

(1) C.T. xx, pl. 41—

line 8. *kam-tum kar-tum*¹ | *da-ša-[tum]*
= a lump ? | trouble

The meaning then is that a lump on the liver is a prediction of trouble.

line 9. *kam-tum tarkat kapšat*² ?
= a lump [which] is torn [or] ?

The interpretation of a damaged or atrophied lump is unfortunately lost.

line 10. *kam-tum ħur-ru-ur-tum* | *kišitti(ti)gāti*
= a lump pierced | conquest of the hand

That is, a pierced³ (or perhaps porous) lump signifies victory. The principle of divination illustrated by this omen is that a defect in an adverse omen means good

¹ The meaning of *kartum* is unknown; but can it not be taken from a root *kāru*, כָּאָר, signifying "roundness", from which I would derive the Hebrew כָּרָב basket-saddle, כָּרָב smelting-pot, the Arabic كَوْر stove; wasps' or bees' nest, كَارْد bundle (from the verb كَارَ wound round), and the Syriac ܚܘܪܐ oven and ܚܘܪܐ beehive? The Assyrian *kārtum*,

which would therefore mean "round lump", is to be regarded as an explanatory synonym of *kāmtum*, and the passage should then be rendered: "a lump, a round thing [on the liver signifies] trouble."

² The word *kapšat* is unknown and no cognate root has been traced. If *kap-šat* could be regarded as an error for *qap-šat*, its root might be found in the Arabic قَبَضَ grasped; contracted, shrivelled. Then the sense of the passage would be: "a lump [which] is torn or shrivelled [signifies] . . ." The substitution of *k* for *q* is very common in Assyrian texts.

³ It is interesting to notice that Cicero (*de Div.* ii, 14, § 34) records that a cleft or fissure in the liver was regarded as a sign for which the augurs looked.

fortune. A lump means disaster, whereas a blemish in the lump portends evil to the lump, that is, good fortune for the one who consults the liver.

line 11. *kam-tum ina eli kam-ti* | *kāmātu-u-a kāmātu-
šu-nu ikammū*

= a lump upon a lump | my prisoners will bind
their prisoners.

This seems to indicate a reversal of misfortune and to be another example of the principles explained above.

(2) C.T. xx, pl. 44, l. 51.

In a list of signs on the liver there occur the words—

kam-tum bar-tum

= a lump [on the liver signifies] rebellion.

(3) A. Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination*, p. 124—

šumma ina tarbaši imni kam-tum nādat . . .

= if on the right "court" a lump be found (lit., placed) . . .

(4) Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, No. 92, l. 4—

[*šumma*] *ina iṣid šēri ubān qablīti kam-tu nādat . . .*

= [if] at the base of the surface of the middle finger
a lump be found (lit., placed), . . .

And No. 72, reverse, l. 6—

šumma ina qagqad ni-ri kam-tum nādat . . .

= if on the top of the (?) a lump be found (lit., placed), . . .

(5) Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages*, p. 7, l. 26—

*šumma eli-nu KAL iṣu kakku ša-kin-ma eliṣ innamir
kam-tum . . .*

= if a weapon be put above the *KAL* and above
a lump appear, . . .

And p. 221, l. 14—

*šumma ina ēkal ubāni šittā uṣurāti iṣteniš iṣrit-ma
ina bi-ri-ši-na kam-tum nādat . . .*

= if on the "palace" of the finger two markings together be marked and a lump be found (lit., placed) between them, . . .

In these passages also "lump" appears to be a suitable meaning for *kāmtum*.

If this interpretation of *kāmtum* be accepted,¹ it would appear that the Babylonians looked for any abnormal growth on the liver in the same way as the Roman augurs searched for the presence of a "fissure" (*fissum*) or the absence of the "head" (*caput*) of the liver.

2. NOTE ON THE ROOT OF ŠIMĒTAN

No root is given in the lexicons for the adverb *šimētan*, at dusk. After removing the adverbial termination *-an*, there remains a feminine noun, *šimētu*, of which the root probably ends in *y*. It seems possible that the *m* stands for a *w*²; the root is then *šw* (שׁוּע), which corresponds exactly with the Arabic سَوَّع first part of the night (see Salmoné, *Arab. Dict.*, p. 382, col. i, s.v. سَاع),³ as the Assyrian *š* regularly becomes *s* in Arabic.

Besides *šimētu* a variant *šimtu* occurs (e.g. V R. 39, 26 and 33), on the analogy of *birtu*, vision (from *barû*), and *zertu*, offspring (from *zarû*). The adverb *šimtan* is then formed in the same manner as *šimētan*.

3. THE MEANING OF SIMKURRU

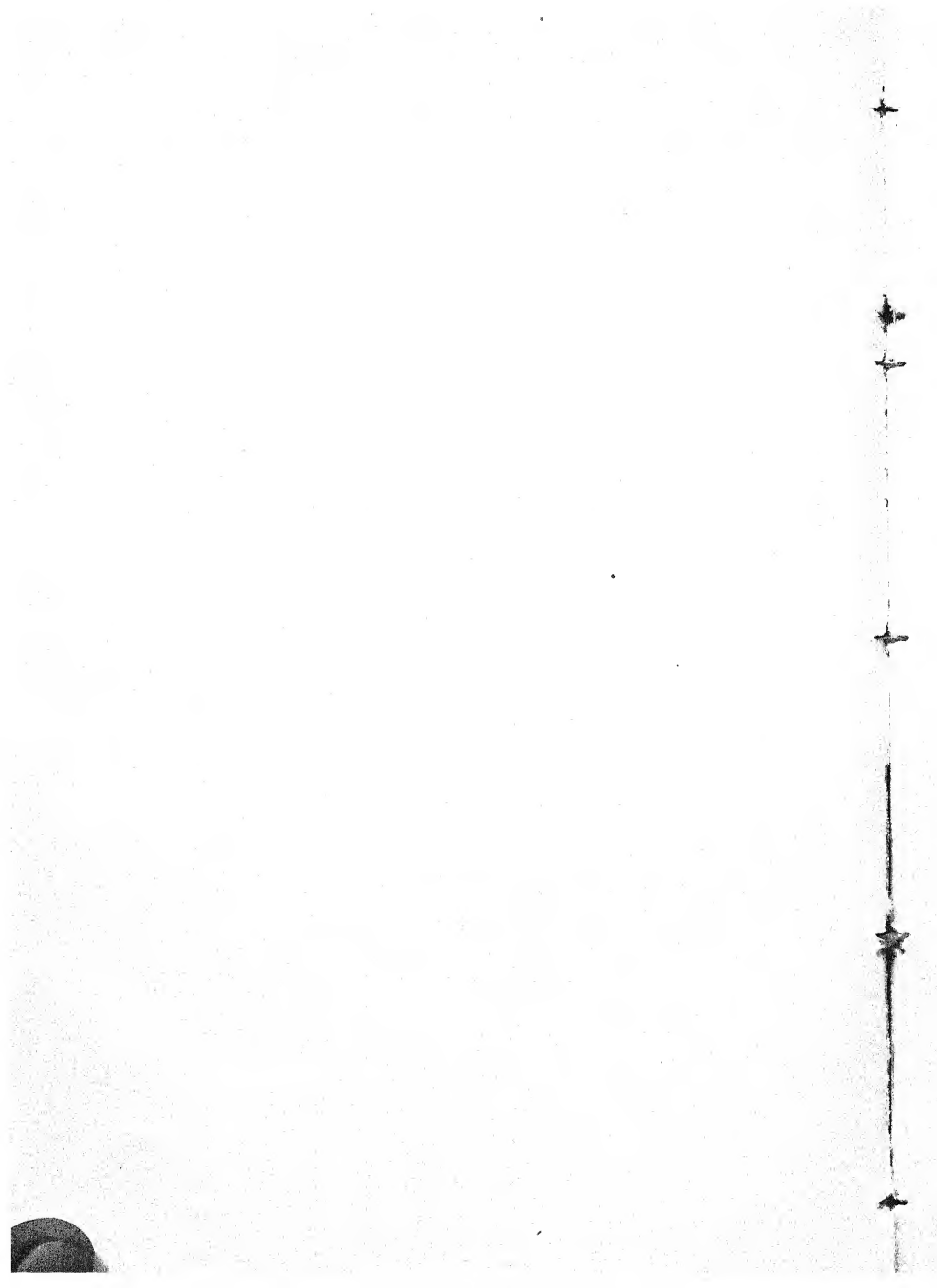
In the broken obelisk of Tiglath-Pileser I (K.B. i, p. 126; King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, vol. i, p. 141)

¹ A different sense is given to the word by Jastrow, *Religion Babylo niens und Assyriens*, vol. ii, p. 312, n. 9.

² Compare Ass. *namdru*, to shine, with Arab. نَار (نور) shone, and Heb. נָר (unused).

³ Words from this root are common enough: e.g. Arab. سَاعَة hour, سَوِيْعَة moment; Syriac ܫܘܥ moment, hour; Eth. sā' and sā'at, hour, which is used, for example, in Psalm xc, 4, to translate "a watch in the night".

is a list of animals captured or killed by the king; among them occurs the *simkurru*, for which the lexicons give no meaning (Del. 503a, "ein Thier des Feldes"; MA. 766a, some wild animal). In default of any other proposal, the writer suggests that "gyrfalcon" is the meaning, comparing it with the Arabic *سَنْقَرٌ* gyrfalcon (Dozy, *Suppl.* 694b). The interpretation is supported by Sumerian, in which *SĪM* means "bird" and *KUR* "mountain". What bird would a sporting king like to bring down more than a "mountain-bird" such as the gyrfalcon? The omission of the determinative *issuru* is difficult, but it can be attributed either to the error of the scribe or to lack of space at the end of the line.



Note on an apparently unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia

By EDWARD G. BROWNE

(WITH PLATE.)

IN my article on "The Persian Manuscripts of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, K.C.I.E.", published in the *JRAS.* of October, 1917, pp. 657-94, brief mention was made (on p. 672) of a book entitled *Silsilat-u'n-Nasab-i-Safawiyya*, on the genealogy and history of the Šafawís. I can find no notice of another copy, and as the work is of considerable interest and importance, I think that a somewhat fuller account of its scope and contents may be acceptable to students of Persian history.

The volume comprises 88 pp., which, excluding the wide margins, measure 17 × 9 cm. and contain fifteen lines each, the whole work probably consisting of some 20,000 words. It is written in a large and legible, though not very graceful, *ta'liq* hand, with rubrications in *naskh*, and is undated. The last date mentioned in the text is A.H. 1059 (A.D. 1649), not 1010/1601, as formerly stated; and the MS. was probably transcribed during the reign of Sháh Sulaymán (A.H. 1077-1105; A.D. 1667-94), for whom, as we learn from the preface (f. 4b), it was composed. It is, indeed, not unlikely that it is the original autograph copy, though there is no colophon to afford proof of this. The author gives his name (f. 4a) as Shaykh Husayn ibn Shaykh Abdál-i-Záhidí, and was a descendant of Shaykh Záhid of Gílán,¹ the spiritual director of Shaykh Šafiyyu'd-Dín, from whom the Šafawí dynasty derives its title. There are five miniature paintings (on

¹ In the *Ta'rikh-i-'Álam-ará-yi-'Abbási* (composed in 1025/1616) this Shaykh's personal name is given as Ibráhím. Jámí (*Nafahát*, pp. 242-3) briefly mentions a saint called Ibráhím of Gílán (*al-Jíli*), but gives no particulars by which he can be identified. Shaykh Záhid, according to our author (f. 68b), died in Rajab, A.H. 700 (March-April, 1301), being then over eighty years of age.

ff. 13a, 19a, 26b, 35b, and 80a) of persons and events described in the text, and these, if of no great artistic merit, are not devoid of a certain spirit and originality.

The work comprises a brief preface, including the doxology and dedication to Sháh Sulaymán (ff. 3b-5b); fourteen unnumbered sections (*faṣl*) dealing with the ancestors and descendants of Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn down to the time of composition; and a conclusion (*khātima*) in three sections on the relations existing between Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn and his successors on the one hand and Shaykh Záhīd of Gílán and his successors (of whom our author is one) on the other. The accounts of the ancestors of Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn on the one hand and of the kings who succeeded to the crown won by Sháh Isma'íl on the other are very meagre, and the bulk of the work (ff. 10a-52a) deals with the seven generations beginning with the former (A.D. 1252-1334), who gave to this Royal House its title of *Safawí*, and ending with the latter (A.D. 1487-1523), who first attained the position and title of King. Both of these, as well as several intervening heads of the family, were poets, and the amount of their poetry (Persian, Turkish, and Gílakí) cited by our author constitutes one of the most noteworthy features of the book.

In this short article I do not propose to discuss the original historical sources of information about the Ṣafawís, but merely to describe briefly one source hitherto, so far as I know, unnoticed and unexplored. To this end I shall give a short analysis of each section of the work, leaving any general observations that I may have to make for the conclusion.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS

Preface (ff. 3b-5b)

After a brief doxology, consisting of two lines of Arabic and three Persian quatrains, the author, Shaykh Ḥusayn ibn Shaykh Abdál-i-Záhídí, explains that his object in composing the present work is not to compete with the many able

historians who have written of the Šafawís, but to discuss certain spiritual aspects of their lives hitherto unduly neglected. Having dedicated his work to the reigning king Šáh Sulaymán (A.H. 1077-1105 ; A.D. 1667-94), he gives its title as *Silsilat-u'n-Nasab-i-Šafawíyya*, or the "Genealogical Tree of the Šafawís".

Section I (ff. 5b-9b)

This section treats of Shaykh Šafíyyu'd-Dín and his ancestors, his pedigree up to the Imám 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb being given as follows: Shaykh Šafíyyu'd-Dín Abu'l-Faṭḥ Isháq ibn Shaykh Amínu'd-Dín Jibrá'il ibn Quṭbu'd-Dín ibn Šálih¹ ibn Muḥammad al-Háfiz ibn 'Awaḍ al-Khawáṣṣ ibn Fíruzsháh-i-Zarrín-kuláh ("Gold-cap") ibn Muḥammad ibn Sharafsháh ibn Muḥammad ibn Hasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibráhím ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Isma'il ibn Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Aḥmad al-A'rábí ibn [Abú Muḥammad]² Qásim ibn Abu'l-Qásim Ḥamza ibn Músá al-Kázim ibn Ja'far aṣ-Šádiq ibn Muḥammad al-Báqir ibn 'Alí Zaynu'l-'Ábidín ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb. Thus Shaykh Šafíyyu'd-Dín was the twenty-fifth in descent from 'Alí, the first Imám of the Shí'a, and the twentieth from Músá Kázim, the seventh Imám, who, as we learn from al-Ya'qúbí's History (ed. Houtsma, vol. ii, p. 500), actually had a son named Ḥamza. The next ten or twelve links in the chain, including five Muḥammads with no other designation,

¹ This pedigree, not worth much so far as the middle links are concerned, occurs in much the same form in most histories which I have consulted. In the useful Turkish version of Munajjim-báshí's *Jámi'u'd-Duwal* (extending to 1083/1672) made by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Nadim for the Grand Wazír Dámád Ibráhím Páshá in 1132/1720, entitled *Šahá'ifü'l-Akḥbár*, and printed at Constantinople in three volumes in 1285/1868-9, the only variants are the transposition of Šálih and Quṭbu'd-Dín and the insertion between the latter and Muḥammad al-Háfiz of Šaláhu'd-Dín Rashíd, who, however, on a subsequent page (f. 6b) of our MS. is simply substituted for Šálih, so that the same person apparently enters the pedigree in some of its forms under two different names.

² This *kunya* is added by Munajjim-báshí.

appear to me very uncertain and incapable of verification, and Fīrúزشáh-i-*Zurín-kuláh* is the first ancestor of Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dín of whom our MS. speaks with any detail. He is said to have been entrusted with the government of Ardabíl, which thenceforth became the headquarters of the Šafawís, by a quite indefinite king of Persia only described as one of the sons of Ibráhīm Adham, a well-known Súfī saint who flourished in the eighth century of the Christian era. He established himself and finally died, after a wealthy and prosperous life, at Rangín, in Gílán, leaving to succeed him his son 'Awāḍ, who took up his abode in the village of Isfaranján, near Ardabíl. His son and successor, Muḥammad Háfiz, is said to have been carried off by the *Jinn* at the age of seven and educated by them for seven years, when he suddenly reappeared knowing the *Qur'án* by heart (for which reason he was entitled *Háfiz*) and well instructed in religious knowledge. He was succeeded by his son Šaláhu'd-Dín Rashíd,¹ who lived the life of a farmer at Gilkhwarán, where his son Quṭbu'd-Dín Abú Báqí followed him. In his time the Georgians overran the district and killed several thousand Muslims, and Quṭbu'd-Dín fled with his family and his little son Amínu'd-Dín Jibrá'íl, then only a month old, to Ardabíl, where he hid them in a cellar. The Georgians invaded the house, but were kept at bay for a time by a gallant youth, who, seeing his death to be inevitable, succeeded in hurling a large earthen jar (*kandú*) over the entrance to the cellar so that it was concealed from the invaders. Quṭbu'd-Dín himself was wounded and left for dead by the Georgians, but was found in the morning by some men who had come to strip the slain, and who showed an unexpected humanity in binding up his wound so that he recovered and was able to rejoin his family. His grandson, the great Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dín, who was born during his lifetime, used to say, "When Quṭbu'd-Dín took me on his shoulder, I used to put my four fingers in the sword-wound

¹ Compare n. 1 at the foot of p. 397 *supra*.

in his neck which the Georgians had inflicted on him." Amínu'd-Dín Jibrá'íl succeeded his father Qutbu'd-Dín, and combined the activities of a successful farmer with the profession of a saintly life, wherein he was guided by Khwāja Kamálu'd-Dín 'Arabsháh of Ardabíl. He married a lady named Dawlatí, who, in 650/1252-3, became the mother of Shaykh Şafíyyu'd-Dín. At the time of his birth Shams-i-Tabríz had been dead five years, Shaykh Muhyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí twelve years, and Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá thirty-two years. He was 22 years old when Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí died, 41 years old when Sa'dí died, and 5 years old when Húlágú the Mongol conquered Persia. He was the fifth of a family of seven, three brothers (Muḥammad, Şaláhu'd-Dín Rashíd, and Isma'íl) and a sister being older, and two brothers (Ya'qúb and Fakhru'd-Dín Yúsuf) being younger than himself. His father died when he was 6 years old. Amongst eminent mystics and saints contemporary with him were Amír 'Abdu'lláh Shírází, Shaykh Najíbu'd-Dín Buzghúsh,¹ 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Samnání, Shaykh Maḥmúd Shabistari (author of the *Gulshan-i-Rúz*), and Shaykh Muḥammad Kajahí (?) of Tabríz.

Section II (ff. 9b-14a)

This section describes Şafíyyu'd-Dín's prolonged search for a satisfactory Spiritual Director, and his ultimate discovery of and acceptance by Shaykh Záhíd of Gílán. Even as a child Şafí was of a serious disposition, not inclined to associate with other children or to take part in their games. He was attentive to his religious duties and used to see the angels like strange birds in the air, or sometimes as men, and to hold converse with and receive encouragement from the "Men of the Unseen" (*Rijálu'l-Ghayb*). Finding amongst the anchorites (*Gúsha-nishínán*) of Ardabíl no guide to satisfy him, and hearing the fame of Shaykh Najíbu'd-Dín Buzghúsh of Shíráz, he desired to go thither to visit him, but was for

¹ According to Jámí (*Nafahát*, pp. 546-8) he died in Sha'bán 678 (Dec., 1279).

some time prevented by his mother. His elder brother Muḥammad had betaken himself to Fārs, where he had acquired much wealth by commerce, but was finally destroyed by the deadly wind known as the *samūn* on a journey between Shīrāz and Hurmuz. The second brother, Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Rashīd, went to Shīrāz to wind up Muḥammad's affairs, became mayor (*kad-khuddā*) of that city, and acquired much wealth; and, as his sojourn there was prolonged, Ṣafī finally obtained his mother's sanction to go thither and endeavour to bring him back. On his journey thither he pursued a slow and devious course, halting at Abhar, Qazwīn, and every other town where he heard of some eminent saint, only to meet with disappointment. Finally he reached Shīrāz, where he met with an honourable reception, only to learn that Shaykh Najību'd-Dīn Buzghūsh was dead.¹ He frequented the society of *darwishes* and met some seventy notable saints, including Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn Bayḍāwī, and was ultimately referred for spiritual guidance to Amīr 'Abdu'llāh, who told him that none could solve his difficulties save Shaykh Zāhid of Gīlān, whose personal appearance and abode (situated on the Caspian shore close to the sea, with the door facing towards the east) he described to him. So Ṣafī bade farewell to his *darwish* friends at Shīrāz, each of whom gave him some present, and, having vainly endeavoured to induce his brother to accompany him, set out for Ardābil, where Shaykh Zāhid had foretold his arrival to his disciples.

Section III (ff. 14a-26a)

This section, which concludes the account of Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn, opens with an account of his protracted search for Shaykh Zāhid, which lasted four years. At the end of this time a relative of his named Muḥammad Ibrāhīmān of Gilkhwārān went to a village called Hilya-kirān in the Khānbālī district

¹ Since, as we have seen (p. 399, n. 1, *supra*), he died in 678/1279, Shaykh Ṣafī, who was born in 650/1252-3, must at this time have been at least 27 years of age, though our MS. (f. 11a, l. 11) describes him as only 20.

of Gilán to buy rice. Now Shaykh Záhíd had two wives, one of whom dwelt on the Caspian shore in the house described by Amír 'Abdu'lláh, and the other in this very village of Hilya-kirán, where also the Shaykh happened to be staying, surrounded by a number of his disciples. Muḥammad Ibráhímán was so much attracted by their appearance that he made his vows of repentance to the Shaykh, joined their ranks, and clothed himself in their apparel. While returning home he was overtaken by a violent snowstorm in one of the severest winters ever known in Gilán. His fellow-villagers came out to meet and help him, amongst them Šafí, who at once questioned him about his change of raiment, and was informed that it was the garb prescribed for his disciples by Shaykh-i-Záhíd. Greatly excited, Šafí questioned him as to the Shaykh's appearance, and received a description which exactly tallied with that given him at Shiráz by the Amír 'Abdu'llah. In spite of the severity of the weather he insisted on setting out at once for Gilán, accompanied by a servant named Muḥammad Khalílán. His health suffered considerably from the exposure, and from the ceremonial ablutions with half-frozen water which he punctiliously observed. Every night he saw the vision of Shaykh Záhíd clad in scarlet and green. It was in the month of Ramaḍán that he finally reached the Shaykh's village of Hilya-kirán, and, though the Shaykh was not accustomed to receive strangers at this time, he made an exception in Šafí's favour, after he had caused the room in which he was performing his devotions to be superheated, thus inducing a profuse perspiration in the neophyte and curing him of the chill which he had contracted on the journey. A detailed account is given of the meeting of the two, of Šafí's taking the vows at the Shaykh's hands, and of the honour accorded to him by the latter, who invested him with his own robes, lodged him in his own private apartments, and proclaimed to his other disciples the spiritual greatness of this last recruit to their ranks. Shaykh Záhíd was at this time 60 years of age and

Šafī 25,¹ and they remained companions for twenty-five years longer, when the Shaykh died. Šafī succeeded him as director of the order, which position he held for thirty-five years, finally dying at the same age as his predecessor, namely 85. The date of his death, as we learn from a subsequent page (f. 24a) was Monday, Muḥarram 12, 735 (September 12, 1334). The names of his four brothers are repeated,² and a description of his personal appearance is given, which is followed (ff. 19a-23a) by specimens of his verse-compositions in the Gīlān dialect and in Persian. The former (all quatrains) are accompanied by prose paraphrases in Persian, in spite of which they are difficult to follow. Space only allows me to give the first of the dozen as a specimen :—

در باب کسرِ نفس و فروتنی می فرماید

صَفِّیم صافیم گنجان نمایم، بدل درده زرم تن بی دوایم،
کس بهستی نبرده ره باویان، از³ به نیستی چو یاران خاكِ پایم،

شرح، یعنی صَفِّیم که صاف دلم و دلیل و راه نماینده
طالبانم بگنجهای اسرارِ حق با وجودِ آن همه بدل دردمند
و بیچاره‌ام زیرا که هیچ کس بعُجَب و پندار راه بعالم
وحدت نبرده و من از بی تعیّنی و فروتنی خاكِ پای
درویشانم،

¹ This would place the meeting in 675/1276-7, when Ramaḍān fell in February, a fact which affords some corroboration of the account of severe cold.

² They have been already given on p. 399 *supra*.

³ The use of *az* for *man* in certain Persian dialects is very interesting, for it appears to be derived from the Avestan *azem*, "I", not from the Old Persian *adam*, *mand*.

Of his Persian poetry, in which he adopts the *takhallus* of Šafī, four *ghazals*, one couplet, and the following quatrain testifying to his devotion to 'Alī are given :—

صاحبِ گری که صد خطای بخشد، خوش باش صفی که جرّم ما می بخشد،
آرا که جوی مهر علی در دل اوست، هر چند گنه کند خدا می بخشد،

It is worth noting that no Turkish poems are ascribed to him as to his descendant Šah Isma'il.

Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dīn had two wives who bore him children, Bībī Fāṭima, the daughter of Shaykh Zāhid, and the daughter of Akhī Sulaymān of Gilkhwarān. The former was the mother of Muḥyi'd-Dīn, who predeceased his father in 724/1324; Šadru'd-Dīn, who succeeded his father; and Abū Sa'id. The latter bore him two sons, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn and Sharafu'd-Dīn, and a daughter whom he gave in marriage to Shaykh Shamsu'd-Dīn, son of Shaykh Zāhid, from which marriage the author's ancestors issued.

At the end of his life Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dīn performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, having previously nominated his son Šadru'd-Dīn as his successor. On his return he took to his bed, and died twelve days later on Monday, Muḥarram 12, A.H. 735 (September 12, 1334). His three brothers did not long survive him, so that Šadru'd-Dīn became sole heir of the family. Here follows an account of the various customs and regulations of the order established by Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dīn, whose reputation for sanctity finally reached so high a degree that disciples flocked to him from all quarters. Mawlānā Shamsu'd-Dīn Barnīqī of Ardabīl related that he estimated the number of these who came to visit him along the road from Marāgha and Tabrīz only in the course of three months at 13,000, while Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn, who was responsible for the distribution of food to the poor, mentioned one occasion when a thousand sheep were cooked for this purpose, and another when three thousand loaves of bread

were distributed. On account of this hospitality Shaykh Ṣafī was entitled *Khalīl-i-ʿAjam*, the "Persian Abraham".¹

Section IV (ff. 26a-32a)

Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn, to whom this section is devoted, was born on the *ʿIdu'l-Fitr* of the year A.H. 704 (April 27, 1305), four years after the death of his grandfather Shaykh Zāhid, and died in 794/1392. His father Shaykh Ṣafī died when he was 31 years old, so that he controlled and directed the affairs of the order for fifty-nine years. He built and endowed the great Ṣafawī mosque or shrine (حظيرة متبركة)

at Ardabīl, to the cost of which his disciples, male and female, contributed. A short description of his personal appearance is followed by one of his Persian odes, in the last verse of which he gives his name:—

گرتو خواهی بشنوی سرّ انا الحقّ هر زمان،

صدرِ دین بن صفی دایم دم از حقّ میزند،

Ṣadru'd-Dīn had three sons, Khwāja 'Alī, who succeeded him; Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn, who died without issue; and Shaykh Jamālu'd-Dīn, who left one daughter, Khān-zāda Pāshā, married to her cousin Shaykh Ibrāhīm (better known as Shaykh Shāh), the son and successor of Khwāja 'Alī. His spiritual acumen was such that sometimes, when the disciples were at prayer, he would separate the shoes of the sincere and godly from those of the lukewarm and the doubting, to the great shame of the latter. His father, Shaykh Ṣafī, not only forbade him to do this, but in order to blunt his spiritual vision ordered that "doubtful" bread from the bazaars should be mingled with his food.

¹ Abraham's hospitality to strangers is celebrated in a well-known anecdote in the *Būstān* of Sa'dī, quoted in Forbes' *Persian Grammar*

Amongst his disciples was the celebrated mystical poet Qásimu'l-Anwár, of whom I have spoken at some length in my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (pp. 473-486), here entitled *Sayyidu'l-'Ushsháq*, the "Lord of Lovers". On his arrival at Ardabíl he was recommended to perform an *arba'in*, *chilla*, or forty days' ascetic observance, in which he should never allow his head to rest on the ground or abandon the standing position except during the prostrations prescribed in prayer. To secure this end, and to prevent sleep from overtaking him, he fastened a cord attached to the ceiling of his cell to the long lock of hair (*káku*) on his head, and only loosened it at prayer-time. Thanks to these austerities he attained a high degree of sanctity and spiritual power, and saw the vision from which he earned his title *Qásimu'l-Anwár*, the "Apportioner of Lights", wherein he saw himself in the mosque of Ardabíl holding a great candle in his hand, from which he distributed to each of the disciples assembled round him a light proportionate to his merits and capacities. He subsequently gained many disciples in 'Iráq and Khurásán.¹ His verses on the death of Shaykh Šafí are quoted and translated in the volume of my *Literary History* (p. 474) mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph.

Here follows an account of the tyranny and punishment of Malik-i-Ashraf,² king of Persia, "noted for his injustice and wrong-doing," who, conceiving a great hatred for Shaykh Šadru'd-Dín, lured him to Tabríz and confined him for three months in the '*Imárat-i-Rashidiyya*, when, in consequence of an alarming dream, he released him, but later again attempted to capture him and compelled him to flee into Gílán. He also persecuted other holy and learned men, one

¹ Jámí, who devotes a long notice to him in the *Nafahát* (pp. 689-93), casts some doubt on his orthodoxy, and asserts that most of his disciples had discarded the restraints of Islám and entered the circle of communism and contempt for the Holy Law and Tradition. His death is placed in 837/1433-4.

² See d'Ohsson's *Hist. des Mongols*, vol. iv, pp. 740-1.

of whom,¹ driven to take refuge in the Dasht-i-Qipchâq, preached so eloquently on the sufferings of God's saints in Persia that the ruler of that country, Jání Beg Khán,² deeply moved, determined to invade Persia and punish Malik-i-Ashraf. Entering Ádharbayján by the Bábu'l-Abwáb and Shírwán, he captured the tyrant near Tabríz and put him to death. He then wrote a friendly letter to Shaykh Şadru'd-Dín inviting him to come and see him. The meeting took place at Awjân, where the Shaykh was most honourably received by Jání Beg, who caused title-deeds to be drawn up conferring on him and his disciples all the estates of which the revenues had formerly been enjoyed by their shrine at Ardabíl, and invoking curses on anyone who should alienate them.

Here follows an account of one of Şadru'd-Dín's miraculous achievements (*karámât*), of which a coloured illustration occurs on f. 26b of the manuscript. About the year 600/1203-4 the Georgians invaded and plundered Ádharbayján and Ardabíl, and carried off from the latter place the door of the principal mosque, which they placed in one of their churches, regarding it as one of their chief trophies. Şadru'd-Dín determined to recover and restore it, and set off for Georgia with two of his disciples to ask for its surrender. The ruler of Georgia said they might take it, but issued stringent orders that no means of transport should be placed at their disposal. Supported by Divine aid, and encouraged by the Shaykh, who walked bare-headed before them uttering pious ejaculations, the two disciples carried the great, heavy door stage by stage to Ardabíl, where it was still to be seen in our author's time. On this event a poet has said :—

¹ His name, according to d'Ohsson (*op. cit.*, p. 741), was the Qáđi Muhyi'd-Dín of Barda'a. See also Sir Henry Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, part ii, division i, pp. 178-9.

² He was the son of Uzbek Khán, a descendant of Bâtú, and reigned from A.D. 1340 to 1357. See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 230, and d'Ohsson and Howorth, *loc. cit.*

بعهدِ خسروِ عادلِ جلالِ الدینِ حسن،
 که آسمانِ جلالست و آفتابِ مُبین،
 بعونِ حقِّ درِ مسجدِ بکُند و باز آورد،
 پناه و ملجاءِ اسلامِ شیخِ صدرِ الدین،

Our author further narrates that when Ṣadru'd-Dīn visited al-Madīna the Prophet enjoined the attendants on his shrine in a dream to treat him on his arrival with the utmost respect and to present to him the Prophet's standard, one of their most precious relics. This they did, and the standard was accordingly taken to Ardabīl, where the Shaykh on his return nominated his son Khwāja 'Alī as his successor, and shortly afterwards died and was buried beside his father.

Section V (ff. 32a-44b)

Khwāja 'Alī succeeded his father Ṣadru'd-Dīn in 794/1392 and continued as head or director of the order until his death on Tuesday, Rajab 18, 830 (May 15, 1427). He is buried at Quds-i-Khalīl (? Jerusalem), where he is known as "Sayyid 'Alī 'Ajam". Many miracles (*karāmāt*) are related of him, one of these being the stopping of the Dizful river as an admonition to the people of that city, whom in a vision the ninth Imām Muḥammad Taqī bade him convert from the errors into which they had fallen. As they laughed at his exhortations, he, by God's favour, caused two great rocks between which the river ran to come together and impede the flow of water for eleven days, until the stubborn Dizfulis "believed and accepted the commands of the Holy Law, abjured their infidelity and heresy, and confessed the saintship, vicegerency, and trusteeship (ولایت و خلافت و) of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib".¹

وصایت) of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib".¹

¹ This is perhaps the earliest sign of strong and decided Shī'a propagandism on the part of the Ṣafawīs.

His dealings with Tímúr-i-Lang (Tamerlane), whom he thrice encountered, are next recorded. When Tímúr was crossing the Oxus he accidentally dropped his whip, of which the handle was of crystal set with precious stones, into the water. He was greatly distressed, both on account of the actual loss and because it seemed to him an evil omen. Suddenly Khwája 'Alí (apparently in "astral form"—

بولایت) appeared, plunged his hand into the river, and restored the whip to Tímúr, who conjured him to say who he was. "My name," he answered, "is Sayyid 'Alí; my abode is in several places; and you will see me again at Dizful and at Ardabíl." So saying he disappeared.

After conquering Khurásán, 'Iráq, and Fárs, Tímúr passed through Shúshtar and reached the bridge of Dizful, where his horse shied. This reminded him of the whip which he had dropped into the Oxus and of the saint's prediction, and he sent for Shams-i-Dihdár, lord of Dizful, and inquired of him whether there dwelt in the city a *darwish* named Sayyid 'Alí. Shams-i-Dihdár replied in the affirmative, adding that he claimed to be the grandson of Shaykh Šafiyu'd-Dín of Ardabíl, and to have accomplished the pilgrimage seven times. Tímúr at once dismounted and ordered Khwája 'Alí to be brought to him. He came with another *darwish* named Bába Ruknu'd-Dín Walí, the former holding in his hand two pieces of brick and the latter one, which three pieces of brick they flung to Tímúr, who asked for a fourth. "This is enough," replied Khwája 'Alí; "we have given you three corners of the world, ask no more, for it is not good." Then he continued, "In the land of Syria there are a number of people who boast that they are the children of those who conquered the Prophet's family, and who do not believe in the Prophet. They are called the Yazídí Kurds, and are the friends of Mu'awiya (curses upon him!). Chastise them as they deserve, for we wear black garments in mourning for the Immaculate Imáms. Our next meeting will be at Ardabíl,

and the sign between us and thee will be a cup of poison." So saying he departed.

After Tímúr had conquered Rúm (Asia Minor) he came to Ádharbáyján, bringing many captives, and thence to Ardabil, where he sent for Khwája 'Alí, to whom he offered a cup of poison. Khwája 'Alí took and drank it, saying:—

مائیم سرپوش و مائیم زهرنوش،

Thereupon some of the *darwishes* who accompanied him began to ejaculate the *dhikr*, and as their ecstasy rose Khwája 'Alí joined in the dance and was presently bathed in a perspiration which eliminated the poison from his system. Then Tímúr declared himself the devoted disciple of Khwája 'Alí, and gave him a number of his Turkish prisoners (*asirán-i-Rúm*), whom the Shaykh set free, assigning them dwellings near the shrine of the Shaykh of Ganja,¹ where their descendants, known as *Súfiyán-i-Rúmlú*, still live. Tímúr also endowed Khwája 'Alí and his sons with many estates in Talwár, Qizil Úzan, Kamra near Işfahán, and Hamadán, but the transfer remained incomplete at his death and effective possession was not secured, though the title-deeds long afterwards fell into the hands of some of Sháh 'Abbás the Great's soldiers at the capture of a village near Balkh.

Another miracle of Khwája 'Alí concerns the conversion of a young winebibber who passed by his oratory carrying on his head a copper tray, which by the Shaykh's gaze was transmuted into gold:—

آن ظرف چون منظورِ نظرِ کیمیا اثرِ قدس سره میشود
و مرض که در کان برو عارض شده بود ازو زایل می گردد

¹ درقرب مزار متبرك شيخ گنجه بکول، I cannot understand the last word.

و طلا می شود و ازین جهة است که انسان کامل را اکسیر
اعظم و جام جهان نما و عیسی وقت می گویند،

The transmuted tray was handed over by the young man to the attendants of the shrine, who exchanged it for sheep, which they committed to the charge of the Íl-i-Khwája Chúpání, who yearly contribute from the flock thus acquired to the kitchen of the monastery.

Here follows, as usual, the personal description of the Shaykh, and a short account of his family. He had three sons, of whom the eldest was Shaykh Ja'far, noted for his exceptional learning, and represented in our author's time by Kalb Khán, Qásim Khán, Báqir Khán, Ibráhím Khán, Sulaymán Khán, Murád Khán, and Bayram Khán, all known as "Shaykh Ja'fari". The second son was Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Rahmán, whose descendants live at Kaskar and Ardabíl, and are represented by Mírzá Ibráhím *mutawallí*, after whom this branch of the family is called Ibráhímiyán. The third son, who succeeded his father, was called Shaykh Ibráhím, but is better known as Shaykh Sháh.

Khwája 'Alí was a somewhat prolific poet, and the selection of his Persian *ghazals* and quatrains given by our author occupies 19 pages (ff. 36b-44b) and comprises 228 verses. In his odes he adopts the *takhallus* of 'Alí.

Section VI (ff. 45a-46b)

Shaykh Sháh survived his father for nineteen years, during which he was director of the order, and died in 851/1447-8. He had six sons, as follows:—

(1) Shaykh Abú Sa'íd, librarian of the shrine, who had two sons, Shaykh Ján Mírzá, father of 'Alí Beg and grandfather of Qará Khán and Mír Mírán; and Taqí Mírzá. Mír Mírán had three children, Muḥammad Šálih, Maḥmúd Beg, the father of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, and a daughter who became

lady superior of the female members of the order
(فقيره باشى).

(2) Sayyid Aḥmad, who left no issue.

(3) Shaykh Báyzíd, some of whose descendants are enumerated.

(4) Khwája Ján Mirzá, called the "Second Shaykh Jamálu'd-Dín" after his maternal grandfather. His mother was Khán-záda Páshá, daughter of Shaykh Jamálu'd-Dín, son of Shaykh Šadru'd-Dín. Khwája Ján Mirzá had four sons, two of whom, Khwája Aḥmad and Khwája Asad, left no issue. The third, Khwája Ḥasan Beg, had six sons, enumerated in detail; and the fourth, Khwája Muḥammad, was also the ancestor of several persons eminent in later times.

(5) Shaykh Ibráhím Khwájagí, who left no issue.

(6) Shaykh Junayd, who succeeded his father as head of the order.

Section VII (ff. 46b-47b)

When Shaykh Junayd visited Diyár Bakr, the ruler of that country [Úzún] Ḥasan conceived a great affection and admiration for him and gave him his sister Khadija Begum in marriage. She bore him Sultán Ḥaydar, while the mother of his other son, Khwája Muḥammad, was a Circassian slave-girl, whose progeny are enumerated at some length. Shaykh Junayd was finally killed in battle in the neighbourhood of Shírwán, and buried in a village called Quryál or Qarúyál.¹

Section VIII (ff. 47b-48a)

Sultán Ḥaydar, like his father, found favour in the eyes of his uncle Úzún Ḥasan, who gave him his daughter Bakí Áqá² in marriage. She bore him three sons ere he was killed

¹ The latter form occurs in our MS., the former in the Turkish history of Munajjim-báshí (vol. iii, p. 181), which adds that he was fighting with Sultán Khalíl.

² Munajjim-báshí calls her 'Álam-sháh Begum.

at the early age of 20 on Thursday, Rajab 20, 893 (June 30, 1488). His sons were taken captive and imprisoned for four years near Shīrāz. Shāh Ismaʿīl, then only a child, escaped to Gīlān, but his brothers were killed, and he became the chief representative of the house of Šafī and the founder of its temporal supremacy.

Section IX (ff. 48a-51b)

Ismaʿīl, who was born in 892/1487, is given the full royal title of *Shah-i-Jam-jāh-i-Jannat-bārgāh Murawwij-i-madhab-i-A'imma-i-Ithnā-ʿashariyya* Shāh Ismaʿīl Bahādūr Khān, "the King whose rank is as that of Jamshīd, whose Court is like Paradise, the Promoter of the Sect of the Twelve Imāms." He became king at the age of 13 in 905/1499-1500, 170 years after the death of his illustrious ancestor Shaykh Šafīyyu'd-Dīn,¹ reigned for twenty-five years, and died in 930/1523-4. He composed much poetry in Persian and Turkish, using the *takhalluṣ*, or pen-name, of *Khatā'ī*.² Selections from his Turkish poems only, amounting in all to eighty-seven verses, are here given (ff. 48b-51b).

Section X (f. 52a)

Shāh Tahmāsp, the second Šafawī Shāh, was born in 919/1513-14, ascended the throne at the age of 11 in 930/1523-4, reigned for fifty-two lunar years, and died on Šafar 15, 982 (June 6, 1574).

Section XI (f. 52a)

Shāh ʿAbbās the Great was born in 978/1570-1, succeeded his grandfather at the age of 18 in 996/1587-8, and died after a reign of forty-one years in 1038/1628-9.

Section XII (f. 52a-b)

Shāh Šafī succeeded his grandfather in 1038/1628-9, and died in 1052/1642-3 after a reign of thirteen years.

¹ In 735/1334. See p. 403 *supra*.

² Cf. Gibb's *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. iii, p. 106; and V. Minorsky in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* for Sept.-Dec. 1920, p. 70, and n. 2, *ad calc.*

Section XIII (ff. 52b)

Sháh 'Abbás II was born in 1042/1632-3, succeeded to the throne at the age of 10 in 1052/1642-3, and reigned a little more than twenty-four years.

Section XIV (ff. 52b-53a)

Sultán Sulaymán, in whose reign our author wrote, came to the throne in 1077/1666-7. After uttering prayers for his long life and prosperity, the author excuses himself from giving any fuller account of the achievements of the Šafawī Sháhs on account of the multiplicity of good and detailed histories already existing, and so concludes the main portion of his work.

Conclusion (ff. 53a-88a)

The conclusion (*khátima*), in three sections, is entirely devoted to the glorification of the author's ancestor Shaykh Záhíd of Gílán and his descendants, and to establishing and illustrating the high degree of honour which they at all times enjoyed with the Šafawís, both before and after their attainment of kingly state.

Section I (ff. 53a-68b)

This section deals entirely with the intimate relations existing between Shaykh Záhíd and Shaykh Šafíyyu'd-Dín, and is illustrated by about a dozen anecdotes, many of which are on the authority of Shaykh Šadru'd-Dín. Most of these are of a thaumaturgical character, and include instances of telepathy, sympathetic pains, and prognostications of the honour and greatness to which the house of Šafí shall attain. Mention is incidentally made of several contemporary *darwishes*, such as Shaykh Najíbu'd-Dín Buzghúsh of Shíráz, Faḍlún-i-Jabalí, Mawláná Táju'd-Dín, Jamálu'd-Dín, and Muwaffaqu'd-Dín. At the age of 70 Shaykh Záhíd married a girl of 14, who bore him a son, Hájji Shamsu'd-Dín, and a daughter, Bíbí Fátima, whom he gave in marriage to Shaykh Šafí, and who was the mother of Šadru'd-Dín.¹ A long account of the death and burial of

¹ See p. 403 *supra*.

Shaykh Záhíd concludes this section, and a narrative of the dispute as to where he should be interred, whether at Gushtásfí, Júmáq-ábád in Múqán, or Siyáw-rúd. His death took place in Rajab, 700 (March-April, 1301). Both Shaykh Záhíd and Shaykh Šafí are represented as making use of dialect: the former says (f. 53b) "*ankin bú*", explained as "*chunín báshad*" ("so let it be!"), while the latter (f. 59a) recites a "Fahlawí", or dialect, quatrain.

Section II (ff. 69a-74b)

This section treats of the affection and regard for the children of Shaykh Záhíd shown by Shaykh Šafíyyu'd-Dín, especially to his brother-in-law Hájji Shamsu'd-Dín, to whom he gave in marriage a daughter born to him by another wife (not Bíbí Fátíma, the sister of Shamsu'd-Dín). He also showed the greatest affection and respect for Shamsu'd-Dín's son Núru'd-Dín Hámíd, and for the half-brothers of the latter (his own grandsons), Shaykh Hámíd and Mu'ínu'd-Dín, who survived their father, as testified in a declaration (*wathíqa*, cited on ff. 70b-71a of the text) written and signed by Shaykh Ja'far ibn Khwája 'Alí ibn Šadru'd-Dín ibn Šafíyyu'd-Dín, and dated 945/1538-9. Here follows an anecdote of Shaykh Šafíyyu'd-Dín and Dimashq Khwája,¹ into which is introduced a pretty story about a gardener who, in return for a very luscious fruit which he presented to the king, is bidden to take what he will from the royal treasury as a reward, and selects a phial of rose-water, which he carries back to his garden and empties over the roots of the fruit-tree, meaning thereby that since he owed the king's favour to the fruit-tree, the reward should be conferred on it rather than on him. There are half a dozen anecdotes in this section, most of which are related on the authority of Shaykh Šadru'd-Dín.

Section III (ff. 74b-88a)

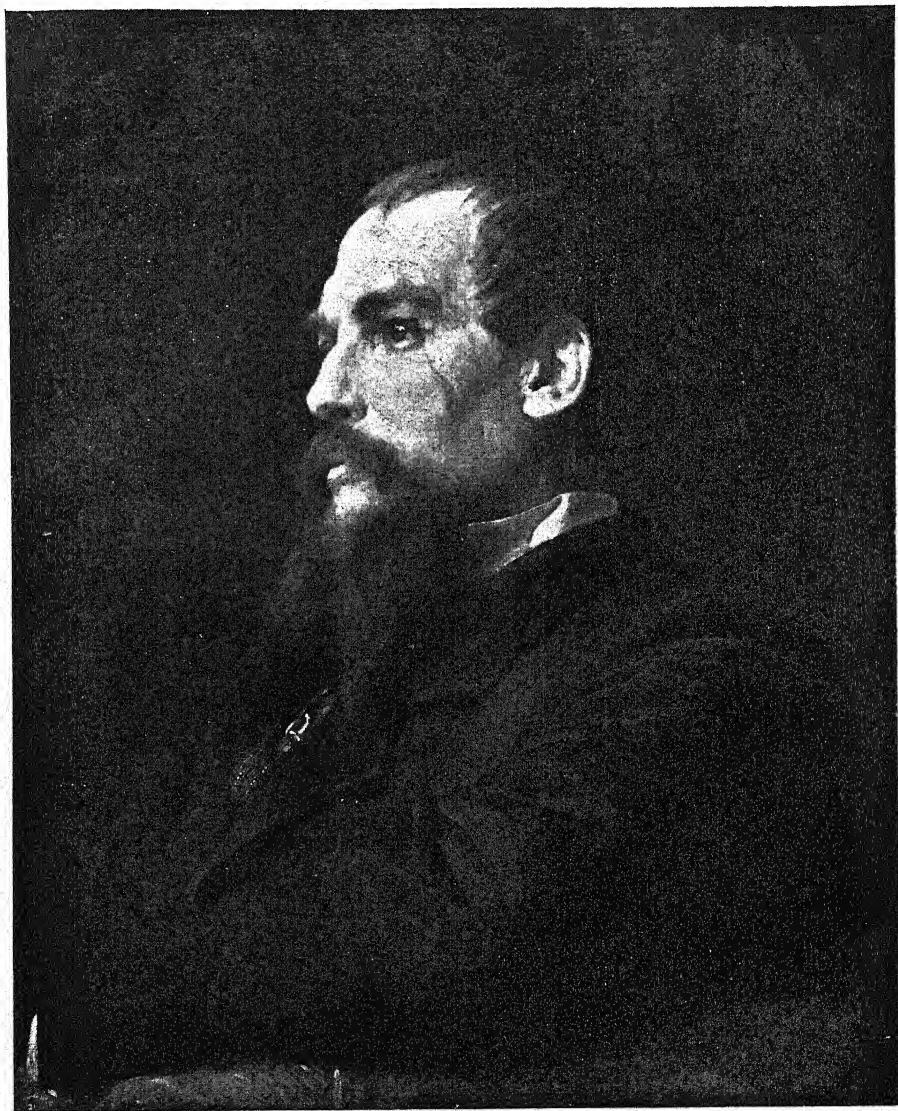
In this section the author, Shaykh Húsayn, son of Shaykh Abdál, son of Shaykh Amír-i-Záhídí, describes the favours

¹ He was put to death on Aug. 25, 1327, by Abú Sa'íd the Mongol.



Shaykh Abdāl Pir-zāda, the author's father, presenting the captured horse of the Uzbek leader, Dīn Muḥammad Khān, to Shāh 'Abbās the Great (MS. f. 80a).

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BURTON MEMORIAL FUND.

A NATIONAL APPEAL.

AT a Meeting recently held at the Royal Asiatic Society it was decided to celebrate the Birth-Centenary of the late Sir Richard F. Burton, by the institution of an Annual Memorial Lecture, by a Medal bearing his effigy and in other suitable ways.

Recent correspondence in the Press has proved, if proof were needed, that deep and widespread interest is still taken in one who was among the foremost men of his generation.

And what were Burton's claims to fame ?

Above all he was a great Pioneer. He led the way as an explorer of the first rank. He also studied his fellow-men profoundly and, by his marvellous interpretation of the inner life and literature of the Arabs and other races, and his unsurpassed linguistic powers, helped to bridge the gulf between East and West for those who would cross it. He was the moving spirit in founding the first Society for the study of anthropology in this country.

But perhaps he appealed most to the world by the daring of his journeys to Mecca and to Harar, the Unknown ; by his intense sympathy for the weak ; by his contempt for cant and sham ; by his romantic character and by the many indefinable qualities that constitute genius.

It is the privilege of the present generation to raise a Memorial to this Great Pioneer, and thereby to secure that Burton's spirit and Burton's vision shall inspire generations that are yet unborn, to emulate his splendid deeds, and thereby to guard a priceless possession of our race.

" He, whose full soul held East and West in poise,
Weighed man with man, and creed of man's with creed
And age with age their triumphs and their toils.

To the Manager,

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constantly shown to his family by Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn and his descendants down to the time of writing. After the death of Ṣadru'd-Dīn their fortunes varied until the time of Ṣultān Ḥaydar, who, by a deed which our author quotes *in extenso* (f. 77a), confirmed Quṭbu'd-Dīn Abū Ṣa'īd, son of Rafī'u'd-Dīn, son of Nūru'd-Dīn Ḥamid, son of Shamsu'd-Dīn, son of Shaykh Zāhid, in the possession of certain estates enjoyed by his ancestors. This document (*wathīqa*) is dated Rajab, 888 (August, 1843), and was in the handwriting of Sultān Ḥaydar himself. Shāh Isma'īl and his son and successor Shāh Ṭahmāsp continued these favours to the contemporary members of the Zāhidī family, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, Shaykh Sharīf, and Āqā Shaykh, and another deed signed by Ṭahmāsp on the 25th of Jumāda ii, 966 (April 4, 1559) concerning these properties is quoted in full by the author (ff. 77b-78b). After this, however, the province of Shīrwān was overrun by the "ill-omened Turks" (*Rūmiyya-i-Shūmiyya*), and misfortunes befel the Zāhidī family, whose estates were seized and some of whom were slain. In the time of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, however, the author's father Shaykh Abdāl ibn Shaykh Amīr made an appeal to that powerful king for protection and consideration, to which the Shāh readily responded, saying, "*Shumā Pīr-zāda-i-mā'id*" ("You are the children of our *Pīr*," or Spiritual Guide), whence the family received the title of *Pīr-zāda*. Shortly afterwards Shaykh Abdāl greatly distinguished himself in the battle against Dīn Muḥammad Khān and Bāqī Khān the Uzbeks, unhorsing the former and presenting his horse to the Shāh, who was greatly pleased and appointed him custodian (*mutawallī*) of the shrine at Ardabīl. The text of the document confirming this appointment, and dated the end of Rabī' 1, 1009 (October 9, 1600), is given in full (ff. 81a-83b). The services rendered to the shrine by Shaykh Abdāl Pīr-zāda are next enumerated under eighteen heads (ff. 84b-86a), and the text of a royal order (*Hukm*) acknowledging these services and dated Jumāda ii, 1010 (December, 1601) follows on f. 86b.

Shaykh Abdál was succeeded on his death by his brother Shaykh Sharíf Beg, who held the office of custodian for eighteen years. The author, who describes himself as—

فقير حقير بي بضاعت و عاجز و ضعيف كم استطاعت
شيخ حسين ولد شيخ ابدال زاهدى

says that he himself from his youth had been attached to the Sháh's service, "making the dust of the royal steed the tatty of his ophthalmia-stricken eyes," until old age compelled him, after the conquest of Qandabár in 1059/1649, "to choose the corner of seclusion and occupy himself with prayers for the long life and prosperity of his Spiritual Guide and Exemplar" (*Murshid u Muqtadá*), to wit, the Sháh, who, he earnestly hopes, may succeed in once more obtaining possession of Baghdád.

Here ends the book, which, as we have seen, treats of the spiritual rather than the political character of the Šafawís, and hence devotes much more space to the history of the family before they attained to sovereign power than afterwards. Herein lies its importance; for the phenomena connected with the rise of this power, so momentous in the history of Persia and the neighbouring countries, are, as yet, by no means clear, but are evidently closely connected with several obscure religious movements involving sundry *darwísh* orders in Persia and Turkey. Significant indications are to be found in the recent writings of Dr. F. H. Babinger of Würzburg¹ and Mr. V. Minorsky² and in a very scholarly Turkish work by Kyüprülü-záda Muhammad Fu'ád entitled *Ilk Mutaşavvif-lar* ("the First Šúfis"), printed at Constantinople in 1919. One is tempted to see a very close

¹ *Scheich Bedr-ed-Din der Sohn des Richters von Simāw: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sekten - Wesens im allosmanischen Reich* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), especially pp. 78 et seqq.

² *Note sur la Secte des Ahle-Haqq*, in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* for Sept.-Dec. 1920, pp. 19-97.

analogy between the rise of the 'Abbāsids in the eighth century and of the Ṣafawīs in the fifteenth, the ground in both cases having been assiduously prepared by widespread politico-religious propaganda.

One further point must be emphasized in conclusion. When a dynasty has been firmly established, there is always a tendency on the part of its historians to endeavour to prove that its ancestors were in their day noble and great. About the importance of Shaykh Ṣafīyyu'd-Dīn, from whom the Ṣafawī kings derive their descent and their name, there is, however, no doubt. Two proofs of his renown and influence may be adduced. The first is the existence of an enormous monograph of him in Persian compiled shortly after his death and entitled *Ṣafwat'u's-Ṣafā*. There is a fine MS. of this work (**Add. 11,745**) in the British Museum, fully described by Rieu on pp. 345-6 of his *Persian Catalogue*, but, though cited in most histories of the Ṣafawīs, it is very rare.¹ It was composed about 750/1350, some fifteen years after Shaykh Ṣafī's death, by Darwīsh Tawakkul ibn Isma'īl, known as Ibnu'l-Bazzāz. That so extensive and detailed an account of the Shaykh and his miracles should have been composed by a contemporary may be taken as sufficient proof that even in his own day he enjoyed a great reputation.

The second proof is furnished by two letters of the great minister and historian of the Mongols, Rashīdu'd-Dīn Faḍlu'llāh, contained in the unique manuscript formerly belonging to Sir Albert Houtem Schindler, and now to myself.² Of the fifty-three letters contained in this collection, two (Nos. 45 and 49) are concerned with Shaykh Ṣafī. No. 45 is actually addressed to him, and contains particulars of allowances of food and money assigned to him from crown lands and from Rashīd's private estates on condition that

¹ There is another MS. in the Library of King's College, Cambridge, No. 87 of the Pote Collection.

² See the *JRAS.* for Oct. 1917, pp. 693-4, and my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 80-6.

on the night of the Prophet's birthday he will entertain the notables of Ardabil to a dinner, to be followed by religious music and dancing (*simá'*), and concluding with prayers for Rashíd. No. 49 is addressed by Rashíd to his son Mír Aḥmad, then governor of Ardabil, enjoining him amongst other things to seek to please and propitiate Shaykh Ṣafí, and to win his favour by obeying him and offering him presents. Great must have been the influence and reputation of a saint whose favourable regards so powerful a minister was so eager to win.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTES ON THE PERSIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

(1) There are some curious little discrepancies in King and Thompson's monumental work on the Inscriptions of Darius on the rock of Behistûn, with regard to the ninth epigraph, i.e. the words describing the figure of the Scythian king, the last of the pretenders, over whom Darius vaunts his triumph. In the first place, it is stated on p. xxxvi of the Introduction that this description is to be found in all the three versions, Persian, Susian, and Babylonian, but on p. 210 it is definitely asserted (and the accuracy of the statement seems to be beyond doubt) that the epigraph "referring to Skunkha is not represented in the Babylonian version". A rather more serious difference is to be found with respect to the name of the king, who is called Skunkha on pp. xxxvi and lxxiii of the Introduction, and on p. 210, as cited above, but on p. 91 is twice called "Skunka the Scythian". On the same page the cuneiform letters constituting the epigraph are transliterated thus: "Iyam Sku(n)ka hya Saka," which is translated "This is Skunka, the Scythian". The cuneiform character given in the text is, however, <<𐎧𐎠, which is quite distinct from and could not be confused with 𐎧, the equivalent of *k*. It is noteworthy that Tolman in his *Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions*, published 1893, gives "Iyam Saku(n)ka hya Saka" as the transliteration of this epigraph, though in his later *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, published in 1908, his reading is "Iyam Skuxa hya Saka", and in his autographed Cuneiform Supplement, published two years later, the letter transliterated by *x* is shown as being <<𐎧𐎠 in the actual inscription.

It may be noted that King and Thompson's cuneiform text is by no means free from mistakes. Within five pages (pp. 49-53) I recently found the following three errors. On p. 49

(col. iii, line 41) $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$ is given by mistake for $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$ (*i*) in the last syllable of the word *asabáribis*, the first form being really the equivalent of *d*. Similarly on p. 50 (col. iii, line 48) $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$, a form quite devoid of meaning, occurs instead of $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$ (*g*), as the second letter of the word *agarbáyá*. Again on p. 53 (col. iii, line 62) the form $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$ (which is really a dental *s*) is to be found as a substitute for $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$ (*r*) in the word *káram*. In these circumstances it could hardly be assumed as a certainty that the real reading on the rock is $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$ (*kh*) in the absence of further evidence. The Susian (Elamite) version does not help to settle the point. It reads "Hi Iškunka akka Sakka", but there does not appear to be any equivalent for *kh* in the Susian cuneiform, and we find *kh* either deaspirated into *k* or omitted altogether in the Susian equivalents of proper names, which begin in the Persian character with *kh*. For instance, Khšathrita, the name assumed by the pretender Fravartis (Pharortes), appears in the Susian epigraph as Šattarrita, and in the Elamite versions of inscriptions of Xerxes his name (Khšayaršan in the Persian versions) is represented as being Kšeršša. A strong argument for reading $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$ is that in line 28 of the short and mutilated fifth column of the Persian version this letter occurs, followed by the word *náma* (name) in a passage in which there are two clear mentions and one probable mention of Scythia, and in which the context renders it likely that a reference is made to the capture of the king of Scythia. What, however, to my mind finally clinches the matter is that Rawlinson (*JRAS.* 1847) gives $\overline{\text{𐎧}}$, and this, in view of Rawlinson's care and accuracy, seems to leave no doubt that this is the correct reading.

(2) In two inscriptions of Artaxerxes found at Susa and Hamadan, the word *anahata* occurs twice (in the nominative and genitive cases in each inscription), and this word is apparently in each inscription, though the Susa inscription is badly mutilated, mentioned along with and between the names of the deities Ahura Mazda and Mithra. This word

has been identified with the Avesta *andhita* (undefiled), which occurs repeatedly in Yasna lxv as an epithet of Aredvi Sura, but its identity with the common modern Persian word ناهید (the name given to the planet Venus) does not appear to have been noticed, though the identity seems beyond doubt. The aphaeresis of "a" at the beginning of words, particularly before "n", is a common phenomenon, an instance being furnished by the name of the king نوشیروان, the first syllable of which represents the Avesta word *anaosha* (undying), which occurs in the Mihir Yasht (x-125).

R. P. DEWHURST.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF DARA-I-NŪR

The Valley of Dara-i-Nūr lies east-north-east of Kabul city, and is well known. But it has not often been visited by Englishmen. Apparently the fullest account of the valley is contained in the late Colonel H. C. Tanner's Notes on the Chugani and neighbouring tribes of Kafiristan, p. 278 of the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. iii, for 1881. The paper was read on April 11, 1881, and will be found in the new monthly series which has succeeded the *Proceedings*. It is No. 5 for May, 1882, and comes immediately after a paper on Lake Nyasa. It may also be found in Ac. 6170 of the B.M. Catalogue.

Reclus, and probably also Ritter, says that the words Dara-i-Nūr mean Valley of Noah, and this is probably correct, though how the Arabic Nūḥ (نوح) has been changed into Nūr is a little obscure. Probably it is due to some peculiarity of local pronunciation. In the Pushtū edition of the Pentateuch, published by the Bible Society, Noah is spelt according to the Arabic نوح. At all events, Colonel Tanner seems clear that Nūr stands for Noah, though he is doubtful about the place being called Dara by the inhabitants. He also states, p. 294, that on the summit of Kemel (Amrit or

Ramkund) there is a small lake, and that on its shores there still rest, according to tradition, the petrified remains of Noah's Ark, and that on the plain of Laghmān below there is the tomb of Lamech, the father of Noah, and that in Nūr Dara there is Noah's tomb, and that there is also a place in the neighbourhood called Nūr Gal. Further, there was a Chugānī tribesman who helped him much who was called Hazrat Nūr, that is the Prophet Noah !

To this evidence we may add the fact that there is a well-known tribe in Eastern Afghanistan called the Nūrzai, which is described both in Elphinstone, vol. ii, and in Raverty's Notes. The famous Aḥmad Durānī belonged to this tribe, apparently, for he is called Nūrzai in Elphinstone. As most of the Afghan tribes have the affix *zai*, as being the offspring of a patriarch, it seems pretty certain that Nūrzai means "descendants of Noah". Perhaps some reader of the *JRAS.* may be able to clear up the point more fully.

H. BEVERIDGE.

January 28, 1921.

SITA'S PARENTAGE

I have more than once drawn attention to the fact that, in the Kāshmīrī version of the Rāmāyaṇa, Sītā is referred to as the daughter of Mandôdarī, the wife of her abductor, Rāvaṇa. It is hardly necessary to state that there is nothing of the kind in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, and I have long searched for some early authority for this surprising statement. Now, thanks to a passing reference in Rai Saheb Dineshchandra Sen's admirable lectures on *The Bengali Ramayanas*,¹ I have been able to trace a complete version of the legend to the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa. This work, it may be observed, is current in Kashmīr, where MSS. of it have been obtained.² The following is the story as told therein :—

Sarga vi, 1. Nārada, having been insulted by Lakṣmī's servants, curses her to be born on the earth as a Rākṣasī.

¹ p. 35.

² See Bühler's *Report*, p. vii (No. 105).

22. She accepts the curse, and agrees that, if a Rākṣasī drink a pitcher full of blood contributed little by little by forest Munis, she would become incarnate in that Rākṣasī's womb. In this way, though born of a Rākṣasī, she would not be of Rākṣasa blood.

viii, 2. The Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa by his austerities sets the whole universe on fire. Brahmā, by offering him a boon, induces him to cease from his austerities. Rāvaṇa chooses as his boon that it should not be possible for Dēvas, Asuras, Yakṣas, Piśācas, Nāgas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādhara, Kinnaras, or Apsaras to kill him. In consequence he conquers the whole world.

14. One day, Rāvaṇa, roaming in the Daṇḍaka forest, sees the Ṛṣis engaged in their fire sacrifices, and meditates on the fact that he has not yet conquered them. He does not wish to kill them, but, in token of conquest, with the tip of his arrow draws a little blood from each, and collects it in a pitcher.

19. It has happened that one of these Ṛṣis, Ghr̥tsamada by name, the father of a hundred sons, has before this been asked by his wife for a daughter who should be an incarnation of Lakṣmī. With this object, he has day by day sprinkled milk from a wisp of kuśa grass, with certain mystic charms, into a pitcher, and, on the day of Rāvaṇa's arrival, he has duly set up the pitcher as usual, and has gone off into the forest. It happens that this is the very pitcher that Rāvaṇa takes up and fills with the Ṛṣis' blood. He takes it home, and gives it into the charge of his wife, Mandôdārī, telling her to take special care of it, as the contents are more deadly even than poison.

25. Rāvaṇa, having become all-powerful, neglects his wife, and wanders about the Himālaya, Mēru, and the Vindhya, sporting with the daughters of the Dēvas, Dānavas, Yakṣas, and Gandharvas. Consumed by jealousy, Mandôdārī determines to put an end to her own life, and, in order to accomplish this in the most thorough manner possible, drinks the contents of the pitcher of Ṛṣis' blood, which Rāvaṇa has

assured her is of so deadly a quality. Instead of dying, she finds that, owing to the pitcher having contained milk that has been dedicated to Lakṣmī, she has suddenly become enceinte. Dismayed at this happening when her husband has been away from her for a whole year, she hurries off to Kurukṣētra under pretence of making a pilgrimage. There, *garbham niṣkṛṣya*, she secretly buries the girl-babe in the ground, and, after bathing in the Sarasvatī, returns home with no one any the wiser.

36. Thither, in course of time, Janaka comes with his golden plough, ploughs up the babe, and, under the instructions of Sarasvatī, takes her home, cherishes her, and calls her name Sītā.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

April 12, 1921.

RAJASEKHARA AND THE HOME OF PAISACI

May I offer some considerations as to Professor Konow's remarks on pp. 244 ff. of the *Journal* for April, 1921, regarding Rājasekhara's account of the home of Paisāci. These remarks contain two statements of fact which we may at once accept as correct. These are:—

1. Rājasekhara states that the Bhūtabhāṣā was favoured in the West of Central India.
2. According to Bāṇa, the Bṛhatkathā was written in Bhūtabhāṣā.

Professor Konow then makes an assumption that the Bhūtabhāṣā of Rājasekhara cannot have been anything but the same Bhūtabhāṣā as that referred to by Bāṇa.

If that assumption is correct, then his argument that Paisāci—the language of the Bṛhatkathā—was a language familiar to the people of West Central India is inexpugnable. But is it correct? If not, his whole argument falls to the ground.

Before discussing this point I must make my own position

quite clear. From the first I have maintained that the *nīdus* in India of the Paisācī language—the tract where it was spoken in its purest form—was in the north-west of India, in Kēkaya and thereabouts. But, at the same time, I admitted that it was probable¹ that thence it spread to other parts of India, and that a variety, or dialectic form, of it may very well have been spoken in the Vindhya Hills, close to the very country mentioned by Rājaśekhara. The difference between Professor Konow and myself is not so much as to where Paisācī was spoken, but as to where was its *home*.

Let us now return to the question of Rājaśekhara's and Bāṇa's Bhūtabhāṣās. We are at once confronted by a fact which has been hitherto much neglected by European students of Prakrit—that there were in India two different schools of Prakrit grammarians—an Eastern and a Western.² The former traces its descent from Vararuci, himself an Easterner, and among his followers were Kramadīśvara, Laṅkēśvara, Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa), and Mārkaṇḍeya. Amongst the famous writings of this school may be mentioned the *Kīrtīlatā* of Vidyāpati Thakur, the *Caryācārya-viniścaya*, and, probably, the *Prākṛta-piṅgala*, not to mention the many plays composed by Eastern authors. The teaching of the Western school is based on the original of the so-called *Vālmīki Sūtras*, now extant only in a much expanded form. These were adopted, with their entire grammatical terminology (widely differing from that of the East) by writers such as Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, and Siṃharāja.³ Hēmacandra also followed their teaching, but employed the special terminology used by him for his Sanskrit grammar.

Even in the accounts of standard Prakrit there are differences between the two schools. For instance,

¹ Cf. *ZDMG.*, lxvi, p. 76.

² Owing to the importance of Hēmacandra's grammar, it is the Prakrit of the Western school that has attracted the attention of European scholars.

³ Cf. Siṃharāja, xii, 42.

Hēmacandra (ii, 209) denies the correctness of the rule laid down by Vararuci (ii, 7), Rāma-śarman (ii, 5), and Mārkaṇḍēya (ii, 7). In vi, 4, and on other occasions, Mārkaṇḍēya roundly accuses the western Rājaśekhara of making mistakes in Prakrit. But the greatest contrasts are in the important rules dealing with *dhātv-ādēśas*. In his fourth chapter, Hēmacandra gives 927 Prakrit substitutes for Sanskrit verbal forms. In his eleventh chapter, and elsewhere, Mārkaṇḍēya gives 618. Yet only 222 are common to both, and of these, in 62 instances, the two grammarians differ in the Sanskrit translations given by them. Hēmacandra gives 705 ādēśas which are ignored by Mārkaṇḍēya, and Mārkaṇḍēya gives 396 ādēśas which are ignored by Hēmacandra. We thus see that, even in regard to standard Prakrit, the two schools were at variance.

If we consider the dialects, the want of agreement is still more marked. I do not refer so much to Śaurasēnī, though the eastern grammarians, Rāma-śarman and Mārkaṇḍēya, treat it much more fully than does Hēmacandra or Trivikrama; but the eastern account of Māgadhī differs in important points of phonetics and accident (Māgadhī being an eastern language) from that given by the Westerners. The Easterners describe a number of minor dialects and sub-dialects which are altogether omitted from consideration by the others. The Apabhraṃśa of Kramadīvara, Rāma-śarman, and Mārkaṇḍēya departs widely from that of Hēmacandra and Trivikrama, and when we come to Paisāci, we find two very different dialects described. Vararuci, Rāma-śarman,¹ and Mārkaṇḍēya all agree² in their accounts of a language which

¹ Kramadīvara's grammar devotes only two sūtras to this language.

² The one exception is that Vararuci does not allow the hardening of sonants at the beginning of a word or in conjuncts, while the later writers do. It is curious that Hēmacandra evidently knew of this discrepancy in writing his very brief account of Cūlikāpaisācika (iv, 327), i.e. of the Paisāci of the Easterners, which he himself differentiates from his own Paisāci (so also Trivikrama). Here both he and Trivikrama plainly refer to Vr. x, 3, and equally plainly, rightly or wrongly, misunderstand what is there said. Vr. says that sonants become surds

they call "Paiśācī" or "Paiśācika", and which is not the same as the language described under that name by Trivikrama, Hēmacandra, Lakṣmīdhara, and Siṅharāja. These latter agree amongst themselves in describing *their* Paiśācī, and this is a dialect allied to that described by the Easterners, but not the same, and *it* may quite possibly have been spoken in Central India as Professor Konow maintains. But while no single one of them claims that what he describes is the language of the Br̥hatkathā, on the other hand, the Easterners claim their Paiśācī as the actual form of the language used in that work.

When the Easterners Rāma-śarman and Mārkaṇḍēya agree in placing the standard Paiśācī of the Br̥hatkathā in Kēkaya, they thus in no way contradict Rājaśekhara, who places *his* Bhūtabhāṣā in Central India. Professor Konow says that there must have been a different tradition about the Br̥hatkathā in Mārkaṇḍēya's time (from the tradition current in the time of Rājaśekhara). Here I venture to differ from him. There *was* a difference of tradition, but it was about Paiśācī, and not about the Br̥hatkathā, and it was not a question of time, but of locality and school. The Easterners had one tradition about the Paiśācī of the North-West, and the Westerners had another tradition about the Paiśācī of Central India. The two traditions are parallel, not mutually contradictory.

We are now in a position to discuss Bāṇa's statement that the Bhūtabhāṣā was the language of the Br̥hatkathā. This is in exact accord with all the above. Bāṇa was an Easterner. He was born and brought up on the banks of the Sōn, and it can only have been the tradition of the Eastern school that formed the basis of his education. If, therefore, as was

ayujōr, i.e. when not forming part of a conjunct consonant. Hc. and Tr. both interpret the expression as meaning "not in the case of the root *yuj-*". From this it is plain that they read *ayuji* in their copies of Vararuci, and that they had not seen Bhāmaha's commentary. It is hardly necessary to point out that *ayuji* could also have the sense meant by Vr.

undoubtedly the case, by "Bhūtabhāṣā" he meant "Paiśācī", he can have meant only the dialect called "Paiśācī" by the Easterners, so that it was in their Paiśācī—not in the Paiśācī of the Westerners—that according to him the Bṛhatkathā was composed. In this he agrees with Mārkaṇḍēya, who, under the head of Kēkaya Paiśācī, quotes a sentence from the Bṛhatkathā to illustrate a point in that dialect. It is worth noting that, although this sentence contains only two words, one of them (*kupaci* for *kvacit*) could not occur in the Paiśācī of the Westerners, whose account contains no provision for the hardening of *v* (or *b*) to *p*, as is specially provided for by all the Easterners from Vararuci to Mārkaṇḍēya. It may not be said that Mārkaṇḍēya's rules are late, and therefore untrustworthy; for they agree in all essential particulars not only with the statements of Rāmaśarman, but also with those of Vararuci, who was far older than Hēmacandra.

I therefore submit that it is not safe to assume that the Bhūtabhāṣā of the Western Rājaśekhara is the same as the Bhūtabhāṣā of Bāṇa; and, this being the case, it by no means follows, from the statement of the former, that the Bṛhatkathā was written in a language spoken, or favoured, in West Central India.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

April 30, 1921.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DIE ALTPERSISCHE RELIGION UND DAS JUDENTUM.
UNTERSCHIEDE UEBEREINSTIMMUNGEN UND GEGENSEITIGE
BEEINFLUSSUNGEN. By Dr. J. SCHEFTELOWITZ. 14 × 7½,
pp. viii, 240. Giessen: Alfred Toepelmann. 1920.

Ever since the discovery of the Avesta in the middle of the eighteenth century by Anquetil du Perron, it became evident that there existed a close similarity between Parsism and Judaism. Not only had they many ritual practices and ethical teachings in common, but the Demonology of Parsism seemed to agree very closely with many of the beliefs current among the Jews from the time of the Exile downwards. No less was this the case in some of the eschatological teachings, such as the life of the soul after death, resurrection, final judgment. The problem thus offered has attracted the attention of scholars; and has been the subject of many investigations, often with a contradictory result. Did Parsism borrow from Judaism, or was Judaism indebted to Parsism for these teachings, beliefs, and practices? Some found the origin in the Avesta and its later developments, others in the Bible and the natural organic development emanating from the Bible. Of course, much depended upon the date of the compilation of the Avesta and of the Gathas, and on the results of the so-called higher Biblical criticism which had assigned to the various books of the Bible and especially to the Pentateuch a much more recent origin than the time of Moses. For if the Pentateuch was only a few centuries older than the time of the Exile and the Avesta as old as the time claimed for Zaratustra, then, naturally, Judaism might have borrowed from Parsism. The late Professor Darmesteter, in his introduction to the English translation of the Avesta, came, however, to the conclusion that the latter book depended to a large extent on the Pentateuch, and that it had been

ply influenced by the Law of Moses and by Jewish traditions and practices. This view was hotly contested by others, especially as some of these beliefs have a distinct bearing on the Judaism of the first century, notably on the doctrine of Satan. The matter was therefore not allowed to rest, and the conclusions arrived at were far from convincing. It must be stated also that most of these writers drew their information from secondary sources. Very few, if any, went to Persian and Hebrew originals, and even then they were contented with using translations.

The author of the present book, however, whose competence in these literatures cannot be gainsaid, has subjected this subject to a very thorough investigation. He has gone to the originals, and has followed up every detail with such conscientiousness that he has left very little, if anything at all, for others to glean after him. As the title indicates, his investigation is of a threefold nature. He deals with the differences between the old Persian religion and Judaism, the points of contact between them, and mutual influence exercised by one on another. The matter is divided into two parts, of which the first contains the introduction, the fundamental differences between Judaism and Parsism, inasmuch as Zoroaster, unlike Moses, brings to his people new gods, endows them with corporality, then the cult of the dead, Zoroastrian dualism, and the introduction of magic into the religion and into the prayer. And in the second part, divided into twenty chapters, Dr. Scheftelowitz studies the parallel fundamental conceptions in Parsism and Judaism, such as demons, evil, curse, charms, and conjurations, signs and omens, similar myths, tales, and legends, e.g. the Fall of Man, Noah, Joseph and the wife of Potiphar, the exposure of Isaac, etc., precepts concerning purity of life, similarity in sacrifices, firstlings, etc., kindness to animals in and about the house. He then discusses at length (chap. 11) the parallel fundamental conceptions between the two religions, such as the omnipresence and omniscience of the Divinity,

who sustains the world and protects the pious. Similarity in prayer.

A special chapter is devoted to the Fravashis and the Protecting Angels. The eschatological questions are now treated under the following headings: belief in immortality, the fate of the soul immediately after death in the post-Exilic writings, life everlasting, the heavenly register and the weighing balance, the heavenly paradise and the garments of the blessed ones, resurrection. In chapter 19 the author discusses the borrowings of Parsism from Judaism, how much the former is indebted to the latter, and finally, how much both are indebted to Babylonian traditions especially as far as astrology is concerned.

The final conclusion to which Scheftelowitz arrives is that Judaism and Parsism have passed through an organic evolution; they are practically independent of one another, but in their evolution they have followed a parallel course which has led to similarities in both religions, although they have not directly borrowed to any large extent from one another, Judaism certainly less from Parsism than Parsism from Judaism; moreover, no trace of Parsism can be found in the whole of the Biblical writings. It will easily be seen from the above summary that Dr. Scheftelowitz has treated the subject exhaustively. He has drawn upon the original for all his proofs and arguments.

The present writer arrived at same conclusions in his article on Parsism and Judaism (*Hastings Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*). But he ventured to go one step further, for a new problem arises. Whence have both Parsism and post-Biblical Judaism borrowed some of those practices and beliefs which are so strikingly similar in both, and he suggested for both a common Babylonian origin. This was the common starting-point, but the development afterwards took a somewhat different course in Parsism and Judaism, hence the similarity and the dissimilarity. To the author of the book the thanks of all interested in the subject are due for the

scholarly, masterly treatment and the lucid exposition based on a complete knowledge and use of the entire literature extant. An excellent index of subjects, as well as one of the authors referred to in the book, conclude the work, which, moreover, is beautifully printed, and under present circumstances at a very great sacrifice.

M. GASTER.

DEAD TOWNS AND LIVING MEN, BEING PAGES FROM AN ANTIQUARY'S NOTEBOOK. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY. 9 x 6, 236 pp. Humphrey Milford, Oxford Univ. Press. 1920.

A title apt to mislead the would-be reader, for happily this delightful book contains very little of what is dead, but much of what is alive. The antiquarian appears in a new light. He is thoroughly human; he lives in his present surroundings. We hear very little of diggings and finds, of inscriptions and monuments, but we hear very much and almost exclusively of the way in which these diggings have been undertaken of the men who worked at them, and of the way in which Mr. Woolley has been able to win their confidence and to enlist their hearty co-operation. The historic background is, of course, not wanting. Enough is told to make us understand the charm of the places, and here and there a sketch of the life that once flowed in the cities now declared dead; a glimpse into the past is granted to the reader sufficient to captivate and interest him in the quaint anecdotes in the comings and the goings of the men with whom Mr. Woolley worked. We get here at first hand an insight into the character of the Arabs, working on the plains of Mesopotamia, of the Fellahin in Egypt, and also of the workmen in Italy. The characters of these men stand out boldly, their virtues and defects, and their human weaknesses.

We learn to understand how easily these people can be managed by anyone who enters their peculiar inner life and fathoms skilfully and sympathetically their psychology.

Mr. Woolley rightly deprecates the attempts of introducing what is called Western civilization among these primitive folk. He rose in their estimation by refusing to allow one of these Arabs to strut about in a waistcoat and in high boots, but insisting on his wearing the original garb.

Mr. Woolley gives us also a sketch of the bureaucratic Turk, his corruption, his avarice, and the way in which many of these have contributed to plunge the peoples under their rule in great misery. But what would one say of a British "effendi" who, when the Governor refuses to grant him permission to excavate in the Turk's country, is pressed to do so by the decisive argument of a revolver put at the head of the Governor, or who quashed legal proceedings, however farcical, by the same argument of the revolver levelled at the judge, as Mr. Woolley has done. The judgment would not be very favourable to the British "effendi". Mr. Woolley has the courage of telling the story. Yet let it not be forgotten that the Turkish administration has become what it is by the Greeks. When the Turks occupied Constantinople they entered then upon the full inheritance of the highly developed, corrupt, and vile Byzantine administration, which has ever since, through the activity of the Phanar, poisoned the wells of that administration until it had brought about its destruction. Mr. Woolley describes in his vivid style the life during his excavations in Egypt, Italy, Carchemish, etc., especially his experiences in the latter place, and in Aleppo. The book has been written in captivity, but it shows very little trace of the durance vile in which he lived. How did he manage to save the large number (twenty-three) of excellent photos, which admirably illustrate the book, and are an additional charm to these attractive pages, some of which, probably, are the last representations of a world which is fast passing away?

M. GASTER.

DODI VE-NECHDI (UNCLE AND NEPHEW). THE WORK OF BERACHYA HANAKDAN, now edited from MSS. at Munich and Oxford, with an English translation, introduction, etc., to which is added the first English translation from the Latin of Adelard of Bath's Quaestiones Naturales. By HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Litt. 14 x 7, pp. xxii, 220. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford Univ. Press. 1920.

In 1902 Dr. Gollancz published the Ethical Treatises of Berachya, and promised then to follow them up with the publication of another work by the same author. He has now fulfilled his promise in the present publication of the treatise called *Uncle and Nephew*. This work has been preserved in two different rescensions, a long one (the Munich MS.) and a short one (Bodleian and other MSS.). Both these texts have now been printed with an English translation. In an introduction of twenty-two pages Dr. Gollancz discusses some of the problems arising out of this work of Berachya, and these are manifold. The book belongs to the large class of the Elucidaria, so popular in the Middle Ages, manuals of instruction by way of questions and answers. But Berachya was not an independent author. He was rather more, a translator or a copyist. Already those who for the first time have drawn attention to this work, especially Steinschneider, have not failed to recognize an intimate connexion between this treatise and a similar compilation ascribed to Adelard of Bath. The first problem, therefore, to be dealt with was to establish the relation between Berachya and Adelard, to determine which of the two rescensions is more closely related to this supposed original, and whether Berachya had translated Adelard's work into Hebrew directly from the Latin original. The discrepancies, however, are so great that there cannot be a question of any direct dependence of Ber. upon Ad. In many chapters B.'s text is much more enlarged, and often of an entirely different character, nor is the same order of the chapters preserved.

The first ten chapters of Ber. correspond more or less with some of the last chapters of Adelard. Did Berachya, who lived probably in Burgundy, know any Latin at all, or did he translate from a French version which had been made from Adelard's Latin text which would explain these differences? It would have been necessary also to consider more closely the manner of Berachya's literary activity, which could be deduced from his fables. These stand in close relation to the French fables of Marie de France. Moreover, there are French glosses in this very treatise, some of which are mentioned by Dr. Gollancz. But while he is prolix in the introduction about Adelard, his life and his literary activity, scarcely any attempt is made to answer the above questions. A comparative table is merely drawn up from which the reader can learn the relation between the Latin Adelard and the Hebrew Berachya, but which leaves the problem if anything more intricate. No detailed description is given of the two MSS., of their probable age and character, except the bare statement that the copyist of the Munich MSS. was a careless scribe, and probably also an ignorant man. Nor do we find here any comparison between the language of Berachya in the present work and that of the ethical treatises. No source is given nor any parallel to the various curious conceptions of astronomy, physical, natural science, etc., contained in this dialogue. Instead of this Dr. Gollancz gives us a translation of the Latin text of Adelard, which, of course, is a very welcome addition. There is one point more which required some elucidation, viz. which of the two versions is the first and which the second, and whether both go back to the same original or whether we have to assume that Berachya did the work twice, translating two different originals, especially as there are portions in the Bodleian text which are missing in the Munich, and many of the questions in the Bodleian MS. are answered somewhat differently, but one looks in vain even for any reference to such problems. Dr. Gollancz is quite satisfied with the few remarks contained in his Introduction. The question

of date has also to be considered. Is *My Uncle and my Nephew* older than the other works of Berachya, and in what chronological order do the various works follow one another? This is an important question, as it bears on the philological character of the book, the language of which is peculiar and often very obscure. It is a pity Dr. Gollancz should have ignored all these questions, and should have been satisfied with a bare reference to this introduction, instead of giving full notes and explanations whenever the text or the translation demanded them. Instead of the bibliographical information given on p. xxii, other books should have been mentioned, such as Gerson ben Salomon's *Gate of Heaven*, instead of which Dr. Gollancz quotes *The Wars of the Lord*, the work of his son, Levi b. Gerson, evidently confusing one with the other. For astronomical information he might have referred to Isaack Israele's great astronomical work rather than to the incidental references in Yehuda Ha-Levi's *Kusari*.

But a greater disappointment awaits the reader who turns to the translation for the elucidation of the Hebrew text. Judged by this translation, Berachya's work is often nothing else but a mass of confused statements. It seems that the translator has often failed to grasp the real meaning of the text before him, and on some occasions, such as in chapter 19 and chapter 35 and elsewhere, sentences have remained untranslated without the reader being made aware of it. The passages are unquestionably obscure, but the translator should not have omitted to mention the fact. Not in a few passages he has clearly mistaken the original, e.g. in chapter 19, instead of translating "You see a hound running furiously in a thunderstorm and carried along the ground in excitement", it should be "You see a hound rushing along leaping furiously or sniffing the ground"; and in the same passage, instead of "seeking flight", it ought to be "in search or in flight". Or, again, in chapter 35, whence does the author get "I loved thy heart's reflections", whilst the text means "And my thoughts were with thee", etc. Or chapter 4

of the Bodleian MS., the translation reads, "Man has the knowledge to recoil from the food he has once swallowed, that he spews it forth," whilst the real meaning of the text is, "Because a man can sicken at the sight of food he vomits that which he has swallowed." These few specimens, which can easily be multiplied, must suffice. The book is also not free from printing mistakes, such as on p. xx two mistakes in the Hebrew. Correct "boar" for "bear" on p. 73, etc. It is greatly to be regretted that a book of this kind, which might have been an important contribution to the history of the propagation among the Jews of the Middle Ages of some of the mediaeval popular law, should have been published with so little care.

SOME SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGES. Vol. I of Economic Studies of the University of Madras. Edited by Professor GILBERT SLATER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 400 pp. Oxford Univ. Press. 1918.

This volume consists of studies of the economic situation in individual villages, carried out by students of the Madras University under the guidance of Professor Slater, who contributes an introduction and some concluding observations. It may be criticized either as an achievement or as a symptom. From the former point of view the value of the individual studies is slight; they are inevitably immature, or even crude; one can often see where the writers have gone astray, and in a few cases one realizes the extent of the injury done to young India by the perverted notions of history which have been inculcated so industriously during the last twenty years. Professor Slater's own observations are, however, of real value, especially his study of the incidence of the land revenue.

As a symptom the book has considerable interest, for it shows that in at least one Indian university the study of economics is being conducted on rational lines. We may question the objective value of the students' observations,

but we cannot doubt that the students themselves have benefited greatly by the work they have done : their thoughts may not in all cases be worthy of print, but we can see that they have been made to think, and in the circumstances that is no mean achievement. Discipline of the kind indicated in these studies will in due time give India the economists she needs so much.

W. H. M.

STUDIES IN MUGHAL INDIA. By JADUNATH SARKAR.
7 × 5, 313 pp. Cambridge: Heffer. Calcutta: Sarkar
& Sons. 1919.

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION. By JADUNATH SARKAR. 8 × 5½,
152 pp. London: Luzac. 1920.

Professor Sarkar's work has been noticed so recently in this Journal that we need do little more than record the appearance of these two volumes, the first a reprint of essays previously published, but enriched by many new ones, the second a course of lectures delivered before the University of Patna. In both we find the qualities which have given the author an assured position among Indian historical workers, intelligent use of primary sources, exemplary carefulness and restraint, and a just sense of perspective. One could argue about some particular statements on minor points, but to do so would require an amount of space out of all proportion to their importance, and it will suffice to commend the books to all students of the Mughal period, and to indicate two matters in which the *Lectures* could be improved, anticipating that a new edition of them will in due time be required.

The first of them relates to the revenue administration. Professor Sarkar passes over this subject lightly on the ground that it has been adequately treated by European writers, but his account of Aurangzeb's system contained in the *Studies* indicates many points which have not yet been fully explained, at least, in readily accessible books, and we should

welcome a study of such matters as the rise in the standard revenue-rate from Akbar's one-third to Aurangzeb's one-half, the growth of cash-rents independent of the area cultivated in a particular year, and the method of valuing crop-assessments which succeeded to Akbar's inspiration of the *dih sala*. Information on such points is needed in order to link up the *Ain-i Akbari* with the revenue-system found at work by the English in the eighteenth century.

The second suggestion is that the practical working of the administration generally might be illustrated more copiously from the contemporary observations of the English and Dutch merchants. There is some risk that the lengthy quotations from instructions given to Mogul officials may tempt readers to believe that these instructions must have been followed in practice; a better estimate of the weight actually attached to them can be framed by readers familiar with such incidents as the Khan-Khanan's excess profits levy at Dacca in 1661, or Mirza Ali Akbar's extortion at Surat a few years before.

W. H. M.

CLAVIS CUNEOBUM, Part 3. By G. HOWARDY. 4 x 8, pp. 111. Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1918.

The third part of Dr. Howardy's *Clavis Cuneorum* was published in 1918, eleven years after the appearance of the first part, but owing to its publication in Germany it is only recently that it has come into the hands of English Assyriologists. It is a wonderful example of patient labour and research. The Assyrian ideographs, mostly in their compounded form, have been collected, transliterated, and translated into Latin, English, and German, in so far as they were known up to the date of publication, and the whole work is a model of lucid arrangement and compactness. Unfortunately it is still incomplete, and unless the author can find assistants I do not see how it can be finished in an ordinary

lifetime. If complete it would be even more indispensable to the scholar than Brünnow's *Classified List* of cuneiform characters, and as it is no Assyriologist can afford to be without the three parts that have already appeared. Dr. Howardy, who is a Danish clergyman, has managed to find time in the midst of his clerical labours to ransack and examine the voluminous and widely scattered literature that has been published of late years on Assyrian philology and script; up to the beginning of the War, in fact, I can find no instance of omissions, and the interpretation of the Assyrian words is thoroughly up to date.

A. H. SAYCE.

ZUM BABYLONISCHEN NEUJAHRSFEST II. By H. ZIMMERN.
14 × 6½, 250 pp. Leipzig: Trübner. 1918.

Among the cuneiform documents found by the German excavators at Kalah Shergat, the ancient Assur, some remarkable texts have been discovered which are of unusual importance for the theologians. One of them has been transliterated and translated by Professor Zimmern, together with an introduction and notes, and it is likely to excite a considerable amount of interest, if not of perturbation, in theological circles. It comes from the library of Assur, which was formed in the ninth century B.C., or perhaps earlier, but it is a copy of a much older Babylonian work.

It contains the stage-directions for a sort of miracle-play which was performed in the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon every New Year's Day. Bel was bound and brought before the tribunal which awaits mankind on the bank of the river of death. After being scourged or "wounded" he was condemned to death and led away to the prison-house of the cosmic "mountain". Along with him a malefactor was also led away to execution, while a second malefactor, if Professor Zimmern's translation is correct, was released. After the god had thus "descended into the prison-house, away from

the sun and the light", the city was plunged in confusion (*ittapalkat*), while the clothes were stripped from the dead body of the god and laid before the divine queen of Erech. After this a goddess washed away "the blood of the heart", which had flowed from a wound in the side. The tomb or prison-house of Bel was now watched by a "son of Assur", his priestly followers wept and lamented for him, and a goddess sought his tomb. But eventually he rose again from the dead, and thus became the saviour who in the language of the early Sumerian hymns "raises the dead to life".

This extraordinary text is supplemented by one which was published by Dr. Pinches in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology as far back as 1908, but is apparently unknown to Professor Zimmern. The text is exceedingly fragmentary, and at the time of publication it was impossible to understand it, and therefore to translate it satisfactorily. In the light of the tablet from Assur, however, it now becomes clear. It gives us, in fact, the wording of the miracle-play. We are told how, after the fetters of Bel Merodach had been made fast, "he descended into hell" (*iriddi kisukkis*), and there "the spirits who were in prison" (*ilāni tsabtutu*) "rejoiced to see him". The words of St. Peter (1 Pet. iii, 19), which have been quoted from some apocryphal writing, are a literal translation of the cuneiform text, and the preaching to the spirits is explained by the address of Merodach to Nergal and Enme-sarra which follows his entrance into Hades.

While Bel was in the prison-house of the tomb the beginning of the Creation Epic was recited by his followers at Babylon. The sixth tablet of the epic, relating to the creation of man, has now been recovered from one of the Assur tablets, and in this there is probably a reference to the descent of Bel into the underworld. Mankind, it is said, grew rebellious after their creation; the sanctuaries of the gods were destroyed and their worship neglected. Then comes a line which Professor Barton translates: "making a pit as a tomb in

full splendour he (i.e. Bel-Merodach) went down into it", though the translation seems to me somewhat difficult to defend. The two next lines, however, are clear: "who (i.e. Merodach) with his weapon, the deluge (*abubu*), took captive the wicked, and saved from destruction the gods his fathers." It is noteworthy that the passage in the Epistle of St. Peter which mentions the descent into hell couples with it a reference to the deluge.

A. H. SAYCE.

HITTITE SEALS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ASHMolean COLLECTION. By D. G. HOGARTH. 13 x 9, 180 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920.

The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford contains by far the largest and most important collection of Hittite seals in the world, and it is therefore fitting that the first scientific attempt to classify and explain them should be made by its learned and versatile Keeper. Unfortunately the War has delayed the publication of the book. It was already in the printers' hands in 1915, and since then much has occurred in the archæological as well as in the political world. Mr. Hogarth tells us that the numerous Hittite cylinders and stamp-seals added to the Ashmolean Collection since 1914 have increased it by more than fifty per cent, while the publication of so many of the Boghaz Keui and Assur cuneiform texts by the Berlin scholars has given us new and revolutionary views as regards the early history and art of Asia Minor. It is not surprising, therefore, that the author is contemplating the publication of a supplementary study.

But he has prepared the way for this in the present work, which is a very able and courageous endeavour to place the study of the so-called Hittite seals upon a scientific basis. The main outlines of the study have, I believe, been sketched in it once and for all; but much remains to be done, not only in the way of enlargement, but also of modification or correction

of the details, and already our new knowledge necessitates both addition and correction.

“Hittite” seals include the seals of Northern Syria, together with all others of a cognate character. Indeed, it is still impossible to distinguish in many cases between what belongs to Asia Minor and what emanates from Northern Syria, or, rather, from the Semitic element in that part of the world. The recent discovery of M. Legrain of a missing portion of the Nippur dynastic tablets in the Philadelphia Museum has shown that as far back as the fourth dynasty before that of Akkad Babylonia was already governed by a Semitic dynasty of kings from the North Syrian city of Mari, 3 kilometres from the modern Dêr ez-Zôr, and that the second dynasty before it came from Khawazi, which I should identify with the Biblical Uz. On the other hand, the Babylonian occupation of Eastern Asia Minor has now been carried back long before the age of the third dynasty of Ur (2400 B.C.), the legendary account of the campaign of Sargon of Akkad, of which I gave a translation in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology in 1915, having now been confirmed by a contemporaneous document found by Dr. Forrer among the Boghaz Keui tablets. At that early date Cappadocia was already in the enjoyment of Babylonian culture.

All this makes it necessary that the seal-impressions on the Kara Eyuk or Cappadocian tablets, some hundreds of which are now in the course of examination, should be carefully studied and compared. A large proportion of them are purely Babylonian, and reproduce the familiar scenes of the period of the third dynasty of Ur. But there are many others which are of Asianic origin. Among them are representations of chariots and carts drawn by horses, as well as of acrobatic performances in the bull-ring, closely resembling the scenes depicted by the Kretan artists. In view of Dr. Forrer's discovery that Sargon II, the High Priest of Assur in 2180 B.C., received tribute from the island of Kaptara or Krete, the fact opens up many possibilities. Indeed, one of the Assur

tablets lately published (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, 35, 1, No. 92, 41) informs us that Kaptara "beyond the Upper Sea" of the Mediterranean was the western boundary of the Empire of Sargon I of Akkad.

Mr. Hogarth divides his seals between four periods: (1) the Primitive before 1500 B.C., (2) the Cappadocian-Hittite or Hattic to 1200 B.C., (3) the Moschian-Hittite to 1000 B.C., and (4) the Moschian-Assyrian to 600 B.C. His evidence for this classification is largely derived from the excavations at Carchemish, and consequently will doubtless have to be modified when scientific excavation becomes possible in Asia Minor. But in the main I believe it will stand the test of future research. Instead of Moschian, however, the term Kaskian would be preferable, since I find that the earlier princes of Carchemish call their followers Kaskians, not Moschians, and trace their descent from the people of Melitene and the family of Mita or Midas at Tyana. It is true that they also claim rule over the Miskayi or Moschians, but the latter may have been a conquered nation. It is noteworthy that Tiglath-pileser I expressly states that the "soldiers" of Carchemish were Kaskians.

I believe also that Mr. Hogarth is right in tracing a certain class of seals to Cilicia. And it is possible that the semi-bullæ have the same origin. As a whole, however, what Mr. Hogarth calls "stamp-seals" originated in Asia Minor, where they developed out of the button-seal which spread through the Mediterranean into Egypt, and there, in the later days of the Old Empire, superseded the seal-cylinder of Babylonia. Mr. Hogarth's "hammer-seal" was at the outset a combination of the cylinder and the stamp-seal. The "bullæ" of which the famous "boss" of Tarkondemos is an example have been proved by a silver one in my possession to have been really seals, the flat side of which was used for stamping papyrus and the convex side for stamping clay. In the Hittite hieroglyphic script a picture of a bulla with its handle or string denotes the verb *ar*, "to write," just as the picture

of the "hammer" seal denotes a seal in general (as in Nos. 194, 315).

Among the inscribed seals published by Mr. Hogarth, No. 191, discovered at Tamassos in Cyprus, contains the same name (Khulminius) as No. 330, discovered at Deve Huyuk, near Carchemish; a similar name (Khulminiân) is found on No. 326. According to a Boghaz Keui tablet, the two names are derived from that of a goddess who corresponded with the Babylonian Ilbaba. The Hittite characters on No. 181 read, "The life-stone (NA-ZI-QI in the Boghaz Keui texts) of Iskhuaris"; the inscription on No. 190 in the copy (p. 37) has been turned upside down. The inscription on the scaraboid No. 202 is an attempt to represent the Egyptian Si-Amon or Amensis, the heraldic lions on the back being copied from similar Egyptian pictures of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. What Mr. Hogarth terms bulls' eyes circlets are found on scarabs of Thothmes III and other kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and were originally intended to denote the sun.

It only remains to add that the "get up" of the book is worthy of the traditions of the Clarendon Press, that the photographs are admirable, and that the foundations of a scientific knowledge of the seals of Western Asia have been laid in it once for all.

A. H. SAYCE.

EXTRACTS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MARATHA HISTORY.

Vol. I: SIVA CHHATRAPATI. By SURENDRA NATH SEN, M.A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 150 pp. Calcutta: 1920.

The Calcutta University and Mr. Sen deserve to be congratulated on the publication of this volume. It is a revised translation, with notes and appendices, of a famous *bakhar*, or chronicle, by Anant Sabhāsād, who was a servant of Sivaji's son Rajarām. Mr. Sen's translation reads well, and is, no

doubt, correct. His notes, too, are good, though perhaps he is unnecessarily sarcastic about the works of Grant-Duff and Khāfi Khān. It is the fashion nowadays to disparage Khāfi Khān and to speak of him as a late and prejudiced writer. Yet he was a contemporary of Aurangzeb, and he has written generously of Sivaji's good conduct to female captives and his reverence for the Koran. His history was not published till fifty-two years after Sivaji's death, but Mr. Morley, Colonel Lees, and Professor Dowson are all agreed that it was written much earlier. The point is discussed by Lees in his *Materials for the History of India*, Hertford, 1868, and by Dowson in the seventh volume of Elliot's *History of India*. Whether the box, *ṣindūq*, that Khāfi K. speaks of was (as I am inclined to think) a cabinet, or only a metaphor for the author's memory, there can be no reasonable doubt that Khāfi Khān was in the habit of keeping diaries soon after he attained maturity. Many of his statements are supported by Sabhāsad, the only chronicler, as Mr. Sen calls him, whose work can claim to be contemporary. Sabhāsad was not an independent writer; he was the servant of Siv's son and wrote for his master, who, apparently, was very ignorant of his father's history. But Sabhāsad wrote before the full development of the Sivaji legend, and before native writers had the fear of Western sentiments about the baseness of assassinations before their eyes, and so he told no lies about the deaths of the two brothers Chandar Rāv and Suryaji Rāv. His withers were unwrung just as were those of the old Greeks who hymnized Harmodius and Aristogeiton (see Mr. Sen's note on p. 6 and the remarks of Professor Sarkar). Sivaji was a patriot, and had several heroic attributes, and we may say of him, as Johnson said of Cromwell, that he wanted nothing to raise him to heroic excellence but virtue. But it is as absurd to call him a saint as, to use Swinburne's phrase, it is to regard Mary Queen of Scots as a stingless creature. Sivaji's favourite goddess was Bhowānī, that is the goddess of the Thags, and he claimed that she appeared

to him in a dream the night before the murder and promised to stand by him. "At your hands," she said, "I shall get Afzal killed. I grant you success."

The two startling events in Sivaji's career are his murder of Afzal and his son's escape from Agra in *bhanghies* of sweetmeats. I am sorry to find that the veteran historian Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar accepts the story that Afzal was the aggressor, and thinks that Sivaji acted in self-defence. There is no evidence for this, for no one was present except the two men, Afzal and Sivaji, and Sivaji destroyed the evidence against himself by stabbing Afzal, and, so far as I know, never published to Bijapur or the world any explanation of what had occurred. All the probabilities are against Afzal's being the assailant. He was an elderly man and so feeble that he had to move about in a litter. Moreover, he was only a servant, and his mission was to bring Sivaji to court. He had no authority to kill him and no motive for doing so. Simple-minded Sabhāsad admits this when he tells us at p. 9 that Sivaji was regarded at Bijapur as so formidable that no one would march against him till at last the Vizier said, "What is Sivaji? I will bring him alive, a prisoner, without even getting off my horse (? palanquin)." Jadu Nath Sarkar says (*History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 38, note) that Khāfi K. says that both Afzal and Sivaji came to the interview unarmed, and he gives Khāfi K., II, 117, as the authority for this statement. But Khāfi K. in the place mentioned says exactly the opposite as regards Sivaji. He says, line 8, Sivaji had a dagger (*bichūā*) up his sleeve, and plunged it into Afzal's belly. Probably this *bichūā*, literally scorpion, was the *bāgnāq*, or tiger's claws, of which there is now a specimen in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

Even if Khāfi K.'s authority were rejected on the ground of the lateness of his book, there is another Muhammadan historian who tells us of Afzal's assassination in a book composed several years before Sabhāsad's chronicle was written

(see 'Ālamgīrnāma of Muh. Kāẓim, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 577). It is customary for Hindu writers to extol Sivaji's courage and to represent him as opposing the whole Moghul Empire. But the Pratapggarh incident occurred in the early days of Sivaji, and belongs to a petty war between Sivaji and the King of Bijapur. Aurangzeb had nothing to do with it, and there is no reason to suppose that Afzal was accompanied by a force of twelve thousand cavalry.

H. BEVERIDGE.

IBN MUYASSAR. ANNALES D'ÉGYPTÉ (LES KHALIFES FĀTIMIDES). Texte Arabe, édité par M. HENRI MASSÉ. 15 × 11, 300 pp. Le Caire. 1919. [Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.]

This is a history of Egypt under Fātimid Caliphs, extending (with lacunæ comprising most of the reign of al-Hākīm and the whole of that of al-Zāhir) from the year 362 (al-Mu'izz) to 553 (al-Fā'iz). According to the colophon of the unique manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, it is an extract made by al-Maqrīzī (died 845) from the chronicle of Ibn Muyassar (died 677), which is said to have been a continuation of the history of al-Musabbihī (died 420). The problems arising from this ascription are discussed by M. Massé in his introduction.

The editor states that he was engaged on this work at the outbreak of the War, and that it was only after an interruption of four years that he was able to complete it. He admits "le caractère hâtif de l'établissement du texte", and asks the reader to regard the book as "le travail intermittent d'un soldat". If the text is not free from evidences of haste, the editor has made amends by providing his edition with a valuable series of accessories. In addition to a "Sommaire Chronologique" there are no less than five indexes, viz.: I, Index Historique (personal names, etc.); II, Index Géographique; III, Édifices, Monuments et Quartiers;

IV, Index Administratif (official titles, etc.); V, Ouvrages Cités. The Index Historique is not in all respects satisfactory. When the text gives a personal name with the *kunyah* prefixed, it is the *kunyah* that M. Massé takes into account for purposes of indexing. Thus أبو الفتح يانوس الرومى will be found among the names beginning with the letter ف, and there is not even a cross-reference under يانوس, which is a much more important part of the name than the *kunyah*. The *kunyah*, in fact, is a part of the name that M. Massé might very well have disregarded. Under al-Ḥusain ibn Jauhar references are given to p. 55, l. 22, and p. 56, l. 4; later on under Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain ibn Jauhar the only reference is to p. 54, l. 3. Now those for whose benefit indexes are compiled have a right to expect that all such references to passages in which a single person is mentioned will be grouped in a single place, or, at least, that cross-references will be given to any other headings under which supplementary information will be found. Otherwise there is a danger that the primary object of an index may to some extent be defeated.

In establishing the text M. Massé has had to depend on a single manuscript, which, as we learn from the critical notes, is capable of giving readings like والنعمّة (p. 55, l. 15) and واخذ (p. 18, l. 1). Naturally in such circumstances the reconstruction of the text presents difficulties, and the editor's emendations do not remove all the obscurities. The following remarks and suggestions will, it is hoped, be of use to readers of the book:—

Page 4, line 16: بين تولية. p. 6, l. 16: في نسب. p. 6, l. 17: وعزّروا (and asserted their relationship to). p. 7, l. 4: ملك. p. 10, l. 16: وانكف. p. 8, l. 8: أن تبرّد is correct. p. 8, l. 8: الامر معقد (Ma'add has become master of the situation). p. 11, l. 9: وشئت. p. 12, l. 8: شلاء. p. 13, l. 6: بيئته (with Maqrīzī). p. 14, l. 8: أسباب need not be altered. The expression اخذ في اسباب كذا (to set about doing

something) is very common in Ibn Iyās, cf. Būlāq ed. (1311), i, 44 ult., 67 ult., p. 124, l. 18, etc., etc. p. 15, l. 7: the MS. reading *عشرى ثالث عشرى محرم* need not be altered; ordinals of this type are common in late Arabic, cf. Ibn Iyās, i, 145, 4 a.f. *في ثالث عشرى شوال*, iii, p. 77, l. 5: *يوم في عشرينا جميعاً* (so also p. 16, l. 2). p. 18, l. 8: *خرب بسببها* (was ruined in consequence of it). p. 21, l. 3: *بقطعه*. p. 25, l. 7: *مخر بانها* (its Bedouin). The *فساد* of the *عربان* was for centuries one of the plagues of Egypt. p. 30, l. 18, *بالشام* (metre). p. 31, l. 7: *جدة*. p. 32, l. 14: *فدفعه* (once). p. 32, l. 15: *ودفعه* (then a second time). p. 32, l. 16: *ثالثه* (a third time). p. 33, l. 10: *فزيد*. p. 33, l. 20: *المستنصر*. p. 34, l. 8: *بالخفارة*. p. 36, l. 1: *رثى*. p. 36, ll. 2-6: these verses are given in a more correct form in Abū'l-Mahāsin (ed. Popper), ii, 188. p. 36, 13: the emendation proposed is unmetrical. Read *مُنِيَّتْ*? p. 39, l. 4: *أهل البلد* [أهل] (*?*). p. 39, l. 9: *كثرة*. p. 47, l. 15: *انصراف العساكر*. p. 48, l. 19: *وأشدد*, cf. Qur'an, xx, 32. p. 51, l. 2: *تحرك* (with MS.). p. 51, l. 8: *في حماريته* (his feet). p. 51, l. 10: *غسل*. p. 54, l. 4: *وقيد*, cf. p. 44, l. 8. p. 57, l. 21: *أثخنه*. p. 58, l. 19: *ملؤ* (i.e. *ملؤ*), the MS. reading, is correct. p. 59, l. 16: *آخرم بالصلاة*, cf. Dozy. p. 59, l. 17: *وأرتج*. p. 59, l. 19: *بقية السورة*: (al-M. read the remainder of the verse for him). p. 62, l. 16: *من التجار*. p. 63, l. 3: Is *الدوك* a corruption of *لربل*? p. 63 ult.: *مُصاف* (pitched battle). p. 64, l. 14: *وسلما*. p. 65, l. 14: *واحوالهم* (*?*). p. 65, l. 17: *إلا أن*. p. 67, l. 10: *تشاجر*. p. 68, l. 12: *وقديم*. p. 72, l. 16: *وغيرها*. p. 79, l. 2: *يُصغ*. p. 79, l. 17: *وانقادهم*. p. 80, l. 5: *بأجمعهم*. p. 81, l. 14: *سليمانكم* (your Solomon). p. 82, l. 5: *جمعه*. p. 82, l. 11: *على من جاء يطلب رثكم*. p. 82, l. 12:

شاغراً : p. 83, l. 14 : (metre !). the MS. reading, (= "vacant") is correct, cf. Dozy. p. 85, l. 11 : .والاياة . p. 94, l. 22 : .ويجيزهم . p. 85, l. 19 : .مُشوليم . p. 95, l. 11 : .حسن الترشيل . p. 97, l. 17 : .فدَوَخَتْ . p. 98, l. 2 : .توسعة .

C. A. STOREY.

MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE ET DE GÉOGRAPHIE ORIENTALE.

Tome 2. By HENRI CORDIER, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, 322 pp. Paris: Maisonneuve & Fils. 1920.

This fine volume of 322 pages is a successor to a previous one published in 1914 from the pen of the same authoritative writer. The present collection comprises nineteen essays, in the main reviews and addresses, now brought together by M. Cordier from the various Journals and Comptes Rendues in which they first appeared, and bearing dates ranging from 1902 to 1919. The list of the titles of these articles will best indicate the wide range of these *Mélanges*. They are, in order: "Central and Eastern Asia and Chinese Studies," "The Chinese of Turgot," "Marco Polo's Itinerary in Persia," "The Situation in China" (written in 1912), "Delhi," "Islam in China," "the Quest of a N.W. and N.E. Passage to Asia" (an introduction of three pages to a lecture by M. Rabot), "Tibet, China, and England," "Excavations in Central Asia" (two papers, one of 1910 and a second of 1914), "The Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs" (also two papers, dated respectively 1906 and 1902—I have not read these), "Albuquerque," "Général de Beylié," "The Mongol Invasion of the Middle Ages," "Sculpture in Stone in China," "Baghdad," "Buddhist Art," and "Turks and Bulgars".

In all these essays we enjoy the ripe fruit of Professor Cordier's wide reading and exceptionally exact and

well-digested scholarship. And the result is an ensemble of ordered knowledge and matured judgments on the often obscure and difficult topics examined, so that what the reader may have opened from curiosity or duty he is likely to close with the resolve that this volume shall, or the wish that it could (according as the income tax vampire and the rate-collecting horse-leech may have treated him), repose for frequent reference upon his bookshelves. And for that reason, and because the names and dates of little-known persons and unfamiliar places abound in it, it would have added to the value of this "medley" if it terminated with an index. And I may end these general remarks by expressing a sense of grateful appreciation of the very clear and, as it were, resonant presentation of historical events and processes which marks Professor Cordier's writing. It can hardly have been easy to attain this desirable clarity, one may suppose, with some of the subjects treated.

Take, for instance, the racial relations and ethnic movements—obscure and but partly ascertained or explained at best—that evolved their intricate and often sinister dramas in inner Asia from the third century B.C. to the fifteenth of our era. It is a kind of nightmare jazz-dance of Huns and Yueh-chih, Turks, Sakas, Ephthalites, Ugurs, and Mongols, conquering, expelling, massacring, mixing, vanishing, and now and again exploding in such human detonations as Attila, Tamerlane, and Genghis Khan. Nowhere, I believe, are these dim but portentous energies more clearly appreciated and outlined than in pages 8 to 11 of M. Cordier's introductory paper, an address delivered at the Sorbonne in 1908, and in that on the "Mongol Invasion of the Middle Ages".

So, too, with the paper contributed in 1910 to the *Revue Hebdomadaire* on "Tibet, China, and England". It opens with a geographical study of that forbidding, and long forbidden land, embodying also its administrative structure (with, of course, many of those repellent and monstrous

Tibetan names, on which we might surmise Swift had based his Brobdingnag and Houyhnhnms). To this succeeds a most skilfully compressed narrative of the internal and external history of the vast realm, which develops at the end into an account of the diplomatic negotiations between China, Tibet, and Great Britain, and of the Younghusband expedition to Lhasa of 1904. M. Cordier is a friend of this country, but occasionally, as in this instance, a candid one. The more weighty, therefore, the concluding paragraph of this most valuable contribution. He thinks that the British expedition into Tibet will have had one result only—the consolidation of Chinese power in that country. The condition of India, he observes, does not permit us to-day to launch into risky adventures. The Japanese victories have had the most lively repercussion among the Hindus, “comme chez les autres peuples de l’Asie dont les jaunes désirent expulser leurs maîtres temporaires.”

From these, and from all the essays in the *Mélanges*, the reader may rise with that comforting assurance that what Professor Cordier relates or describes as historical and geographical truth is indeed the net result of all research published up to the date when he summed it up, that it has been well scrutinized, long pondered, and judiciously expressed. If anyone regards that as a modest achievement^{se} I venture the opinion that it demands a lifetime’s labour^{ch} accomplish, and that M. Cordier has had to buy his successⁱⁿ at that price.

Space remains only for a few observations on one further^A essay in the volume, that headed “L’Art Bouddhique” — a review of Chavannes’ *La Sculpture Bouddhique*, and Dr. and Mrs. Thomas’ translation of Foucher’s *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*.

When in the second part of M. Cordier’s careful paper he comes to consider with M. Foucher the very interesting subject of the origin of Buddhist art, he remarks that what characterizes the ancient sculptures is that they represent

the life of Buddha *without* Buddha, and that this is due not to incapacity, but to tradition and custom. "What is the cause of this abstention?" he asks, and observes that the problem is delicate, but hardly seems resolvable. His subsequent reflections are valuable, but I may perhaps draw attention to the treatment of this point by an Italian authority, Alessandro della Seta, whose masterly volume has been rendered into admirable English by Miss Marion Harrison under the title of *Religion and Art*. For della Seta appears to me *rem acu tetigisse*, and to have found a sound and satisfying solution of the enigma. I venture to cite the pertinent passage as rendered in translation on pp. 305-6 of the English edition.

"Thus the date, forms, and character of Buddhist art," we read, "furnish proof of its Greek origin, which also accounts for certain of its distinctive features. There must have been a struggle with the tendency towards the symbolic representation of Buddha.

"Whilst in the art of the Gāndhāra school the scenes concerning the incarnations of Buddha represent the reformer as a real figure, in the art of Middle India Buddha in these same scenes is represented by a symbol. A historical and narrative art which depicts nothing but the life of a single individual, and from those scenes banishes the individual whom it owes its existence, an art which subjects itself to this ruthless self-mutilation exhibits remarkable inconsistency. But this inconsistency is explained by the natural aversion from figured forms underlying the spirit of the Buddhist doctrines. Contact with the civilization of Greece had led the Gāndhāra Buddhists to conceal this aversion, for they saw in art a powerful means of propaganda and represented Buddha under his real aspect, which Asoka in his monuments had not yet dared to do. But to the Buddhists of Northern India, the cradle of the creed, such historical narrative representation must have appeared in the light of a crime against the purity of the

doctrine ; to assign a definite form to the figure of one who had denied the absolute value of all forms in the sphere of phenomena must have seemed the greatest insult to the spirit of his teaching. But the help offered by this art was too powerful to be despised, and the Buddhism of Middle India hoped to preserve its orthodoxy by permitting figured representation of the life of Buddha, but banishing the figure of the founder himself. For this reason the sculptured forms of Buddha-Gayâ, Barhut, and Sâñtshî appear headless. But Buddhists had hoped in vain thus to preserve the anti-image tendency ; the thin end of the wedge had been inserted, and shortly afterwards they were forced to admit the figure of Buddha, and, moreover, under the classical aspect of the Gândhâra school. The sculpture of Amarâvatî illustrates the final stage of this last concession. The paintings of Ajantâ, executed a few centuries later, show how the tradition, by that time firmly established, had been maintained.

“ This struggle would never have taken place if Buddhist art had been the spontaneous product of religious conception, for it would either have avoided dealing with the incarnations of Buddha or it would have permitted representations of his figure. The similar phenomenon presented by some specimens of Mohammedan art, which represents the deeds of sacred persons, but substitutes ciphers for the faces of these individuals, affords further proof of the difficulties with which only the religions which received their art from an alien civilization had to contend.”

L. C. HOPKINS.

Colloquial Arabic. SHUWA DIALECT OF BORNU, NIGERIA, AND OF THE REGION OF LAKE CHAD. Grammar and Vocabulary, with some proverbs and songs. By G. T. LETHEM, M.A., LL.B., Assistant District Officer, Political Department, Nigeria. 6 x 4, pp. viii, 487. Published for the Government of Nigeria by the Crown Agents for the Colonies. London : 1920.

Shuwa is the westernmost of the Arabic dialects of the Sudan. The Shuwa fall into principal groups of Arab tribes

which have settled in Bornu within the last three hundred years. Their speech resembles that of their Arab neighbours to the east, of which a grammar was published in 1913 by Monsieur H. Carbou. Mr. Lethem's book is intended primarily for those who wish to speak Shuwa. It is arranged accordingly, and some exercises are provided for the beginner, who will probably not regret that, on the ground of expense, Latin type has been used almost throughout. At the same time, the book constitutes a full and careful study of the dialect, which does not appear to have been described in detail before, a study, moreover, by one who evidently has a competent knowledge of Arabic.

The English-Arabic vocabulary at the end of the book must contain several thousand native words and expressions. So large a collection is a notable achievement. The bulk of the words are Arabic. Those derived from Kanuri and Hausa are distinguished and the number is comparatively few. About as many, or perhaps more, are marked as being of unknown origin. Some of these look as if they had been drawn from African languages; but a fair proportion are Arabic, used in the original form and sense. Some of the Arabic words in the dialect have had their meanings extended. Permutations of radicals occur now and then.

The grammar is set out clearly and fully, though perhaps it would have been well to have given a little more prominence to the feminine *ta*, which seems only to be alluded to in a note in a place where it may easily escape attention, and to have given the full conjugation of all the weak verbs which are used as examples. Some of the grammatical features will be of interest to philologists. Such, for instance, are the transmutation of *j* into *d* and *d* into *j*, of which there are a few examples; and the feminine plural forms used for the pronouns and for verbs; the verbal forms of *alkattab*, *alkátab*, parallel with the ordinary V and VI forms, and *gamm* in the perfect running parallel with *gám* (rise).

There are many other peculiarities well worth a full

examination; but on the whole the departure from standard in grammar as in vocabulary is remarkably small considering how long the Shuwa have been settled in the midst of a large alien population.

The proverbs and songs, besides being accompanied by translations, are explained in a way that makes them entertaining as well as instructive, though it must be confessed that certain obscurities remain. The allusion to Abu Zaid el Hilâli has not been understood by the author.

These short pieces give an idea of the people, about whom also some information is contained in the introduction.

Mr. Lethem acknowledges indebtedness as regards the grammar to Mr. G. T. F. Tomlinson, who had partially completed a grammar and gave up all his material for incorporation. Thanks are due to Mr. Lethem for a valuable addition to our knowledge of Arabic dialects, a result of his personal observations, and one may hope for more.

A. R. G.

HISTORY OF THE ARMENIANS IN INDIA. By MESROVB J.

SETH. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$, pp. xxii and 190 + 8, cloth. Calcutta: published by the Author at 11 Wellesley Square, London. 1915.

Mr. Seth's book is a peculiarly interesting historical compilation, including the preface, extending over 212 closely printed small 8vo pages, useful both to the students of the general history of India and to those who are desirous to know who the Armenians are and what is their place in history. The author, who is well versed in classical Armenian, is an enthusiastic lover of the history of the ancient and worthy nation to whom he belongs, and has been indefatigable in tracing the records of the Armenian mercantile communities settled in the most important trading centres in India. The work was brought out at Calcutta towards the end of the year 1895, and either by modesty or some oversight, it is quite

recently that its distinguished author has thought of presenting a copy to the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

While the author was engaged upon putting his materials together (that is, about a year before its publication), Mr. W. E. Gladstone, whom he regarded as "Armenia's truest friend", had received an Anglo-Armenian deputation at Hawarden, his country home, on the anniversary of his eighty-fifth birthday, December 29, 1894, and in reply to their address made one of his most impressive, soul-stirring speeches in reprobation of the massacres perpetrated on the Armenians in the Sassun district—the ancient Taron. In a passage of this speech, which the author quotes in the preface of his work, Mr. Gladstone said that "the intelligence which had reached him tended strongly to a conclusion to the general effect that the outrages and scenes and abominations of 1876 in Bulgaria had been repeated in 1894 in Armenia, and after carefully considering the report it was time that one general shout of execration, not of men, but of deeds, one general shout of execration directed against deeds of wickedness, should rise from outraged humanity, and should force itself into the ears of the Sultan of Turkey and make him sensible, if anything could make him sensible, of the madness of such a course".

On reading these solemn and well-weighed words of the high-souled and venerable English statesman, who had always taken the forefront in the battle for liberty and justice, the young author decided to respectfully dedicate his work to him. In the meantime an inquiry into the massacres had been held at Mush, and the celebrated Memorandum of Reforms, dated May 11, 1895, had been agreed upon by the Great Powers, and handed in to the Sublime Porte; and yet, in spite of his "word of honour", given by the Sultan Abdul Hamid, that he would personally see the necessary reforms carried out in Armenia, the persecution, massacre, and spoliation of the Armenian nation had not ceased. So Mr. Gladstone, on reading the words of the dedication, in which he is described

as "the veteran statesman whose strongly expressed sympathy for oppressed Armenians in Turkey has endeared him to every Armenian throughout the world", sent to the author, Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, a letter of acknowledgment, in which the following emphatic words occur:—

"I continue to regard with acute pain and shame the triumph of wickedness in Turkey over a whole civilized and Christian world. I know of no similar disgrace upon record.

"The only and limited mitigation of their feelings is found in deep reverence for all those Armenians who have preferred their faith to their life."

If all British and foreign statesmen and legislatures had been inspired by these sentiments of one of Britain's greatest and noblest sons, had as freely given expression to their feelings and acted upon them, there is no doubt that the Armenian nation would, in the next twenty-five years, have been spared additional cruel losses and vicissitudes; and the Turks themselves would, each time they were left to their own devices, have been prevented from the ignominious and barbarous part they played as a government and as a quasi-theocratic community in which their ideals of supremacy made havoc of the moral and material interests of the most capable, energetic, enterprising, and pushing race in the Ottoman Empire.

The author describes the sources of the materials for his history, and how he was led to make researches by studying the inscriptions in classical Armenian tombstones in the national burying grounds of the community at Calcutta, Chinsurah, Agra, Gwalior, Surat, Bombay, Masulipatan, Madras, Deccah, Syedabad, Patna, and further on ten other centres of Armenian commerce. This formidable list of places shows how ubiquitous must the Armenian traders have been at one time in India, and how widespread were their mercantile operations.

He makes handsome acknowledgments for the help he received from Professor C. R. Wilson, M.A., Secretary of

the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and mentions his indebtedness to the pages of William Bolt's *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, 1772, London.

He appropriately begins his history of the Armenians in India by giving a sketch of Armenian tradition as handed down from antiquity and continued to modern times. The erroneous idea disseminated by more than one modern English writer that the Armenians are a *religious* sect, or a merely commercial community, raises his indignation, as it has raised the ire of many of his compatriots, "on account of the cynicism lying underneath that idea." He is at pains to show what every reader of the Holy Bible ought to know, that the ancestral and primitive home of the Armenians is the land of Ararat, that descended from the Aryan stock their nation dates right back to the year 2111 B.C., when Haik, the son of Togormah, of the family of Japhet, killed in battle Belus of Assyria, and became the chief ancestor and founder of the Armenian nation, who to this day call themselves after his name and their country Haïasdan, i.e. the land of the Haik. The author shows by means of a genealogical table, based upon Genesis x, 2-3, and xi, 10-26, that Abraham came about three hundred years after Haik. Passing on, he mentions every passage in the Bible which has reference to Armenia.

Of Tigranes II, 93-39 B.C., of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, who ruled in Armenia from 149 B.C. to A.D. 428, that is to say, for 577 years, the Roman general Sucullus wrote: "It is but a few days' journey from the country of Gabiri or Sebastia (the modern Sivas) into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, is seated surrounded with that power which has wrested Asia from the Parthians, which carries Grecian colonies into Media, subdues Syria and Palestine."

Having quoted these words, the author could now add that the mandate for the Holy Land has been practically granted to Great Britain, and that for Syria Englishmen and Frenchmen might bear in mind that both these historic

regions at one time formed part of the dominions of an Armenian Empire. He further quotes from Cicero, who, referring to Tigranes II, said that "he made the Republic of Rome tremble before the prowess of his arms".

Then we have a brief summary of the history of Armenia from A.D. 428, and mention of the successful war waged against the Persian king of kings and his Zoroastrian chief priests for religious liberty and Christian independence, an event which the Armenians look upon as the religious and political rebirth of their nation just after they had made an alphabet for themselves and translated the Scriptures into the idiom of Ararat. After referring to the invasion of Armenia by the Saracens under Abdur-Rahman and the persecutions the Armenians endured at the hands of Arab Emirs or Governors, he describes the establishment of the Armenian kingdom in the year A.D. 859, under Prince Ashod of the Bagradite family, who made the city of Ani near Kars and whose dynasty ruled in Armenia Major upwards of two centuries, and under whom the Armenians enjoyed freedom and made very remarkable progress in the arts of civilization. He then describes how Ruben, a scion of the Bagradite dynasty, when the kingdom in Upper Armenia came to an end, founded the principality of Lesser Armenia and Cilicia, which eventually became a kingdom, and how this kingdom gave hospitality to the Crusaders on their way through Asia Minor for Palestine and entered into commercial relations with Venice and other European states.

Tracing the commercial relations of Armenia with India to a remote past, he says that, "From the days of Vasco de Gama, the Armenians carried on a prosperous trade with India by the land route via Persia." He dates the influx of the Armenians into India from the palmy days of the Mogul Empire, and narrates the circumstances in which Akbar the Great built a church for them for Christian worship at Agra, his capital, in the year 1562. It speaks well for their character that wherever the Armenian merchants settled

in the principal commercial centres of India, they built themselves a church and provided it with a burial ground for their dead. Owing to this pious practice they both made provision for their religious needs and kept up their national tradition and identity in foreign lands. If as traders and merchants they did not leave a connected record of their history, they left many sepulchral monuments by which their movements could be traced. And it was reserved to the zeal of Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth to utilize them for this history.

In his deliberate opinion the downfall of the Mogul Empire, followed by anarchy and troublous times, was the death-knell of the commercial pursuits of the Armenians. In Agra, Akbar's great capital, he found in the old cemetery of the Armenians nine tombstones bearing inscriptions in classical Armenian. The first of them reads as follows: "This is the tomb of Khoja (a Persian title of respect) Moorad, who departed to Christ in the year A.D. 1645." The author thinks that as the church was built here in 1562, many more deaths must have occurred up to 1701, the date of the last inscription.

Mr. Seth describes how for many years Armenia became the battle-field of the Persian and Turkish dominions respectively, representing the opposed Islamic sects of Shia'ih and Sunni, and how both Persian and Turk devastated the country. This in order to prevent each other's power of recuperation. The Armenian inhabitants were the chief sufferers from the effects of their religious and political animosities, and there is an episode which, in consequence of its great hardships, the Armenians never forget.

This episode is described by the author as follows:—"In one of his many expeditions against Shah Abbas, the Great King of Persia, had occasion to visit the commercial city of Julfa on the banks of the Aras river, and a royal reception was accorded him by the opulent citizens. Their wealth dazzled the eyes of the avaricious and crafty monarch, and he resolved to make himself their master. He had long had the develop-

ment of the trade of his country at heart, and as there was lack of commercial enterprise in his own subjects he determined to make the Armenians, who carried on an extensive trade with India, instrumental in improving the trade of his own with other countries, and particularly with India. He carried out his cherished project to the detriment of the Armenians, whose position as merchants at that period was rather enviable in the commercial world. He issued a mandate to his soldiers, to be carried out *within three days*, that they should raze the town level with the ground and force the inhabitants to leave their homes and migrate to Persia. The hapless Armenians, with tears and lamentations, were thus forced to abandon Julfa, and after encountering great hardship about twelve thousand families reached the city of Ispahan in A.D. 1605, where, however, every hospitality was accorded them by the great Shah Abbas. He evinced great interest in his *guests* (!), as he called them, and allowed them an extensive piece of ground in the suburbs of Zenderood. The Armenian colonists there built a city, which they styled New Julfa, in memory of the one abandoned."

He tells us that they prospered here, but a bad successor of Shah Abbas, wanting to appropriate their wealth, had recourse to the use of tortures, in consequence of which the well-to-do fled the country with their families and their wealth at the dead of night to avoid detection. From Ispahan they reached Basrah, and from thence sailed to India. The first port they reached was Surat. Here they formed a settlement and built two churches. He adds that Surat and its district was one of the parts of India, the earliest brought into close relations with European countries.

In his third chapter, the author gives an account of the settlement of the Armenians in Behar and Bengal, and shows how they formed a permanent settlement at Syedabad, the commercial suburb of Murshidabad, in virtue of a *firman* or decree issued in 1665 by Aurungzebe, the Mogul Emperor of Delhi. "At Syedabad," he says, "the Armenians

rendered valuable services to the Honourable East India Company during the eventful year of 1756, when Holwell and his fellow-captives were taken to Murshidabad after the tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta." He informs us that the oldest Christian church in Bengal is the Roman Catholic Church at Bandel, built by the Portuguese in 1599, and the next the Armenian church at Chinsurah, erected by the Marcar family in 1695, and completed in 1697. It was dedicated to S. John the Baptist. When the donor of the church died in the same year a memorial inscription in Armenian verse was put over his tomb, of which Mr. Seth has given an excellent rendering. It deserves the special notice of those who take an interest in Christian monumental work.

In the course of his archæological work for the Bengal Government, Mr. Seth found in the Armenian churchyard of Calcutta a tomb bearing the date of July 11, 1630, "a much *older* Christian tomb," he states, "than that of Job Charnock in the churchyard of S. John's Church (the old cathedral), whose shrine, according to the popularly accepted tradition in connexion with the founding of Calcutta by him in 1690, was hitherto acknowledged as the oldest in Calcutta."

We then have the description of the most interesting episode of all to the students of the early history of Fort William and the English trade corporation there established. An eminent Armenian merchant named Khojah Israel Sarhad had ingratiated himself at the court of Azimush-Shan in 1687, and eventually became a favourite with his young son, Furrukh Siyar, then about fourteen years old. The friendship of the future emperor was won by presents of toys, at that time very acceptable, for which he expressed a great deal of satisfaction, often sending for Khojah Sarhad and making him sit by him many hours to show what uses they were for.¹

¹ The result was that in July, 1698, for the sum of sixteen thousand rupees the English acquired letters-patent from the Prince allowing them to purchase from existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanati, and Govindpur.

In those days, as always, the Armenians, as fellow-traders, were rendering excellent service to the East India Company; and when, in 1715, they were under the necessity of sending a deputation to the Mogul Court at Delhi they secured the services of Khojah Israel Sarhad, who was known as an Armenian merchant of great eminence and vast influence. It appears that he had a thorough knowledge of English and Persian. Accordingly he was selected to accompany John Surman and Edward Stephenson, of the Company's service. Their object, we are told, was to solicit redress for past and security against future oppression, for an extension of their old and for many new privileges, and particularly for a small spot of ground to be allowed them wherever they settled a factory. The deputation reached Delhi on the 8th July, 1715. Khojah Sarhad, being on terms of intimacy with the Emperor Ferrukh Siyar, matters progressed speedily, and, on condition of paying ten thousand rupees per annum as a *peshcush* or acknowledgment, the Grand Firman or decree was issued on the 6th January, 1716-17. At p. 36, Mr. Seth gives a faithful translation of this state document, whose date is forty years before the battle of Plassey under Clive.

The good relations subsisting between the Armenians and the English ceased when the latter decided on becoming a territorial power. The cause was the salt monopoly, which in the hands of the Armenian operators and merchants was five times cheaper than after it was forcibly appropriated by Governor Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, representing the council of the Company. This, we are told, caused the total ruin of many Armenian families.

The historian mentions with feelings of satisfaction and pride the charitable deeds performed by many of his Christian fellow-countrymen. He narrates that at the time of the tragedy of the Black Hole in 1756, when Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, with other English people took refuge in ships, dropped down with the tide, and anchored off Fulta, forty

miles away from the city, it was Khojah Petrus Aratoon, an Armenian merchant of Calcutta, who secretly supplied them for some six months with boat-loads of provisions from Calcutta until the arrival of the "army of retribution" from Madras. He also mentions the patronage accorded to Greek merchants by Armenians, who represented the leading commercial element in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The author makes especial mention of Mesroby David Thaliatin (1803-58) as his teacher at Calcutta, who, he says, gave a sound education in Armenian and English. What must be peculiarly interesting to many English readers is the circumstance that Thaliatin was admitted into Bishop's College at Calcutta as a foundationer in 1828 by the saintly Bishop Heber,¹ the well-known hymn-writer, who was at that time Bishop of Calcutta, and "whose memory", he informs us, "he (Thaliatin) revered throughout his life." Thus some of the spirit must have descended on him, and through him on the author himself. To show how well Thaliatin profited by his admission to Bishop's College, he says: "Here, after a course of five years, during which he studied English, Latin, Greek, and Persian, besides the fine arts, the Board of Education certified him as Master of Arts." He was born at Erivan and died at Shiras. A marble mural tablet erected in the Armenian church in that famous city describes him as "an erudite professor, a profound scholar, an eminent poet and historian".

The historian reserved his best encomiums for the Armenians of Southern India. "They settled permanently," he says, "at Madras in the year 1666. These opulent merchants were famous for their piety and true philanthropy, and for the great zeal they evinced in the advancement of Armenian classical literature in India. Their patriotism is perhaps unparalleled." The reader will find their names and the work they did in the pages of the history. I should have

¹ "From Greenland's icy mountains"; "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty" are two of the well-known eight hymns he wrote.

liked to discuss the editorial article in the *Calcutta Statesman*, and Rev. Graham Sandberg's article in the *Calcutta Review* on Classical Armenian, and the treasures of classical Greek literature and early Christian literature found in an Armenian dress, but already I have far exceeded my space. Mr. Seth's work received highly appreciative notices in the Press of Calcutta and Bombay.

G. HAGOPIAN.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA: THE DARDIC OR PISĀCHĀ LANGUAGES. By Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., D.Litt., Ph.D. 14 × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$, xi + 567 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1919.

The forefathers of the Indo-European race appear to have lived once in the Steppes of Russia. Some of them, the ancestors of the Aryans, went east and settled in Khiva, going on ultimately to Khokhand and Badakhshan. Their descendants now speak three branches of languages all dealt with in the Survey: (1) Indo-Aryan, comprising nearly twenty languages, including Pānjābī, Hindī, Gūjrātī, Mārāthī, and Bengali, and in the north-west Sindhī and Laihndī; (2) Irano-Aryan, with eight modern Iranian languages, of which Persian and Pashto are the best known; (3) Pisāco-Aryan, or Dardo-Aryan, divided by Sir George Grierson into three groups, Kāfir, Khōwār, and Dārd. I retain "Aryan" in (2) and (3) to show the relationship. Sanskrit, great-uncle of all Indo-Aryan languages, is ancestor of none. To the Dardo-Aryan and Irano-Aryan languages it is first cousin, or first cousin once removed. Aryan languages number in all nearly forty, of which a third belong to the Dardo-Aryan branch, and are discussed in the volume before us. These and many other facts of fascinating interest may be discovered from the Linguistic Survey, the different parts of which have an appeal far transcending that of fiction.

The only one of the thirteen that has been studied with the

help of competent native scholars is Kāśmīrī. I have often thought that Sir George Grierson has never done anything finer than his work on this language. Not only in these pages, but in his Kāśmīrī Manual, in the exhaustive articles contributed to the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in *Lallā Vākyānī*, and in the Dictionary now passing through the press we have him at his best.

For the other languages there are no native scholars. Very few speakers are literate, and not one is well-educated. The resulting disadvantages will be easily realized. Except in the case of Kāśmīrī, the materials out of which the volume is built up are furnished by Europeans, travellers, or temporary residents, who for a short period made the country their home. One or two specimens were supplied by an Indian, but he was not a native. It follows that many points of grammar and pronunciation still require elucidation. Owing to the discrepancies in the material, Sir George hazards the not unnatural suggestions that in the Dard languages there are no real cerebrals, that there is much confusion in the use of cerebrals, and that in point of aspiration the languages differ largely from their Indian cousins.

With reference to Shina (Ṣiṇā) I am able to give a definite answer. I have studied it somewhat fully with native instructors in five dialects, those of Gīlgīt, Kohīstān, Cilās, Gūrēs, and Drās. All these dialects have eight cerebrals, Drāsī having nine, viz. *t*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *ṛ*, *ç*, *ṣ*, *z*, cerebral *j*, and in Drāsī *ḷ*. The letters *t*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, are pronounced as in the Pānjāb, except that with a high front vowel *t* and *ḍ* are slightly more advanced than with back or low-front vowels (a phenomenon observable also in Central Pāhārī). Final *ṇ* is further forward than medial *ṇ*. The so-called palatal letters, *c*, *ś*, *j*, *zh*, have their cerebral counterparts, *ç*, *ṣ*, cerebral *j*, and *z*. It is remarkable that a considerable majority of words containing *t*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ* are non-Sanskritic, a fact which shows us that the letters belong to the original Aryan heritage of the race. Of the cerebral palatals a majority have Sanskritic

equivalents. The forms *jr* and *tr* given in the specimens are mistakes for cerebral *j* and *ç*, the transcriber's ear having been conscious of some peculiarity, but not having understood it. The word *dhog*, about which a question is asked, should be *ḍok*.

The cerebral letters are used with extraordinary consistency, they are not confounded with non-cerebrals. This uniformity appears not only within the limits of one dialect, but over the whole area of the language. In the five dialects at which I have worked I have found the cerebrals the same everywhere (my notebooks were compiled in four different years independently of each other). A good illustration of consistency is the word *kon*, ear, which always has nom. sing. with alveolar *n*, but when a vowel follows, as in the nom. plur., every dialect changes it to a cerebral. This uniformity holds in the case of all cerebrals, and seems the more remarkable when we remember the very different state of affairs in Hindi and to some extent in Urdu and Panjabi.

The English sound of *th*, whether unvoiced as in "think", or voiced as in "then", does not occur in *Ṣiṇā*. Sonant letters are not aspirated except occasionally by accident. Surds are freely aspirated, but aspirated surds are kept distinct from unaspirated. In the case of words common to *Ṣiṇā* and Indo-Aryan languages *Ṣiṇā* in general has the same aspiration as India except for sonants. Thus the words for "eat" and "inquire" always contain *kh* as in India, *khōn^u*, *khōjōn^u*, or *khoṛkⁱ*, *khojoṛkⁱ*; so, too, *thyōn^u*, *thoṛkⁱ*, to do, is always aspirated. The uniformity in cerebrals characterizes also aspiration. Final surds follow a separate rule. The existence of final unvoiced vowels and a tendency to partial devocalization of final sonants may mislead the unwary.

Two other matters of importance which do not appear from the specimens call for reference. One is the remarkable accentual system upon which nearly all the declension and conjugation depend; the other is the fact that *Ṣiṇā* contains tone words. Many words are pronounced with a low-rising

tone similar to the low tone in Pānjābī and Laihindī. This tone is significant, as is seen from the following examples. † marks the tone:—

baṣ†, lung ; *baṣ*, language.

dār†, doors ; *dār*, boys.

lē†, visible ; *lē*, blood.

ḍak†, mouthful ; *ḍak*, post.

ṣīdē†, having struck ; *ṣīdē*, strike (imperat.).

thē†, having done ; *thē*, do (imperat.).

Six languages of the Kafir group receive 104 pages, Khovar gets 16, 84 are taken up with the discussion of Ṣiṇā, three dialects of Kohistānī get 44. The last 17 pages of the book are given to Burushaski ; the Mūṇḍa problem is not gone into. Kāśmīrī, with its dialects, receives 274 pages, or nearly half the book. Everyone should study this section to see how a strangely complicated grammatical system may be simplified. A reader who begins Kāśmīrī with Sir George Grierson's help will not realize the magnitude of the task performed or the excellence of the performance. He will never understand that the well-trimmed garden, with its walks and beds and fountains was impenetrable jungle, dense undergrowth and clinging tendrils making passage well-nigh impossible. The garden has now been made and a linguistic pleasaunce open to all awaits its throng of visitors.

One request I have to make of the distinguished author before he publishes the Introductory volume of this series. It is this—that in dealing with Ṣiṇā, in which I take an affectionate interest, he will discontinue the use of the term "Brokpa" as the name of a dialect. Both from the map, where it includes the widely dissimilar dialects of Drās and Dāh Hānu, and from the text, where all other dialects of Ṣiṇā are called Shina, and these two alone called Brokpa, students will conclude that the two dialects called Brokpa are closely allied, but are separated by a considerable interval from those called Shina, whereas the truth is that the Drās

dialect resembles Gūrēsi as much as the English spoken in Edinburgh resembles that spoken in London, and is nearly allied to that spoken in Kohistān, but is unintelligible to the Dāh Hānu people.

The facts are, I believe, as follows: one of the numerous clans into which Śiṅs¹ are divided is called Brokpa. A few, very few, Brokpa families settled in Drās, a few miles away from Gūrēs, and speak practically the same language as their fellow Brokpas who remained behind, and as the other Śiṅ clans. A few more of the Brokpas have gone many marches further away, and are isolated in the villages of Dāh and Hānu, speaking a semi-Tibetan patois not understood by any other Śiṅs. I would suggest that the Drās dialect be called Śiṅā of Drās, or shortly Drāsī, and its distant relative in Tibetan overalls named simply Dāh Hānu. Should there be any reason for retaining the name Brokpa, let it be confined to the Dāh Hānu dialect.

If one were to review this volume according to its merits and interest, the review would become a pamphlet. But one must put a curb on one's inclinations. English scholarship need not fear comparison so long as it can produce books like the one before us or scholars like Sir George Grierson.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA: SINDHI AND LAHNDA. By
Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., D.Litt., Ph.D. 14 × 10 $\frac{1}{4}$,
viii + 584 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1919.

Sindhī and Lahnda or Laihindī² form the north-western group of the outer circle of Indo-Aryan languages. The romance of the inner and outer groups, as narrated by Sir George Grierson, is a story we never tire of; each time

¹ The word Śiṅ has cerebral ṣ, cerebral ṇ, and the low-rising tone.

² In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. ii, part i, I have given my reasons for strongly preferring the feminine form *Laihindī*, which better accords with the North Indian mode of thought.

we hear it we recall details inadequately appreciated before. These two languages belong to the great outer group, which includes Bengali and Assamese in the east and Mārāṭhī in the west, but the wedge driven into it has separated Sindhī and Laihindī from their brothers and quondam neighbours. The remarkable connexion with the Piśācā or Dardic languages of the north forms another chapter in their life-history, a chapter skilfully unfolded here. The Dards, we are told, sent their colonies down into India both east and west. At one time Dard languages were spoken over a larger part of northern India, and the result to-day is that a study of Eastern, Central, and Western Pāhārī on the one hand, and of the two languages before us on the other, reveals unexpected borrowing from Dārdī in every case. In Sindhī the relationship is clear, owing to conditions which have prevented influences from other directions. The question of Laihindī is more complicated, but Sir George Grierson, who possesses Aladdin's lamp, illuminates the difficulties here, too, and shows the mutual encroachments of the old Dardic and Western Hindi languages, the former spreading to the east, and the latter to the west, so that now we have in the west Laihindī with Dardic influence strong and Hindī weak, and in the east Pānjābī, in which the opposite is the case, Hindī being much more powerful than Dārdī. Professor Sten Konow, as Sir George tells us, disagrees, and holds that the Piśācās came from Central India.

The volume deals with the speech of about ten million people on the western border of North India. Sindhī is spoken by three millions, including half a million who speak Kācchī, and some thousands who speak minor dialects. Laihindī is spoken by seven million people, divided approximately as follows: Standard dialect four and a half millions (Standard proper one and a half millions, Mūltānī over two millions, Thālī 750,000), North-West Laihindī one million, North-East Laihindī one and three-quarter millions.

Following on the introduction, over eighty pages are devoted to a lucid account of Sindhī grammar, after which come the

specimens illustrating the grammar; a number are given in facsimile. The student's path is rendered easy by the principal features being pointed out. Dealing with Laihndī Sir George emphasises again the connexion with the Dardic languages. Laihndī is a tone language. In describing the tones Sir George quotes from an early work of mine, written when I was still feeling my way, and therefore not quite accurate. I gave the impression then that the deep or low-rising tone was heard only with sonant letters. The fact is that it may accompany any letter, sonant or surd. We hear it not only with *g*, *b*, *d*, etc., but also with *k*, *p*, *t*, and even with the aspirated forms, *kh*, *ph*, *th*. In this last case both the *k*, etc., and the aspiration are distinctly heard in addition to the deep tone. It is also found with *s*, *ś*, *c*, *ch*—in short, with any letter whatsoever. Strictly speaking it follows, not accompanies, a consonant with which it is connected. It accompanies, but may partially follow a vowel. The high-falling tone half precedes, half follows a consonant; it may do the same with a vowel, but it may be co-extensive with it. The two tones may be combined into a third tone. It is my experience that tones are heard more in northern Laihndī than in southern; e.g. in Kāgānī, on the extreme north they are strongly marked. This dialect is known locally as Hīndkī, and so called in the Survey. The whole valley where it is spoken is named the Kāgān valley after the village of that name written Khagan on the maps and in the Survey. The area over which tones are found has not yet been ascertained.

On p. 264 attention is drawn to the presence of *kh* in a word of Indian origin. Both *kh* and *g* are, however, extremely common in Laihndī, becoming increasingly so as we go north. That this does not appear from the specimens is due to the fact that spelling is largely conventional, and a scribe, whether Indian or European, hardly realizes that to be accurate he should write *sikhḍā*, learning; *vekhḍā*, looking; *rakhḍā*, placing; *tagṛā*, strong, and so with many other words.

The account of Laihndī grammar is a model of clearness.

The six declensions are of great value in illustrating northern Panjābī. All but one of them (that with the internal vowel change) are found in Pānjābī. In this latter language the fem. plur. endings *-ī* and *-ā* are generally additional forms. It would be worth while finding out to what extent this is true of Lahndī.

On p. 253 *bhrā* is said to be irregular on the ground that its plural is *bhrā* instead of *bhrē*. I venture to suggest that the first declension should be said to consist of those masc. tadbhava nouns whose nom. sing. ends in *unaccented -ā*; *bhrā* or *bhirā* will then belong to the third declension and be regular, so far as the nom. plur. is concerned. Even the irregularity of obl. *bhrāū*, voc. *bhrāūā*, is open to question, for *bhrāū* is found in the nom. A similar doubt exists about the *-ā* inserted before the *s* of the future in verbs ending in a vowel. The infin. of the verb quoted is often *āṇā*, and one would expect the form *āṇsā*.

A point of some interest is suggested by causal verbs. On p. 268 we find "cause to be struck" or "sold", along with "cause to drink, seize, raise", etc. I think the following rule meets the case of causals: when the verb to be rendered causal is trans., the causal verb will always mean "cause to be drunk, seized, raised," etc., but when the first verb is intrans., the causal will mean "cause to run, walk", etc. In the second class the object of a causal verb is the person or creature that walks or runs, in the first the object is not the person or creature that drinks, seizes, or raises, but the thing that is drunk, seized, or raised.

Another suggestion I make with the diffidence due from one reviewing the work of a master, viz. that the *s* in *jāteōs*, p. 271, is not the *s* of a nom. with an intrans. verb, but the *s* of the agent with a trans. verb. Two pages further on the same verb is given as trans., with which I agree.

One important peculiarity of the pres. part. in North-West Lahndī does not appear from the specimens. It can be well illustrated from the Hindkī or Kāgānī dialect. When the root

of a verb ends in a surd letter, *-tā* is added for the pres. part., but when it ends in a sonant, the addition is *-dā*. Thus we get *dikhtā*, seeing; *haktā*, being able; but *jūldā*, going; and *ḍōldā*, pouring. This rule, which is quite different from that prevailing in Ūrdū, Hīndī, Pānjābī, and even Southern Laihndī, has a bearing on the Romani question, which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere.

I have studied all Sir George Grierson's volumes in this series, and I never rise from the study of one of them without a feeling of astonishment at the mastery of detail, the power of extracting living facts out of a bewildering mass of often discordant minutiae, the sureness of touch and quickness of vision. These qualities, granted to few in a generation, characterize the volume before us.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW :

COINS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS. By C. J. BROWN.

Vol. I, 10 × 6½, pp. 89, plates 22. Vol. II, 10 × 6½, pp. 468. Oxford, 1920.

These two handsome volumes contain one of the largest collections of coins of the Moghul Emperors yet published, nearly 6,000 coins being described. Even allowing for the duplicates, the Lucknow series is much larger than that in the Panjab Museum or in the British Museum (now 600 gold, 3,000 silver, 800 copper) in point of numbers. In quality, however, it does not compare very favourably with either, in spite of an unrivalled series of silver coins of Akbar and Jahangir. The bulk of the coins came from treasure trove in the United Provinces with the addition of the Ellis Collection purchased in 1904. The Kashipur and Jhansi finds show what can be found in the United Provinces, and the Museum may look forward to a continual strengthening of its collection from the systematic work of the U.P. Coin Committee and the operations of the law of treasure trove.

It is to be hoped that it may some day have a good find of gold coins, in which it is at present very weak.

Mr. Brown has followed the lines laid down by Mr. Nelson Wright in his *India Museum Catalogue* and Mr. Whitehead in his *Lahore Catalogue*. In the text of the Catalogue the coins are classified under metals and mints, which is now generally recognized as a great advance on the chronological arrangement of the *B.M. Catalogue*. The introductory volume I is a valuable contribution to the study of Moghul numismatics. The map of India illustrates our present knowledge of Moghul mints and reveals the great advance made since the *I.M. Catalogue* was published. An original and the most valuable feature of the work is the list of eighty different couplets found on Moghul coins, which shows the great number of new coins that have been found since the *B.M. Catalogue* appeared. Additions have no doubt still to be made to this list. A valuable glossary of words and phrases found on coins is followed by a list of denominations, etc. Mr. Brown in his mint list confines himself largely to coins in the Lucknow Collection, which does not add a great deal to Mr. Whitehead's comprehensive survey. The plates of ornaments found on coins represent a vast amount of work, which will be greatly appreciated by collectors and will enable them to identify many of their uncertain coins. Mr. Brown has performed his task most carefully and thoroughly, and the Clarendon Press has printed the volumes in admirable fashion.

We hope these volumes will soon be followed by others dealing with the coins of other dynasties in the Lucknow Museum. It ought to be strong in Hindu and Pathan coins, two series which have not had their share of attention in India. One can appreciate the fascination of Moghul coins for the collector, with their great variety of mints, denominations, and legends, but they are, after all, comparatively modern coins, covering a period for the history of which we have ample literary sources, and can never be of the same value to the historian as the numismatic records of earlier periods.

We must not appear ungrateful to the Government of India for the attention it has given in recent years to the numismatist, who is no longer the *vox clamantis* he was in the day of Mr. Rodgers, but we hope the next Indian collection to be catalogued will not be a Moghul one.

J. ALLAN.

THE COPPER COINS OF INDIA. Part II: THE PANJAB AND
CONTIGUOUS NATIVE STATES. By W. H. VALENTINE.
6 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 9 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 78, 68 plates. London: Spink & Son,
Limited. 1920.

Students of Oriental coins are familiar with Mr. Valentine's book on *Muhammadian Copper Coins* and with part I of the present work. Part II deals with the extensive coinages of North-Western India from about the eleventh century. In the case of the Sultans of Delhi the author includes many billon coins and has collected much information only attainable in scattered articles. Mr. Valentine has brought together a very fine series of copper coins of the Sikhs and Durrani. His drawings are beautifully done and very well reproduced. It is unfortunate that no uniformity is observed in the transliteration of the legends, which the beginner may find a little puzzling. The table of contractions should have been reproduced in this part also, as we presume the idea of the geographical arrangement is that it should appeal to collectors in the separate provinces. Coins No. 574*a*, *b*, *c* are surely South Indian and not of Delhi mint. The legends on the coins of Kaithal, etc., are those of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and not of the Moghul Ahmad. The coins of Nahan mint were published by Rodgers in the *JASB.*, 1897. Those who have found Mr. Valentine's part I useful will welcome this volume, which ought to be in every Indian library.

J. ALLAN.

THE ATHARVAVEDIYA PANCHA-PATALIKA. Throwing light on the arrangement, division, and text of the Atharva Veda Samhita. With a [Hindi] translation and an index of the pratikas. Edited by BHAGWADDATTA, B.A. $7\frac{1}{2} + 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiv, 40. 8vo. Lahore, 1920.

This ancient *anukramanī* of the Atharva-vēda, which is the third *lakṣaṇa-grantha* of the latter, has been known by name for some time to western students, and a considerable number of excerpts from it have been noticed in Śaṅkara Pāṇḍurāṅga Paṇḍit's Bombay edition of the AV., and in Whitney's translation (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 7-8). Professor Bhagwaddatta now gives us the whole text of the tract, together with introduction, paraphrase, and notes in Hindi. Unfortunately his edition cannot be said to be a final one. Only two MSS. were used by him, and though he tells us that one of these is "very correctly written" (*bahut suddh likhā huā hai*), the other is admittedly unsatisfactory, and both of them often agree in the same blunders, suggesting either that one is copied from the other or that both are derived from a common source. In some passages their corruptions seem to defy emendation. However, the editor has made the best of his rather inadequate materials, and his work enables us to estimate with tolerable completeness the value of the Pp. for the textual criticism of the AV.

As its name implies, the Pp. consists of five chapters. The first of these deals with the rules of *uktānukta*, i.e. abbreviation in copying the text of the AV. by the omission of phrases repeated from previous passages. The second enumerates the divisions of the text of the AV.,¹ while the third gives a list of the *avasānas* or stops in the

¹ Thus it states that in *kāṇḍas* I-IV all the *anuvākas*, with six exceptions, have five *sūktas* each; in V all have five *sūktas* each, with one exception (sc. iv); in VI all have ten *sūktas* apiece, with five exceptions; VII consists of hymns of one verse each; in VIII-XI each *anuvāka* contains two *sūktas*; in XII-XIV and XVII again each hymn consists only of one verse; and so forth.

text (compare the introduction to Whitney's translation, p. cxxxii), the fourth the number of verses in the *anuvākas*, and the fifth the numbers of the stops in VIII-XVI. It may be noted that the Pp. knows only I-XVIII, and seems to make a division of the AV. into I-VII, VIII-XI, and XII-XVIII. In the main it may be said to confirm the current text of the Śaunakīya recension of the AV., though some details point to differences.

L. D. BARNETT.

ERRATA

In addition to the corrections by Mr. Krenkow (*JRAS.*, April, 1921, pp. 248-9), I offer here some more emendations to my paper on the library in possession of the shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed (*JRAS.*, 1920, pp. 535-63):—

p. 538, second line from the bottom of the page. Instead of

الاف التحية read الاف الجنة (a quite reasonable suggestion of an Indian Moulvie).

p. 545, No. 10, probably is the same as Nos. 9, 14, 15 (it was lithographed in Persia).

p. 546, Nos. 17 and 23 most probably are the manuscript copies of Tusi's List (edited by A. Sprenger, Calcutta, 1853-5). The Shi'a usually call this book

رجال طوسی.

p. 551, No. 69. Most probably not *printed*, but *lithographed*. I know only two editions, both Indian lithography; one which appeared a long time ago, without date or place of publication, but judging from its appearance, published in Delhi. It is now very scarce. The other was lithographed at Bombay in 1318.

p. 555, No. 86. For المکمه read الحکمه. It is simply a misprint.

Ibid., No. 101. معلقات is probably a mistake for علویات.

p. 562, on the sixth line from the top. It is more probably the *third*, and not the second volume of the *Tajārīb*. The publication alluded to in this passage is the Gibb Memorial Series, where a portion of this book appeared in facsimile.

W. IVANOW.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April-July, 1921)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 10th May, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair. The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Grant Brown, presented the balance-sheet for the past year, pointing out that the Society had temporarily borrowed £500 from the Oriental Translation Fund. Mr. Coldstream inquired whether the Society's assets covered its expenses, and the Hon. Treasurer explained that there was a small balance to its credit.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

Three Honorary Members have been elected during the past Session, namely, Professor Caland of Utrecht, Professor Clermont Ganneau, and Professor de la Vallée Poussin.

The Society has lost by death an Honorary Member, Professor Ernst Kuhn of Munich, an Honorary Vice-President in the person of Dr. Oliver Codrington, and three members of Council. These are Sir Charles Lyall (Vice-President), Mr. James Kennedy (Vice-President and late Hon. Treasurer), and Dr. Drummond Anderson.

During the year the following members of Council have been co-opted to fill the vacant seats: Sir Henry Howorth and Dr. M. Gaster as Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Otto Blagden, Professor A. A. Macdonell, and Mr. Perceval Yetts as ordinary members of Council, while Mr. Robert Mond has consented to be joint Honorary Treasurer. Under Rule 30 Mr. F. E. Pargiter retires from the post of Vice-President; under Rule 31 Dr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. Grant Brown, and Mr. A. G. Ellis retire respectively from the offices of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian. The Council recommend their re-election. Under Rule 32 Professor Barnett, Mr. L. C. Hopkins, and Col. Phillott resign their seats on the Council.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Class "A"	285	3	0			
Class "B"	845	0	5			
Class "C"	1	10	0			
				1,131	13	5
RENTS RECEIVED				504	7	6
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE				210	0	0
GIFT FROM PRINCE VAJIRANANA				60	0	0
LOAN FROM SPECIAL FUNDS				500	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	278	7	11			
Additional Copies sold	90	4	0			
S.B.A. Proceedings	29	9	3			
Sale of Index	1	4	6			
" " S.B.A.	4	11	6			
" Pamphlets	7	16	9			
				411	13	11
DIVIDENDS	57	5	9			
" PER POST OFFICE SAVINGS	19	17	8			
INCOME TAX RETURNED	22	8	9			
				99	12	2
SALE OF STOCK—						
£832 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent 1933	605	4	6			
£212 8s. Midland Railway Debentures 2½ per cent	88	13	8			
£888 16s. 9d. South Australian Government 3½ per cent, 1939.	586	10	7			
£300 Canada 3½ per cent, 1920-50	190	9	0			
£236 7s. 9d. 2½ per cent Consols	107	17	10			
£201 9s. 3d. New Zealand 4 per cent, 1943-63	137	15	2			
£297 7s. New Zealand 4 per cent, 1929	237	4	0			
				1,953	14	9
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT—						
Lloyds Bank	3	0	10			
Post Office Savings Bank	2	1	5			
				5	2	3
SUNDRY RECEIPTS—	8	18	11			
INCOME TAX SCHEDULE "A" paid in excess by Westminster Estate Office	11	5	0			
				20	3	11
BALANCE IN HAND JANUARY 1, 1920				859	6	9

£5,755 14 8

FUNDS.

£454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
£125 National War Bonds (4th series), 1929.

Note.—There is a liability in respect of a loan from the Oriental Translation Fund of £500.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1920

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent, Rates, Taxes, and Insurance	496	16	4½			
Gas and Electric Light	42	7	3			
Coals and Coke	41	19	4			
Telephone	8	0	6			
Stamping Agreements	2	7	0			
Window Cleaning	4	14	6			
Decorations and Repairs	7	0	4			
Other Expenditure	21	6	7			
	<hr/>			624	11	10½
EXPENSES ON ACCOUNT OF REMOVAL—						
Repairs and Decorations, etc.	2,125	16	10			
Electrical Fittings	241	4	8			
Heat Circular	251	13	0			
Removal Expenses	155	5	0			
Rent, December Quarter, 1920, 74 Grosvenor						
Street	125	0	0			
Furnishing	136	13	3			
Architect, employed by Society	157	16	8			
Agent	100	0	0			
Solicitor's Charges	82	18	6			
Miscellaneous	20	10	1			
	<hr/>			3,396	18	0
SALARIES AND WAGES				671	13	8
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				74	13	6
LIBRARY				24	18	6½
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	518	16	0			
Postage	40	19	0			
	<hr/>			559	15	0
AUDITOR'S FEE				5	5	0
BANK CHARGES				1	0	0
POSTAGE AND TELEGRAMS				49	10	0
INTEREST ON OVERDRAFT, LLOYDS	2	4	4			
„ SPECIAL FUNDS LOAN	7	10	0			
	<hr/>			9	14	4
SUNDRY PAYMENTS—						
Teas.	20	16	11			
Lantern Operator	8	11	6			
Parcels and Fares	3	4	10			
Sundries	17	6	3			
	<hr/>			49	19	6
BALANCES IN HAND DECEMBER 31, 1920—						
Lloyds Bank, Current Account	191	13	1			
Post Office Savings Bank	94	1	7			
Petty Cash	2	0	7			
	<hr/>			287	15	3
	<hr/>			£5,755	14	8

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.
C. FRAZER, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE,
Professional Auditor.

R. GRANT BROWN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS

1920.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1. BALANCE	.	.	.	690	11	4
SALES	.	.	.	160	1	7
INTEREST ON LOAN	.	.	.	7	10	0
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	.	.	.	8	0	1
				<u>175</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>

£866 3 0

MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	.	.	.	206	10	6
SALES	.	.	.	35	9	7
INTEREST	.	.	.	<u>2</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>
				<u>38</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>
				<u>£244</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4</u>

PRINTING VOL. XVII	.	.	.	186	13	6
BINDING DO.	.	.	.	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>
				<u>205</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY				<u>39</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>
				<u>£244</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4</u>

PAYMENTS

LOAN TO GENERAL FUND.	.	.	.	500	0	0
STORING OF QUIRE STOCK	.	.	.	1	4	2
BINDING VOLS. I-VI, X, AND XIV	.	.	.	38	16	9
BANK CHARGES	.	.	.	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
1920. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY				<u>540</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>
Dec. 31.				<u>325</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>
				<u>£866</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	.	.	.	252	13	1
SALES	.	.	.	13	6	3
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	18	0	0
INTEREST	.	.	.	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
				<u>36</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>
				<u>£289</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>

Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY

289 6 1

MEDAL FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	.	.	.	51	12	11
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	9	15	0
INTEREST	.	.	.	<u>15</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
				<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>
				<u>£62</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>

Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY

62 3 1

£62 3 1

FORLONG REQUEST

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1920

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1920.							
Jan. 1.							
BALANCE AT JANUARY 1, 1920---							
Cash at Bank on Current Account . . .	191	15	10				
Deposit Account . . .	252	17	0				
				444	12	10	
NEW SOUTH WALES 4 per cent	28	3	2				
SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 4 per cent	28	8	10				
BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY . . .	28	5	6				
3½ per cent India on £1,143 6s. 3d.	28	0	0				
EAST INDIA RAILWAY Co.	31	12	0				
5 per cent War Loan 1929-47 . . .	12	13	10				
	157	3	4				
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	12	15	1				
RETURN OF INCOME TAX . . .	58	14	5				
				£673	5	8	

£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.
 £45 East Indian Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".
 £1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.
 £1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Stock.
 £253 18s. 4d. War Loan, 5 per cent, 1929-47.

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and we certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.
 C. FRAZER, for the Society.
 N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

The Council has nominated Professor A. A. Macdonell to be Vice-President, and Dr. Graham Bailey, Dr. Lionel Giles, Mr. F. E. Pargiter, and Sir Denison Ross to be ordinary members of Council.

The following 12 ordinary members have died during the past year :—

Mr. Ahmad M. Shaikh Ansari.	Mr. R. Prasada.
Mr. Wynne Baxter.	Effendi Faris Selim.
H.H. the Maharajah of Bobbili.	Rev. Anton Tien.
Mr. K. R. Cama.	Dr. Satis Chandra, Vidyā-
Mrs. Philippa De Lisle.	bhūsana.
Mrs. Finn.	Pandit R. Vaidya, Vidyaratna.
Rev. C. W. Mitchell.	

The following 18 members have resigned :—

Rev. F. M. Bussell.	Mr. S. Hillelson.
Dr. Colin Campbell.	Mr. G. R. S. Mead.
The Lord Chalmers.	Colonel W. J. Muir.
Rev. Canon Cooke.	Babu P. Chandra, Protnatta
Mr. W. Craig.	Bisharad, Mukhopadhyaya.
Lady Davis.	Rev. F. C. Norton.
Mr. Yuhanna Dawud.	The Lord Sandhurst.
Mr. Mohini Dhar.	Dr. Otto Strauss.
Mr. Alfred Dobrée.	Major A. C. Tancock.
Miss Mary Foley.	

The following 31 members have been removed owing to non-payment of their subscriptions :—

Mr. M. S. Makbul Ahmad.	Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira.
Mr. S. Raza Ali.	Mr. Maung Gyi, B.A.
Mr. S. Zahur Ali.	Dhawan L. T. Lal.
Professor S. V. Rangasamy	Mr. C. J. Marzetti.
Ayengar.	Mr. B. V. Mehta.
H.H. the Raja of Baliapattam.	Mr. M. G. Mehta.
Mr. Jyoti P. Banerjea.	Rai Sahib B. S. Misra.
Mr. A. R. Bountra.	Mr. N. G. Munro.
Mr. J. Chatterjee, Vidyabinode.	Dr. Johannes Nobel.
Dr. W. Cohn.	Count Leon Ostrorog.
Mr. L. A. Fanous.	Mr. Saya Tun Pé.

Babu M. B. Rath.
 Khan Mahomed Seljuqi.
 Mr. G. Shankar.
 Pandit Maya Shankar.
 Mr. Hirnanda Shastri.

Professor D. R. Simon.
 Babu A. P. Singh.
 Mr. P. S. Subbarayen.
 Mr. R. Tarini-Charan.
 Professor Dr. Max Walleser.

During the past year 19 resident members have been elected, a record number for some years.

Mr. F. Anderson.
 Mr. S. N. Buchia.
 Lady Deane.
 Mr. C. S. Elgood.
 Mr. C. W. Gurner.
 Mr. U. A. Hamid.
 H. E. Baron Hayashi.
 Mr. G. E. Hay.
 Rev. G. S. Hitchcock.
 Mr. R. L. Hobson.

Miss E. G. Kemp.
 Mr. Paul King.
 Mr. C. C. Polhill.
 Mr. A. Sefi.
 Sir Malcolm Seton.
 Mr. A. Waley.
 Mr. H. Weld-Blundell.
 Mr. A. N. G. Whymant.
 Mr. G. Willoughby-Meade.

The following 151 non-resident members have joined the Society :—

Mr. M. H. Abd-al-Razek.
 Mr. Md. S. Ahmad.
 Mr. W. F. Albright.
 Maj. C. H. Armsbruster.
 Mr. P. Bagchi.
 Mr. C. A. Bamber.
 Mr. S. K. Banerjee.
 Mr. A. K. Banerji.
 Mr. A. P. Banerji.
 Mr. P. N. Banerji.
 Mr. P. Basu.
 Mr. S. T. Bhandare.
 Mr. C. Bhandari.
 Mr. D. K. Bhardraj.
 Mr. B. Bhattacharya.
 Mr. B. Bhushan.
 Mr. H. G. S. Bivar.
 Mr. J. Bowstead.

Mr. B. Bushan.
 Mr. S. N. Bushia.
 Mr. W. B. J. Carmichael.
 Mr. H. C. Chakladar.
 Mr. S. Charan.
 Dr. J. Charpentier.
 Mr. B. K. Chatterjee.
 Mr. S. P. Chatterjee.
 Mr. N. C. Chatterji.
 Mr. P. N. Chowdhuri.
 Mr. M. G. Coëdes.
 Mr. S. A. Cook.
 Mr. W. S. Cotterill.
 Mr. M. B. L. Dar.
 Mr. J. N. Das.
 Dr. C. N. Davis.
 Mr. R. Dayal.
 Mr. L. N. Deb.

Capt. R. C. Dent.	Mr. J. Mann.
Mr. G. Dhar.	Mr. J. Martin.
Mr. A. S. Doniach.	Mr. L. N. Mathur.
Mr. G. R. Driver.	Mr. O. B. Mathur.
Pandit K. N. Dube.	Baron Gerard de Maydell.
Mr. R. F. Eden.	Babu J. Mazumdar.
Mrs. C. Edwards.	Mr. L. Misra.
Mr. J. H. F. Evans.	Mr. D. B. R. Mudalier.
Mr. H. Farmer.	Mr. H. N. Mukerjee.
Mr. H. J. Frampton.	Mr. B. L. Mukerjee.
Mr. J. S. Furnivall.	Mr. A. P. Mullick.
Mr. K. J. S. Gahlot.	Mr. A. C. Nag.
Mr. K. Gangananda Sinha.	Mr. N. C. Nandi.
Mr. M. H. Ghorpaday.	Mr. S. Narain.
Mr. S. C. Ghosh.	Mr. B. Narayan.
Mr. S. K. Ghosh.	Mr. K. G. Natesa.
Mr. P. Gopinath.	Mr. B. N. Navagire.
Mr. K. M. Gupta.	Mr. Narpal Singh.
Mr. P. L. Gupta.	Mr. V. M. Nowle.
Mr. K. P. Guru.	Pandit R. Ojha.
Mr. R. M. Gwynn.	Mr. H. J. Oulsnam.
Mr. M. Habib.	Mr. F. Pal.
Mr. M. A. K. Haidari.	Mr. H. M. Paterson.
Professor A. Haq.	Mr. M. B. Pithawalla.
Mr. K. K. Handiqui.	Mr. C. A. Pittar.
Mr. Md. G. Hassan.	Mr. B. G. Poror, Zemindar.
Mr. G. E. Hay.	Mr. D. Porter.
Mr. A. H. Hill.	Mr. C. Proctor.
Mr. M. Ishaque.	Mr. Qureshi.
Mr. M. H. K. Iyengar.	Mr. S. S. Raghavan.
Mr. H. E. Jagoe.	Mr. C. K. Raja.
Deo of Jashpur.	Mr. K. R. Ramabhadran.
Mr. M. S. W. Khan.	Mr. R. K. Rao.
Pandit G. Krishna.	Mr. T. R. G. Rao.
Mr. H. M. Lett.	Mr. Md. A. Rashid.
Mr. R. Levy.	Mr. S. C. Ray.
Mr. J. M. Maitra.	Mr. W. H. Rees.
Mr. R. C. Maitra.	Mr. D. Rege.
Mr. N. G. Majumdar.	Mr. B. Reu.

Mr. G. N. Roerich.	Mr. W. E. Soothill.
Mr. R. Saksena.	Mr. W. B. Stevenson.
Professor S. C. Sarkar.	Mr. W. Q. Taggart.
Mr. P. Sarkar.	Mr. G. C. Tambe.
Mr. V. L. Sastri.	Mr. M. K. Thin.
Col. R. C. F. Schomberg.	Rev. D. G. Thirtle.
Mr. J. Scotland.	Mr. H. M. Tin.
Mr. M. J. Seth.	Mr. C. G. C. Trench.
Mr. A. S. Sewell.	Right Rev. A. Trollope Bishop (in Corea).
Mr. A. K. Sharma.	Mr. W. G. Urdhwareshe.
Mr. A. Siddiqi.	Mr. G. N. S. Varma.
Mr. A. R. Siddiqi.	Mr. S. Varma.
Mr. M. S. Sidersky.	Mr. A. R. C. Westlake.
Sahib Bahadur R. Hardeo Singh.	Mr. L. M. Wynch.
Professor M. Sinha.	Mr. D. Yellin.
Babu M. Sinha.	Major L. M. Yetts.
Mr. W. Sinha.	Mr. Md. Yusuf.
Professor G. Sircar.	Mr. Md. Yusuff.
Mr. K. N. Sitaram.	

The total number of new members now stands at 170. When the 62 lost to the Society by death, resignation, or removal have been deducted there remain a total of 108 new resident and non-resident members. Part of this satisfactory state of affairs must be ascribed to the success of the appeals signed by the President that were sent to all members asking them to enlist new members. It is to be hoped that the further appeals that have been issued to the ruling Princes of India, to Church Dignitaries, to Heads of Universities and Public Schools, and to Coaches for the Indian Civil Service may also bear fruit.

Lectures

The following lectures were delivered during the Session, most of them illustrated by excellent slides :—

October 12, 1920. "The Marsh Arabs of Mesopotamia," by Dr. Patrick Buxton.

November 9, 1920. "Aurungzab Vindicated," by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah.

December 14, 1920. "Some Arabic Poets of the Abbasid Period," by Dr. R. Nicholson.

January 18, 1921. "The Buddhist Temples of the Diamond Mountain of Korea," by Miss H. C. Bowser.

February 8, 1921. "Under Bolshevik Rule in Russian Turkestan," by Miss R. Houston.

March 8, 1921. "Nomad Tribes of South-West Persia," by Mr. D. A. Lane (late of South Persia Rifles).

April 12, 1921. "Baghdad to Teheran: a new variation of an old theme," by Mr. R. Levy.

Dr. R. Blake, of Harvard University, will read a paper on June 14th entitled "The Sources for the History of Georgian Ecclesiastical Literature".

Forlong Bequest

The Council approved that Dr. McGovern should deliver a course of lectures on Buddhism in accordance with this bequest.

Books Published by the Society

Lalla-Vakyani. By Sir G. Grierson and Dr. Barnett (Monograph Fund.)

Linguistic Studies of the Himalayas. By Dr. Grahame Bailey. (Monograph Fund.)

Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami. By Sir G. Grierson. (Prize Publications Fund.)

The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt from the Arabic Chronicle of Ibn Iyas. By Colonel Salmon. (Oriental Translation Fund.)

The following Books are in the Press

El-Asatir. By Dr. M. Gaster. (Oriental Translation Fund.)

Bakhtiari Phonology. By Major Lorimer. (Monograph Fund.)

Letting of Rooms.

The Society has now let all its vacant rooms as offices to the following Societies :—

The Anthroposophical Society. The Italian Red Cross Society.
 The Anglo-Italian Society. The Persia Society.
 The British Italian League. The Society of Women
 The Central Asian Society. Musicians.

Invitations to the Society

An invitation was sent to the Society from the American Oriental Society inviting it to send delegates to the Meeting at Baltimore, 29th-31st March. This the Council was obliged to decline, being unable to find members who could undertake the journey.

Lord and Lady Pentland invited the Council and members of the Society to a Reception on 24th February to meet Lord Reading before his departure for India.

Centenary

The year 1923 will be the Centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a Committee has been formed to celebrate the event and to publish a Centenary Volume. The names of the Committee are as follows:—

Professor Margoliouth (Chair-	Mr. L. C. Hopkins.
man).	Sir H. Howorth.
Mr. F. E. Pargiter (General	Professor Langdon.
Editor).	Professor Macdonell.
Mr. C. Otto Blagden.	Dr. R. Nicholson.
Dr. B. Gray.	Professor Sayce.
Mr. Griffith.	

and the Honorary Officers of the Society.

The thanks of the Society is due to the Honorary Solicitor, Mr. Alexander Wilson; the Honorary Auditors, Mrs. Frazer and Mr. L. C. Hopkins; and the Official Auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., for their kind services.

The President inquired whether any member would wish to comment on the report, and Sir Denison Ross spoke in warm terms of the services rendered to the Library of the Society by Mr. Ellis, the Hon. Librarian.

Mr. F. E. PARGITER, proposing the adoption of the Report, said that the characteristic feature of the year had been that of readjustment. It began with their removal to Grosvenor Street. They had had to adapt themselves to the change, and there had been great labour in getting their library put into a workable condition. He was glad to say that owing to the ready co-operation of their officers the work was very nearly completed. Another point of readjustment was the amalgamation with this Society of the Society of Biblical Archæology, which came into active force during the past year. The *Journal* now contained many more articles than formerly on subjects of interest to that Society. The range of their subjects had thus been increased, but the rise in cost of printing had seriously handicapped them in publishing the *Journal*, so that while they had a larger range of subjects they had a smaller compass to publish papers on them. This was a very great misfortune in respect to the standing of their Society throughout the whole world. They hoped that things might improve, and they had to bear in mind that during the year they had borne very heavy non-recurring expenditure for the removal. They might now expect not only to pay their way without difficulty, but also do something in building up reserves to recoup themselves for the money they had laid out. Readjustment was going on not only in their domestic affairs but also in the countries to which they devoted their studies, and he might be permitted to say in regard to India, the country with which they were most closely connected, that they hoped that the new system of Government, unparalleled in the whole of Asia, would prove a complete success.

Lord MESTON, in seconding the Report, said that the past year seemed to have been a fitting successor to those sad, anxious years of war during which the Society kept the torch of Asiatic scholarship alight, and when there seemed to be in the world very little light indeed except flames from the Nether Regions. He took that opportunity on behalf of the

European residents in India, and more particularly the members of the Public Services there to thank the Society for the ideals it had maintained, the wide range of cultured interests it had served, and for the link that it provided for fellowship between Europeans and their Indian fellow subjects. The link was between East and West. It was unfortunately true that the traditions of scholarship which used to attach to the Public Services in India had in recent years become a little thin. When he first went to the United Provinces there were actually serving there Vincent Smith, F. S. Growse, William Irvine, Dr. Hoey, William Crook, James Kennedy, and Howell, the Arabic scholar. That was a group of men belonging to the I.C.S. in one province, and apart from them there were distinguished names in the educational and other services, men like Griffiths and Venis. For a group of scholars of similar character they would look in vain to-day in any province of India, and probably in the whole of India. It was not, he thought, that the spirit had gone; it was not that the present day civilians took their mental recreations in less reputable fields, or devoted themselves to more transitory things. It was due to the pressure of life, the absorbing claims of absolute duty, the anxiety as to ways and means. The opportunities for leisure were scanty, and he was afraid that the pleasant communion with the older school of cultured Indians was largely a thing of the past. It had been replaced to some extent by association with Indians who thought a good deal more of the future than of the past. So long as controversy raged to the extent to which it had raged in India in the last few years, and so long as political power was engaged in shifting its balance, it could hardly be expected that the Indian Services would add in the same degree as they used to the material of scholarship which the Society collected. It was indeed a matter to be profoundly grateful for that the work during this transitional period was being carried on by older men who had retired from active work in India, who had according to Hindu ideas reached the stage

of Sunyasi, and who were giving the Society the benefit of their wisdom. He believed that things would settle down, and that when the Services settled down there would be a revival of learning and its members would turn again to those regions of ancient race and tradition which had such a mysterious fascination for the human mind, and which opened up, especially in India, such avenues of fresh investigation. Meanwhile there was something of a new force in a group of young Indians, many of them under the banner of that Society, acquainted with the methods of modern criticism, exploring fields with honesty and sincerity, and acquiring an enthusiasm for research. Their number was not large but it would grow, and he regarded the uprising of this school as one of the best fruits of the new Nationalist movement. It was just here that the Society could enhance its value by maintaining the bond of culture between Englishmen and the new Indian critical school of culture. It was by this road that the Society could do so much to bring the East and West together, and to diminish the wholly fictitious importance of racial differences. The Society had earned the sincere gratitude of all who wished to bring about a better understanding between East and West. Long might it continue to flourish.

The PRESIDENT then delivered the following speech :—

I propose that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales be invited to become a Vice-Patron of this Society.

I also propose that Lord Reading be invited to hold the same post during his tenure of office as Viceroy, with the hope that all succeeding Viceroys may follow his example. I propose Lord Chelmsford as Resident Member.

During the past year the Society has had to mourn the loss of several of its members whose efforts had done much to raise the Society to the high position that it holds in the world of learning. I will mention first Dr. Oliver Codrington, one of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, the distinguished Numismatist, whose work for the Library will always be held

in gratitude. Last June our late Hon. Treasurer, Mr. James Kennedy, passed away, but his devotion to the interests of the Society and his skilful management of its finances will not be forgotten. Sir Charles Lyall, the brilliant Arabic scholar, and Dr. Drummond Anderson, a great authority in Indian languages, leave our Council the poorer for their expert advice.

It is with great regret that I have to record the illness of our Director, Sir Richard Temple, whose strenuous activities during the war led to a breakdown last December. We have, I am glad to say, encouraging reports from Switzerland as to his progress, and trust that before long the Society may have the benefit of his presence again.

Our Honorary Secretary, Dr. F. W. Thomas, has been spending six months in India, where he has borne the interests of the Society in mind and has been made an Honorary Member of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S. I am able to read to you his last interesting letter. During his absence Mr. Longworth Dames filled his place until compelled to give up his duties through illness. Our best thanks are due to Mr. Grant Brown for the time and care he has given to our finances and the means to improve them; also to Mr. Ellis, who has re-arranged the whole Library on the change of premises. He worked here during both summer and Easter holidays.

Mr. Robert Mond has kindly consented to become our Joint Hon. Treasurer, and the Society hopes to draw benefit from his financial experience. Ill-health detains him in the South of France.

At the end of last June, to our regret, Miss Hull resigned her post as Secretary, but we were fortunate in securing Miss Ella Sykes as her successor, and I wish to commend the work of the staff during the past year.

During this period the *Journal* has maintained its high reputation, and has been enriched by articles from the pens of Sir George Grierson, Mr. Longworth Dames, Professor

Langdon, Professor Sayce, and Mr. L. C. Hopkins, to name only a few of our distinguished contributors. One of the features of the *Journal* has been its reviews of Oriental literature, and here I must thank the many gentlemen who so generously give their time to this work. The Council thoroughly realize their responsibility with regard to the contents of the *Journal*.

Several valuable lectures on Oriental subjects have been delivered during the Session, Dr. R. Nicholson's paper on "Some Arabic Poets of the Abbasid Period" attracting considerable attention.

I have now the pleasant duty of thanking the various friends who have presented gifts to the Society. An anonymous donor sent £100 to increase the salary of the Secretary, Prince Vajiranana of Siam gave £60 in celebration of his sixtieth birthday, and Sir R. Temple and Mr. H. Beveridge sent sums of £10 each, as they were unable to respond to the appeal to enlist new members, and other donations have been received. Colonel Knox-Niven has presented an interesting coat of Oriental chain armour which was dug up near the reputed site of the grave of Bucephalus in the Panjab, and which can be seen in the Council Room. From the Dutch Government we have received a most interesting volume on the Temple of Barabudur.

The mention of these gifts leads me to the subject of the finances of the Society. Our securities have been almost entirely expended on the costly move from Albemarle Street to these premises, and though the India Office has just increased its annual grant by a most welcome addition of a hundred guineas, yet, owing to the greatly enhanced cost of printing, that sum does not nearly cover the outgoings of the Society, although strict economy is practised.

Owing to this fact the Council, after much deliberation, are recommending that the non-resident members' subscriptions be raised from 30s. to 2 guineas, and that there should be a lower compounding fee with a sliding scale according

to age, hoping thereby to attract members to compound. A leaflet, explaining the reasons for the contemplated change in the non-resident members' subscription, has been sent to every member, and the question will be finally settled at an Extraordinary General Meeting on the 5th July.

You have listened to the list of books published by the Society during the past year, but these have so depleted the various funds at its disposal, the Oriental Translations, the Monograph, and the Prize Publication Funds, that at present the Society is quite unable to undertake the publication of any new works. This is most unfortunate, because, though the high prestige of the Society is maintained by means of our great *Journal* known throughout the learned world, yet much of it rests upon the books we publish. Mr. Arbuthnot, by leaving a generous bequest to found the Oriental Translations Fund, has enabled the Society to bring out many works which no ordinary publisher would take, fearing that such a venture would land him in loss. These facts embolden me to appeal to our members to subscribe to these funds. Learned men are, as a rule, poor, so it rests with others who being unable to devote themselves to such studies, yet realize their importance to the world and can materially assist. In the early days of our Society men of rank and position were ready to act the part of Macaenas to those who were dowered with more brains than cash. May I venture to hope that there are still some among us who rank things spiritual higher than things material? It would be a fitting way to celebrate our Centenary in 1923 by bringing out some learned works that otherwise might never be given to the world.

I wish to give our best thanks to those who have been so successful in recruiting new members. To-day we have elected 30 non-resident members presented by one member.

The relations between East and West are changing. This change should heighten the interest taken in those Oriental studies of which this Society seeks to be the interpreter. More and more the East reveals its secrets to us. Whilst

I am addressing you the Imperial Crown Prince of Japan is being received by their Majesties the King and Queen. The nation welcomes H.R.H. as representing our ally during the late war. No one at the time of the Treaty of Vienna could have foreseen that in the struggle for sanctity of treaties an Eastern Power would have played a prominent part. We cannot show our appreciation in a better way than by studying the history in its widest aspect of those Oriental nations with whom our relations will always, I trust, become ever more friendly.

Field-Marshal His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has graciously consented to become a Vice-patron.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has invited the Society to send delegates to its meeting at Boston on 5th October. Dr. Cowley, Professor Langdon, Mr. Shuttleworth, and Mr. Weld-Blundell have accepted the invitation.

A notice was sent to all members calling a Special General Meeting on 5th July to settle the question of raising the non-resident subscription. It was however decided to postpone the matter owing to the hardship involved to Indian members by the exchange.

Lady Lyall has presented the *Journals of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* belonging to the late Sir Charles Lyall, and Mrs. Waite has given some Journals.

The Executors of the late Dr. Codrington have assigned to the Society the copyright of his *Manual of Musulman Numismatics*.

Miss Manning has offered a framed photograph of the bust of Mr. Thomas Manning, the friend of Charles Lamb and the first Englishman to visit Lhasa, and Mr. George Tate has forwarded a map of the traditional site of Alexander's Victory over Porus.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Books

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Archæological Survey of India. Central Circle. Annual Report,
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From the Government of India.

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From the Secretary of State.

— Memoirs, No. 8. Six Sculptures from Mahoba, by K. N.
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Ars Asiatica, publié sous la direction de Victor Goloubew. Vol. ii.
Six Monuments de la Sculpture Chinoise, par E. Chavannes.
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— Vol. iii. Sculptures Civaïtes, par A. Rodin, A. Coomara-
swamy, E. B. Havell, et V. Goloubew. Bruxelles, 1921.
From Messrs. E. Van Oest & Cie.

Baillet, J., Inscriptions Greques et Latines des Tombeaux des
Rois ou Syringes à Thèbes. Fasc. i. Mémoires de l'Institut
Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. T. xlii. Le
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Binyon, L., and Arnold, T. W., The Court Painters of the
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Translated by M. E. Reynolds from the Dutch. London,
1921. *From the Publishers.*

- Brandes, J. L. A., Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het Boek der Koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit. Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap. Deel lxii. Tweede Druk bewerkt door N. J. Krom. 's Hage, 1920. *From the Publishers.*
Calcutta University. Journal of the Department of Letters. 3 vols.
— Post-Graduate Teaching, 1919–20. Calcutta, 1920. *From the Publishers.*
- Carpenter, J. Estlin, Theism in Medieval India. The Hibbert Lectures, 1919. London, 1921. *From the Hibbert Trustees.*
- Casanova, P., Essai de Reconstitution Topographique de la Ville d'al Foustât ou Miṣr. T. i, fasc. iii. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. T. xxxv. Le Caire, 1919. *From the Publishers.*
- Christensen, A., Xavāṣṣ-i-Āyāt. København, 1920. *From the Author.*
- Clarke, C. Stanley, Indian Drawings. Mogul Paintings illustrating the Romance of Amīr Hamzah. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolios. London, 1921. *From the Director.*
- Cohen, Rev. A., The Babylonian Talmūd : Tractate B^BRĀKŌT. Translated into English for the first time. Cambridge, 1921. *From the Author.*
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- Edwards, C., The Hammurabi Code. 3rd ed. London, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
- Epigraphy. Madras Government. No. 985, 1920.
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- Foster, W., The English Factories in India, 1655–60. Vol. x. Oxford, 1921.
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- Gelder, J. M. van, Mānava Śrauta-Sūtra Cayana. Leiden, 1921. *From the Author.*
- Geldern, R. v. Heine-, Gibt es eine austroasiatische Rasse ?
— Kopfjagd u. Menschenopfer in Assam u. Birma u. ihre Ausstrahlungen nach Vorderindien. Wien, 1917. *From the Author.*

- Goldziher, I., *Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam*, trad. de F. Arin. Paris, 1920. *From the Publishers.*
- Grierson, Sir G., *Index of Language Names. Linguistic Survey of India.* Calcutta, 1920. *From the Secretary of State.*
- Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami. *An account of three Iranian Dialects.* Prize Publication Fund, vol. v.
- Halper, B., *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature. An Anthology, Text, and Translation.* 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
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Gujarati Phonology

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(Concluded from p. 365.)

HISTORY OF THE CONSONANTS

34. The general evolution of the PI consonants, together with the special question of dialectical differences arising therefrom, has been set forth by Dr. Bloch.¹ It will be sufficient here to note the chief features in that development, with special reference to Gujarāṭi.

The most notable feature throughout has been the progressive enfeeblement in the articulation of the stops. This has shown itself in three ways: (1) the loss of final stops; (2) the assimilation of the first to the second in a group of stops (both these phenomena have their origin in the implosive pronunciation of stops in these positions); (3) the sonorization of intervocalic breathed stops and eventual disappearance of all intervocalic stops. In the case of the aspirates only the *h*-sound remained. The earliest signs of this process are already visible in the language of the R̥gveda, where IE *ǵh* and *ǵʰh* before a palatal vowel regularly, and IE *dʰh* under certain conditions, are represented by *h*.

¹ Id., § 14 ff.

The course of this evolution was continuous; but, for the sake of convenience, it may be divided into four stages, corresponding roughly with the four main documentary periods: (1) early Middle Indian comprising the language up to the inscriptions of Asoka; (2) the literary Prakrits up to a few centuries before Hemacandra; (3) early Modern Indian including the OWR texts; (4) Modern Gujarātī.

35. In the first stage the loss of all final consonants and the assimilation of consonant groups has been carried through, with certain exceptions noted below. The cerebrals, which in PI. are practically confined to cases where a dental has become a cerebral owing to the influence of neighbouring *s*, or in the case of *n* also of a neighbouring *r*, have greatly increased in number. This increase is perhaps due to the influence of Dravidian speakers, whose languages clearly differentiated the two series. It can be noticed (1) in the increasing number of assimilations: e.g. **dandra-* (: δένδρον) > *daṇḍa-* > *ḍaṇḍa-* G. *ḍāḍ* fine; (2) in apparently spontaneous change of > dental to cerebral: e.g. *daś-* > *ḍas-*, G. *ḍasvū* bite, *pat-* > *paṭ-*, G. *paḍvū* fall; (3) in a large number of new words. Distinctive dialectical differences of this period which have survived are:

(1) *st*, *sth*, *ṣt*, *ṣth* and stop + *r* remain unassimilated in the N.W. group. In Gujarātī they are assimilated.

(2) *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* appear as *s* in the west, as *ś* in the east (in one Eastern Prakrit *ś* < *ś*, *s* < *ṣ* *s*), and are differentiated in the N.W. (Piśāca) group as *ś* < *ś* *ṣ*, *s* < *s*. Gujarātī has only *s* (G. *ś* is a secondary development).

(3) *ḷṣ* appears as *ceh* in the S.W., *kkh* in E. and N. Gujarātī has *kkh*.

(4) *sm*, *ṣm* appear as *ss* in N.W., *mh* elsewhere. Gujarātī has *mh*.

(5) In the group *r* or *r* + dental, the dental becomes a cerebral in E., remains in W. But in this case the

mutual borrowing has been so old and extensive that it is almost impossible to assign the modern languages definitely to one development or the other. The predominant Gujarātī treatment appears to be the dental.

36. In the second stage the sonorization and loss of intervocalic stops is carried through. Before complete disappearance they seem to have become a *y*-sound, which either remained or disappeared without trace. Intervocalic *-m-* has, for the most part, become a nasalized labial spirant *-ṽ-*. *n*, except perhaps initially, has become *ɳ*, which may have represented, as now in Gujarātī, a nasalized cerebral spirant.

Dialectical differences of this period are :

(1) Intervocalic dentals in some N.W. (Piśāca) languages have become *l*. In Gujarātī they are lost with the other stops.

(2) Intervocalic *-m-* is retained in Gujarātī under certain conditions.

37. In the third stage double consonants, the result of earlier assimilation, are shortened, and the preceding short vowel lengthened. The same process is observable in the group nasal + consonant, where the nasality is pronounced coincidentally with the vowel, which is lengthened. This re-establishes the PI system of intervocalic stops.

Dialectical differences of this period are :

(1) Double consonants are retained in Pañjābī and other N.W. languages. They are simplified in Gujarātī.

(2) Breathed stops preceded by a nasal are voiced in Pañjābī. They remain unchanged in Gujarātī.

(3) *v-* and *-vv-* remain *w*-sounds in W., but become *b* in E. Gujarātī has a *w*-sound.

(4) *ɳ* has become *n* in E., but is retained in W. (except initially or when doubled). Gujarātī retains *-ɳ-*.

(5) Intervocalic *-l-* has become *-ḷ-* in W. and N., but remains in E. Gujarātī has *ḷ*.

38. In the fourth stage the loss of final MI vowels

and of certain short vowels between consonants has re-established the PI system of final stops and of unassimilated consonant groups: e.g. G. *vāt*, *nās*, *āg*, *ār*, etc.; *vātno*, *āgñū*, *karto*, *lāgto*, *kātrī*, etc.

39. These changes have resulted in the following Gujarātī consonant system:—

Stops: *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, *t*, *th*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *t*, *th*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*.

Affricates: *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*.

Continuants: *s*, *ś*, *y*, *v*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ*, *h*.

Nasals: *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*.

Any of these consonants can stand finally as well as initially and between vowels, except *ṇ*, *ṇ*, and *ḷ*, which do not occur initially. They can also, as explained above, be combined in groups. Notes as to their sounds will be found under the heading of their particular classes below.

The final stops are already implosive, and though in deliberate speech the first members of consonant groups are sometimes given an implosive-explosive articulation, e.g. *āgthī*, they are more usually pronounced implosively, when a voiced stop is assimilated to a breathed, e.g. *āgthī* > [*akthī*]. How far this process has gone can be seen in isolated forms like *accher* $\frac{1}{2}$ seer < *ād(h)sēr* (: *ād(h)* $\frac{1}{2}$), where the results of the assimilation are not continually being replaced by analogy, as in the case of words like *āgthī* beside *āgno*, etc.

The same forces, therefore, still appear to be at work which caused the profound modification of the original PI consonant system.

ASPIRATION

40. The Gujarātī aspirates agree in the main with the Sanskrit. But there are some divergences. These may be divided into two classes: A. those which are common to all the ModI languages (except Singhalese, which has lost all aspirates) and whose modern form is represented in Prakrit as opposed to Sanskrit; and B. those which have

their origin in Gujarātī itself, though it may be as the result of tendencies which have found independent expression in other languages.

A. The first class have been discussed by Dr. Bloch¹; his examples from Marāṭhī can be paralleled for the most part from Gujarātī: e.g. *khāpriyā* crust of mucus in the nose (*karpara-*), *khīlo* (*kīla-*, *khīla-*); *phaṇas* jack-fruit (*panasa-*), *pharśī* axe (*paraśu-*), *phāso* trap (*pāsa-*), *bhāsū* chaff (*buṣa-*), *khēlvā* play (*krīd-*). For Skt. *kubja-*, *kubhra-* G. has only the unaspirated form *kubḍā* hump-backed (: M. *khujā*, *khubā*, *kubḍā*), and for *badara-*, *bōr*, *bōrḍā* (: M. *bhēr*).

There is as yet nothing to add to Dr. Bloch's conclusions that, whereas *bh-* may represent PI *bh-*, which in the presence of *s* or *r* has become *b* in Sanskrit, the aspiration in other cases is due to the presence of *s* or *r* in the same word, or to other special causes such as contamination with another root.

In the interior of the word there seems to have been an ancient correspondence between *mbh* and *mb*,² which is reflected in G. *ālāb(h)o* (*lambatē*). *pālkhī* litter (*paryaṇka-*, M. *pālkh(h)ī*) is almost certainly a loanword.

B. In the second class there are numerous cases of loss of aspiration.

(1) A final aspirate (particularly when there is another aspirate in the word) loses its aspiration. This, as Dr. Bloch remarks, is probably much more common in all the modern languages than their orthography would lead one to suppose. My own observation in Nepālī has led me to the conclusion that all aspirates finally or immediately preceding another consonant lose their aspiration in that language, although they are frequently shown in writing. This is doubtless due to the usual conservatism of writing and to the influence of connected forms where the aspirate is not in these positions. The deaspirated

¹ Bloch, § 84.

² Id., § 86.

forms have a reverse influence also on the non-final aspirates of connected forms. Of the three languages which I have had the opportunity of observing—Nepālī, Gujarātī, and Hindī—the first two, which tend to neglect *h* altogether (intervocalic *-h-* has disappeared entirely in Nepālī and largely in Gujarātī), also most thoroughly carry out the deaspiration of final consonants; while Hindī, which preserves intervocalic *-h-*, tends to preserve final aspirates as well. In any case, the aspiration of Gujarātī aspirates in any position is much feebler than in Hindī.

Examples of final deaspiration in Gujarātī are: *būj* appreciation (*budhya-*), *dāj(h)* anger (*dāhya-*), *bhik(h)* alms (*bhikṣā*), *bhūk(h)* (*bubhukṣā*), *jāg(h)* thigh (*jaṅghā*), *gūj* penis (*guhya-*), *sāj* (*sandhyā*), *īṭ* brick (*iṣṭā*), *ñṭ* camel (*uṣṭra-*), *lāt(h)* vertical support of an oil-press (Pkt. *laṭṭhi-*), *kōḍ(h)* (*kusṭha-*), *dhīṭ* (*dhṛṣṭa-*), *kāt(h)* timber (*kāṣṭha-*), *ad-* : *ādḥ* (*ardha-*).

(2) As in Nepālī, so also in Gujarātī the aspirate immediately before another consonant tends to be deaspirated (although, as with finals, this is not always shown in writing); e.g. *bujvū* understand (*budhyatē*), but *bujhāvū* explain; *samajvū* understand (: H. *samajhnā*).

From forms such as these deaspirated consonants have been introduced into forms where the consonant, being followed by a vowel, would not phonetically lose its aspiration; e.g. *saṃjāvū* after *samajvū*, *pālṭo* recompense after *palatvā* return (? *paryasta-*), *śikāvū* teach after *śikvū* learn (*śiksatē*).

GUTTURALS

41. The PI gutturals have not changed their way or place of articulation in Gujarātī; and, where they have subsisted initially or again arisen through the simplification of consonant groups, appear as *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*.

In Northern Gujarātī *k*, *kh*, *g*, before or after *i*, *e*, *y*,

become *c*, *ch*, *j*; e.g. *dicro* son (*dikro*), *chētar* field (*khētar*), *nāchyā* thrown (*nākhya*), beside *nākhvā*, *lājyo* begun (*lāgyo*), beside *lāgvā*.¹

PALATALS

42. The PI palatals, represented in Gujarāṭi now by affricates [*tʃ*, *tʃh*, *dʒ*, *dʒh*], must have continued as stops [*k'*] until intervocalic stops had become *y*. Otherwise it is hard to account for intervocalic *c*, etc. [i.e. *tʃ*, etc.], being lost, while sibilants were retained. It had become an affricate by the time the Greeks came into contact with India.² Singhalese preserves *-c-* as *s* and *-j-* as *d*.

PI *ch* does not correspond to *c* as *kh* to *k*, etc.; but it represents the first result of the tendency in the language that led to the assimilation of consonant groups, and stands for IE *śk*. Hence, between vowels it is always doubled *-ech-*; e.g. *chid-*: Lat. *scindo*, *gacchati*: *Βάσσω*. Secondly, Skt. *ch* often represents PI *kṣ* in Sanskritized Prakrit words, e.g. *chura-*: *kṣura-*.³

Skt. *jh* also is a MI rather than a PI sound. In some words it corresponds to *kṣ*, and seems to proceed from a dialect which had preserved as a voiced group original IE voiced guttural aspirate + continuant; e.g. *jhara-* beside *kṣarati*, G. *jharvā* trickle.⁴

In the Carotar district the palatals in Gujarāṭi have become *ts*, *dz*, and still further to the north *s*, *z*.⁵

CEREBRALS AND DENTALS

43. The IE single series of dentals has, in India, split into two series, dental and cerebral.

The PI cerebrals, having their origin in dentals, were due to contact with *ṣ* or *z*.⁶ But in the earliest Sanskrit monuments there are words containing cerebrals derived from dentals under the influence of a neighbouring *r* or *ṛ*.⁷

¹ LSI. ix, 2, p. 330.

² Id., § 131 ff.

³ LSI. ix, 2, p. 330.

⁴ Id., §§ 146-7.

⁵ Wackernagel, i, § 119.

⁶ Id., § 141.

⁷ Wackernagel, i, § 145a.

Since, however, the same words, or other words containing dentals under the same conditions, do not always follow this evolution, there appear to have been dialectical differences. In the one group a dental in the presence of *r* or *ṛ* becomes a cerebral; in the other it remains. The conditions were probably not quite so simple as this, and there may have been separate isoglosses for different groups like *ṛ* + dental, *r* + dental, dental + *r*, *r* + vowel + dental.

Whatever the dialectical differences, the words showing a cerebral from a dental in Sanskrit are undoubtedly Sanskritized words borrowed from a dialect or dialects having this cerebral development. It is to be remarked that the majority of these have become part of the common speech material of the ModI languages.

Gujarātī seems to belong to the group in which dentals in the presence of *r* remained dental; and words showing cerebrals in this position must be considered as early or later borrowings.

A. Dentals remain.

ṛt: *muo* (*mṛta*-), *amī* (*amṛta*-), *kīdhā* (*kṛta*-), *ghī* (*ghṛta*-).

ṛth: *pṛhḷā* (*pr̥thula*-).

ṛd: *mau* (*mṛdu*-), *haiyā* (*hṛdaya*-).

ṛdh: *gīdh* (*gr̥dhra*-).

ṛnt: *kātvā* spin (*kṛntati*), *gāhvā* (*gr̥athnāti*).

rt: *kātā* knife *kātlī* thin slice *kātro* crack in skin (*√kart*-), *kātar* scissors (*kartarī*), *dhutāro* (*dhūrta*-), *vāt* talk (*vārttā*).

rth: *cāthā* fourth (*caturtha*-), *sāthī* companion (*sārthīn*-).

rd: *pṛdvā* (*pramardati*), *pādvā* (*pardatē*), *ādū* ginger (*ārda*-), *dādar* frog (*dardura*-).

rdh: *ādḥ* ad- (*ardha*-), *vādhvā* increase, *vādhāro* increase, *vādhāī* good news, *vādhāvva* welcome ceremoniously on arrival (*vardha*-).

r in preceding syllable: *pēhlū* (*prathama-*), *bhāī* (*bhrātī-*), *gātdī* knot in a woman's upper garment (*grantha-*).

tr: *rāt* night (*rātri-*), *ratādhlū* night-blind (**rātry-andha-*), *khēt* (*kṣētra-*), *pūt* (*putra-*), *sutār* (*sūtradhāra-*), *tōdvā* (*trōṭayati*).

dr: *nīd* sleep (*nīdrā*), *dām* cash (*dramma-*), *ūdā* bluish (*udra-*).

dhr: *gīdh* (*gṛdhra-*), *vādhār* leather thong (*vadhra-*).

B. Dentals become cerebrals.

ṛt, etc.: *sākaḍ* difficulty (*saṅkaṭa-* : *kṛta-*), *naḍ* low-caste man (*naṭa-* : *nṛt-*), *bhaḍ* warrior (*bhaṭa-* : *bhṛt-*), *saḍvā* rot (*śaṭati* : *śṇāti*), *kaḍvā* bitter (*kaṭuka-* : Lith. *kartūs* bitter), *kaḍ* (*kaṭi-* : Gk. *κωλῆ*), *jaḍ* cold (*jaḍa-* : Lat. *gelu*), *ghaḍo* pot (*ghaṭa-* : Germ. *gelte*), *maḍdū* corpse (*mṛta-*), *nivaḍvā* turn out intr. (*nirvṛta-*), *kuḍū* dishonest (*kūṭa-* : Gk. *κυρτός*), *puḍo* bundle *paḍaḷ* web (*puṭa-paṭala-* : Eng. *fold*), *phuṭvū* be broken (*sphuṭyati* : Germ. *spalten*).

ṛth: *kuhāḍo* axe < ? * *kuḍhāra-* (*kuṭhāra-* : Lat. *culter*).

ṛd: *guḷ* molasses (*guḍa-* : Germ. *klotz*).

ṛdh: *jaḍ* foolish (*jaḍhu-* : Lat. *gurdus*).

ṛtt: *āṭo* twist (*aṭṭati* : *ārtta-*), *māṭī* (*mṛtti-*), *kuṭvū* beat (*kuṭṭati* : *kṛt-*), *-vaṭ* at end of compounds (*vṛtti-*), e.g. *athōṭī* skill (*hasta-vṛtti-*), *dēvaṭ* generosity.

ṛnd or *rnd*: *māḍvū* arrange (*maṇḍa-* : *mṛdu-*), *khāḍvū* pound (*khaṇḍa-* : Lith. *skėldėti* burst), *gāḍ* anus (*gaṇḍa-* : Lat. *glans*).

rt: *bhāṭ* minstrel (*bhaṭṭa-* : *bhartṛ-*), *āṭo* flour (*aṭṭa-* : Gk. *ἀλέω*), *vāṭ* path (*vartman-*), *vāṭ* wick (*varti-*).

rd: *chāḍvū* (*chardayati*).

rdh: *vādhvū* cut (*vardhayati*).

r in preceding syllable: *paḍ-* (*prati*) in *paḍchāyo*, *paḍthar*, *paḍpuch*, *paḍvo*, etc.; *paḍhvū* read (*paṭhati* : *prathati*), *gāṭh* knot (*grantha-*), *pīḍlo* round lump of clay (*piṇḍa-* : Eng. *flint*), *tuṭvū* (*truṭyati*).

dr: *dāḍo* handle (*daṇḍa*:- Gk. δένδρον), *āḍ* testicle (*aṇḍa*:- perhaps O.Sl. *jedro* testicle).

The frequent noun-suffix *-aḍ*, *-ḍo*, *-ḍi*, *-ḍū* is perhaps an extension of *-ṛt* > *-aḍ*- of common words like *kṛta*-, *vṛta*-, *dhṛta*-, etc. (cf. Skt. *vikāṭa*-, *saṅkāṭa*-), or of the suffix of *śukṛt*-, *avaṭa*- (< **avṛta*:- *avar*). Cf. Skt. *karkatāḥ*, *markatā*-.

A comparison of the two series above shows that while all the words with cerebrals are found in all the modern languages (except *mytti*-, which in its Marāṭhī form retains the dental), and mostly occur in literary Sanskrit with the cerebral treatment, that is to say, owe their wide extension to general early borrowing, those with dentals are not all so found, particularly derivatives from *vardh*- increase and *kart*- cut.

44. In another series of words in Sanskrit earlier dentals are found represented by cerebrals without assignable cause; e.g. *aṭati*, *uḍumbara*-, beside *atati*, *udumbara*- (G. *ābar*).¹ This list grows with time, and the number of these cerebrals is greatly increased in MI and ModI. Lists of words and attempts at explanation are given by Dr. Bloch.² Such words in Gujarātī are: *uḍvā* fly (*uḍḍayati*), *ḍasvā* (*daṣati*), *ḍābh* grass used in religious ceremonies (*darbha*-), *dāḍo* (*daṇḍa*-), *paḍvā* (*patati*), *tōḷū* gang (*tōḷi*), *ṭuṭvā* (*truṭyati*).

In some cases there appears to be assimilation to a following cerebral (*tōḷū*, and *ṭuṭvā* beside *tōḍvā*); but such assimilation is not regular in Gujarātī; e.g. *taḷe*, *tōḷ*, *dāḷhī*, *dīḥā*, *dhīt*, *daḷ*, etc.

With regard to this interchange of dentals with cerebrals, three remarks of Sir G. A. Grierson should be noted: "In colloquial Northern Gujarātī there is a strong tendency to dentalize cerebral letters and even to cerebralize dental ones . . . in fact, we may say that,

¹ Bloch, § 118.

² Id., § 119.

in this form of the language, dentals and cerebrals are absolutely interchangeable."¹ "They (uneducated Musalmāns) have also many peculiarities of pronunciation . . . The principal is the incapability of distinguishing between cerebral and dental letters." "Very similarly, the Gujarātī spoken by Pārsis often exhibits the change of cerebral letters to dentals."² Similarly, there is great confusion between dentals and cerebrals in Nepālī, a language fairly close to Gujarātī, as also, according to Sir G. A. Grierson, in the N.W. (Piśāca) group,³ with which, in its turn, Nepālī seems to have some affinity.

45. In some words Skt. *ḍ* is represented by *ḷ*. This is a dialectical development going back to the Rīgveda, in which *-ḍ-* regularly has become *-ḷ-*. In Gujarātī such words are loanwords; and in most cases they belong to the general Indian speech material, e.g. *sōḷ* 16 (*śōḍaśa*), *gōḷ* (*gūḍa-*), *naḷ* (*naḍa-*, *nala-*), *khēlvū* (Pkt. *khellaḷ*: ?*krīḍ-*). The change is regular in Pāli and Singhalese.

In the numerals where *-ḍ-* has become *r*, e.g. *bār* 12 (*dvādaśa*), we have probably loanwords from a N.W. dialect, where this treatment is general. The change of *-s-* to *-h-* in the numerals points to the same place of origin.

46. The articulation of cerebrals and dentals has not changed except in regard to intervocalic *-ḍ-*, which often becomes *-r-*. Thus, in educated speech *hād*, *ḷimḍī*, but *gārī* (< *gāḍī*).

In Northern Gujarātī, where confusion of dentals and cerebrals is greatest, intervocalic *-ḍ-*, *-ḍh-* become *-r-*.⁴

LABIALS

47. The articulation of labials has not changed, except that *ph* has become a breathed bilabial spirant.

¹ LSI. ix, 2, p. 329.

³ Id., p. 330.

² Id., p. 331.

⁴ Id., p. 330.

NASALS

48. (1) *ṇ* has extended its independent existence through the loss of *g* (final or preceding another consonant) when following a nasalized vowel, e.g. *āṇ* body < *āg* (*aṅga*-), *āṇṇā* < *āgṇā* (*aṅgana*-). This is parallel with the change of final *-mb* to *-m*, e.g. *ām* mango < *āb* (Pkt. *ambu*-, Skt. *āmra*-).

(2) PI intervocalic *-n-* became MI *-ṇ-* (it is doubtful whether initial *n-* became *ṇ-*, although so shown in most of the Prakrits).¹ This *ṇ* remained in the W. and N.W. groups (it lies as far west in the Himalayas as Kumaon), but has become *n* again in the central and eastern group. On the other hand, MI *-nn-* has become generally *n*. Whatever the value of PI *ṇ*, Gujarātī *ṇ* is a nasalized cerebral spirant (as probably was MI *ṇ*, since then the change of *-n-* to *-ṇ-* would be intelligible and parallel with that of *-m-* to *-ṣ-*).

(3) In distinction to the other ModI languages, except Singhalese, Gujarātī has maintained intervocalic *-m-* under certain conditions.²

y

49. PI *y* has not survived in Gujarātī. Initially it became *j-*; in consonant groups it was assimilated with or without influencing the consonant it followed; between vowels it was lost without trace except in the group *aya*, which became MI *ē*.

The sound, however, has reappeared in Gujarātī. Its origin is twofold.

(1) *ī*, whether of MI or ModI origin, under certain conditions became *y* (see above, §§ 27 (4), 29).

(2) It was developed as a glide to avoid hiatus before and after *ī*. This *y*-glide, as well as the similar *v*-glide, although not always shown in writing, originated probably as soon as any development (e.g. the loss of an

¹ Cf. Bloch, § 132.

² Turner, JRAS. 1915, p. 21.

intervocalic consonant or the addition of a vocalic suffix to final *ī* or *ū*) left an *ī* or *ū* in hiatus. They persisted where *ī* and *ū* were not contracted, e.g. *piyās* (*pipāsā*), *śiyāl* (*śrgāla*-), *śiyālo* (*śītakāla*-), *vāṇiyo* (*vāṇija*-), *āgiyo* (*agnī*-), *kōyaḷ* < **kōyil* (*kōkila*-). In quick speech however the *ī*, instead of developing a glide, itself becomes *y* as in (1). This is sometimes shown in writing, e.g. *pyās*, *śyāl*.

v

50. Gujarātī, like the other western languages Marāṭhī, Sindhī, and Pañjābī, as well as Singhalese and Kāśmīrī,¹ has preserved initial *v*-, as well as MI *-vv-* < *rv*, *vy*. Words with *b* are loans from the central and eastern languages.

In pronouncing Gujarātī *v* the lips are flattened, not rounded; it is therefore [ʋ] rather than [w].

DENTAL + *v*

51. Gujarātī here agrees with the language of the Asoka inscription at Girnar, in which *tv* > *tp*, whereas elsewhere the treatment was dental,² e.g. *bār* door (*dvāra*-), *bē* 2 (*dvē*), *bīj* second day (*dvitīya*-) but *duṇā* twofold (Pkt. *duguna*-, PI ? *duguna*-), *ūbhā* (*ūrdhva*-), suffix *-paṇ* (*-tvana*-).

LIQUIDS

52. There were at least three dialects which, as early as the Rigveda, differed in their treatment of IE *r* and *l*. One distinguished *r* and *l*, the second confused them as *r*, and the third confused them as *l*.³ Gujarātī, like classical Sanskrit, has preserved both *r* and *l*; but owing to mutual borrowings between the representatives of the three above dialects, *r* and *l* of Gujarātī do not always correspond to original IE *r* and *l*, or even to classical Skt. *r* and *l*.

The division in Gujarātī differs from that of Sanskrit in the following words:

¹ Bloch, § 150.

² Wackernagel, § 191 ff.

³ Id., § 129.

(1) *l* = Skt. *r*: *palāṇ* saddle (*paryāṇa*-), *sābhaṛvā* remember, beside *sābharvā* (*saṁsmarati*), *nikālṇvā* come out, *ukālṇvā* drive out (*niṣkarōti*, *utkarōti*, also both with *kal-* in Skt.), *ālā-lilā* half-wet, half-dry (*ārdra*-), *lōm* hair on body, beside *rōm* (*rōman*-, *lōman*-, both in RV), *cōḷvā* rub (*cūrṇa*-), *ghōḷvā* shake (*ghūrṇa*-).

The following are loanwords of more recent date, as shown by (a) change of accent: *pālto*, M. *pālaṭ* (*paryasta*-), *pālakh* cradle, M. *pālkhī* (*paryāṅka*-), *haḷad* turmeric, M. *haḷud* (*haridrā*); (b) *ṇk* > *ṇg*: *palanṅ* bed, P. *palanṅ* (*paryāṅka*-); (c) no compensatory lengthening: *bhalā* good < *bhallā*- (*bhadrā*-).

(2) *r* = Skt. *l*: *pīpar* pepper (*pippalī*), *garvū* drop, beside *galvā* (*galati*).

53. PI *r* has retained its pronunciation, but PI *l* between vowels has become *ḷ*, a change parallel with those of *-n-* to *-ṇ-* and *-m-* to *-ṁ-*. In pronouncing *ḷ* the tongue is nearly in the same position as for *ṇ*; that is to say, the tip is curled backwards, striking the hard palate well behind the ridge of the teeth; but after contact has been made, it is flapped down into the bottom of the mouth. The velum is raised. This *ḷ* is not marked in the OWR texts,¹ but it must have been already differentiated from *l*, since *-ll-* had already become *-l-*, which remains in Gujarātī.

SIBILANTS

54. Unlike the north-western and eastern dialect groups, Gujarātī does not distinguish PI *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*. All become MI *s*. This, however, is differentiated in Gujarātī, before and after *i* and *e* becoming *ś*, e.g. *śīm* (*sīmā*), *karīś* (*kariṣyāmi*, Pkt. *karissam*).

In Northern Gujarātī *s* and *ś* become *h* in all positions.²

In the numerals *h* appears for *s*, e.g. *bār* < *bārah* (*dvādaśa*). These are probably N.W. forms.

¹ Tessitori, *Ind. Ant.*, xliii, p. 55.

² LSI. ix, 2, p. 330.

55. *śm, ṣm, sm.*

There are three main divergences in the development of the group sibilant + *m*.

(1) *m* is assimilated, perhaps after metathesis; cf. Pali *raṃsi* (*raśmi*-). This seems to have been a development in the N.W. group. In Gujarātī we have as early common Indian loanwords, *rās* rein (*raśmi*-), *visarvā* forget (*vismarati*).

(2) The sibilant, as in the case of sibilant + *n*, becomes an aspirate, producing the group *hm*, which, by metathesis of *h*, becomes *mh*. Initially (at least when an *s* or *h* followed) the *h* was lost, e.g. Pkt. *masāṇa*-, G. *masāṇ* cemetery (*śmaśāna*-), Pkt. *maṃsu*- (*śmaśru*-), Pkt. *nēha*-, G. *nēh* love (*snēha*-). In the interior *h* maintained itself longer, e.g. *ghimel* an insect < *gimha*- (*grīṣma*-), Pkt. *amhe* (*asmē*), *tumhē* (*yusmē*), OWR *amhe*; but it has been lost in Mod. Gujarātī *ame*, *tame*. Probably it was *-mhīn* (*-smīn*) which, as an inflectional suffix, became Ap. *-a-hī*, OWR *-āī* or *-ai*, G. *-e* (otherwise explained as IE *-dhi*). For a similar phonetic degeneration exceeding that occurring in the body of the word, compare the history of the suffixes *-akēṇa*, *-akānām*, *-akāni* > Pkt. *-aeṇa*, *-aāṇam*, *-aāīm* > Ap. *-aē*, *-aā*, *-aāī* > G. *-e*, *-ā*, *-āī*. Pkt. *-ammī* (*-asmīn*) would then be a lento-form, and is, perhaps, represented in Gujarātī *-ā* of *yahā*, *wahā*, etc.

Where *h* remained the group became *-mbh-* (as with *mh* from PI *hm*), e.g. Pkt. *sembha*-, M. *śēbā* (*śleṣman*-). *ṃsm* survives in G. *sābharvū* (*saṃsmarati*).

(3) The group became *pph*, attested in Pkt. *bhippha*- (*bhīṣma*-), *seppha*- (*ślēṣman*-). Possibly this represents rather *mph* from a breathed *mh*, when it would be parallel with *mbh* from voiced *mh*. Gujarātī has *āph* heat (*uṣman*-).

SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS

56. The simplification of double consonants, the result of MI assimilation, did not take place generally till some

time between the stage of the language represented by the Deśināmamālā and the first of the OWR texts.

But in the earliest MI monuments there are some words which show this simplification with compensatory lengthening. The resulting simplified consonants have converged with the PI simple intervocalic stops. These words were, perhaps, borrowed from some dialect where this change was regular (according to the Prakrit grammarians it occurs most frequently in Ardhamāgadhi),¹ and are found in the common inheritance of the modern languages. Examples in Gujarātī are: *kōḍh* (*kaṣṭha*-, Pa. *kōṭha*-), *dāḍhī* beard (*daṁṣṭrikā*, Ep. *dāḍhikā*), *kāḍhvū* draw (*kṛṣṭa*-), *piḍhiyū* floor-beam (*pīṭha*- < **pi-sṭha*-), *vēḍh* finger-ring (*vēṣṭatē*, Pkt. *vēḍhaṭ*).

For the occasional occurrence of nasal + stop in place of double stop, see above, § 16.

INITIAL CONSONANTS

Stops

57. Initially all stops remain.

k: *kān* (*karṇa*-), *kākh* side of body between armpit and hip (*kakṣa*-), *kāp* ear-ornament (*kalpa*-), *kām* (*karman*-), *kāl* (*kalyam*), *kākh* belly (*kuṣi*-), *kājaḷ* (*kajjala*-), *kīḍo* (*kīṭa*-), *kōṇ* (*ka*-).

kh: *khaṇvū* dig (*khanati*), *khāvū* eat (*khādati*), *khī* anger (*khidyatē*), *khur* (*khura*-), *khēr* (*khadira*-), *khāḍ* notch (*khaṇḍa*-).

g: *gābhī* (*garbhīnī*), *gājvū* thunder (*garjati*), *gājar* (*garjara*-), *gāḍh* smell (*gandha*-), *gīḍh* (*gīḍhra*-), *gū* (*gūṭha*-), *gāgaḷ* (*gulgulu*-), *gōṭh* (*gōṣṭha*-), *gōkh* (*gavākṣa*-), *gāvū* sing (*gāyati*), *gāl* cheek (*galla*-), *gaḷvū* (*galati*), *gayū* (*gata*-), *gaḷū* throat (*gala*-).

gh: *ghaṇū* dense (*ghana*-), *ghām* sweat (*gharma*-), *ghās* grass (*ghāsa*-), *ghī* (*ghṛta*-), *ghōlvū* (*ghūrṇa*-), *ghāṭ* contrivance (*ghaṭatē*), *ghumvū* roll (*ghumaghumāyatē*),

¹ Pischel, § 87.

ghāghrī petticoat (*ghargharī*), *ghaḍo* (*ghaṭa-*), *ghā* wound (*ghāta-*), *ghōḍo* (*ghōṭaka-*).

c: *cāpū* seed of jackfruit (*campaka-*), *cāvvū* chew (*carvati*), *cōk* (*catuska-*), *citāro* (*citrakāra-*), *cūno* (*cūrṇa-*), *cāc* beak (*cañcu-*), *cibhḍī* musk-melon (*cirbhaṭikā*), *cinṇū* (*cinōti*), *cīl* (*cilla-*), *cūlo* (*culli-*), *cāmḍū* leather (*carman-*), *cārvū* graze tr. (*cārayati*), *cīr* (*cīra-*), *cusvū* (*cūsati*), *cōr* (*caura-*).

ch: *chāvū* thatch (*chādayati*), *chān* (*chagaṇa-*), *chinnū* split (*chinatti*), *chōdvū* (*chōṭayati*), *chīt* (*chitti-*), *chāl* bark (*challi-*), *chājvū* suit < *chadya-* (*chadayati*), *chal* deceit (*chala-*), *chikārdū* a deer (*chikkāra-*), *chachādar* mole (*chucchundara-*), *chuvū* touch (Dh. *chupati*, Eng. *shove*).

j: *janvū* (*janayati*), *jal* (*jala-*), *jamvū* eat (*jamati*), *jācvū* beg (*jarcati*), *jāgh* (*jaṅghā*), *jīnū* thin (*jīrṇa-*), *jūnū* old (*jūrṇa-*), *jānvū* know (*jānāti*), *jāyo* son (*jāta-*), *jāl* net (*jāla-*), *jībḥ* (*jihvā*).

jh: *jhālar* (*jhallarī*), *jhājhar* (*jharyjhara-*), *jharvū* (*jharat-*); see § 42 above.

t: *taḷe* below (*tala-*), *tātū* hot (*tapta-*), *tāro* star (*tāraka-*), *tārvū* save (*tārayati*), *tāk* whey (*takra-*), *tākvū* stare at (*tarkayati*), *tābū* (*tāmra-*), *tānvū* stretch (*tānayati*), *tīkhū* hot (*tīkṣṇa-*), *tūrū* astringent (*tuvara-*).

d: *das* 10 (*daśa-*), *damvū* tire (*damayati*), *dāt* (*danta-*), *dāḍo* (*daṇḍa-*), *dāṇ* generosity (*dāna-*), *diśvū* (*dr̥ṣyatē*), *dipvū* (*dīpyatē*), *dūdh* (*dugdha-*), *dublū* (*durbala-*).

dh: *dhaṇ* (*dhana-*), *dharvū* hold (*dharati*), *dhān* growing rice (*dhānya-*), *dhūl* dust (*dhūli-*), *dhunvū* shake (*dhunōti*), *dhar* yoke of a bullock (*dharā*), *dhatūro* white thorn-apple (*dhattūraka-*), *dhaman* (*dhamani-*).

p: *pahī* traveller (*pathika-*), *pāc* 5 (*pañca*), *pāt* line (*pañkti-*), *pīlū* (*pīṭala*), *pākū* ripe (*pakva-*), *pūṭh* (*pṛṣṭha-*), *pūt* (*putra-*), *pōhlū* (*pṛṭhula-*), *paḍo* tomtom (*paṭaha-*), *pālav* leaf (*pallava-*).

ph: *phal* (*phala-*), *phāgaṇ* (*phālguna-*), *phūl* (*phulla-*).

b: *bādh* dam (*bandha-*), *bājhvū* embrace (*badhyatē*),

bōhḷā (*bahula-*), *būdḥ* (*buddha-*), *bāl* child (*bāla-*), *bī* (*bīja-*), *bīl* (*bilva-*), *bōlvā* (*bōlayati*), *bōlvū* (*bollaka-*).

bh: *bhāg* broken (*bhaṅga-*), *bhāsvū* appear (*bhāsayati*), *bhīkḥ* (*bhikṣā*), *bhūṭhā* (*bhṛṣṭa-*), *bhīgāro* (*bhṛṅga-*), *bhasvū* bark (*bhaṣati*), *bhādār* (*bhaṇḍāgāra-*), *bhūmī* ground (*bhūmi-*).

NASALS

58. Initial *n*-, *m*- remain. *n*- for *MI n*-, see § 48.

n: *navā* new (*navā-*), *nāṭhā* fled (*naṣṭa-*), *nās* (*nāśa-*), *nām* (*nāman-*), *na* not (*na*), *nīsāso* (*niḥśvāsa-*), *nīm* (*nimba-*), *nāmvū* bend (*nāmayati*), *naḷ* (*nalā-*).

m: *māg* (*mārga-*), *maḷ* dirt (*mala-*), *mūḷ* (*mūla-*), *mākh* fly (*makṣā*), *māthā* head (*mastaka-*), *mīṭhā* (*mṛṣṭa-*), *marvū* (*mar-*), *mārvū* (*mārayati*), *mājvū* (*mārjati*), *mātū* drunk (*matta-*).

y, *v*, *r*, *l*

59. Initial *y* > *j*; *v*, *r*, *l* remain.

y: *jām* space of 3 hours (*yāma-*), *jujhvū* be brave (*yudhyati*), *jū* (*yūkā*), *jūhī* a creeper (*yūṭhikā*), *jav* barley (*yava-*), *jōg* (*yōgya-*), *jē* what (*ya-*), *javū* go (*yāti*), *jōdh* (*yōddh-*).

r: *rāt* (*rātri*), *rāī* (*rājikā*), *rāj* rule (*rājya-*), *rōvū* (*rōdati*), *rūthvū* be angry (*ruṣṭa-*), *rācvū* suit (*racyatē*), *rās* pile (*rāśi-*), *rādhvū* cook (*randhayati*), *rāk* poor (*raṅka-*), *rāḍ* (*raṇḍā*), *ras* juice (*rasa-*), *rādhvū* block (*rundhati*).

l: *lāj* (*lajjā*), *lākh* (*lakṣa-*), *lādhvū* load (*labdha-*), *lipvū* smear (*limpati*), *lābū* (*lamba-*), *lāhvū* take (*lābhayati*), *lasan* (*laśuna-*), *lāgvū* (*lagyati*), *lāvū* speak (*lapati*), *lāc* (*lañcā*).

v: *vāt* (*vārttā*), *vīj* (*vidyut*), *vālū* (*vālukā*), *vājḥ* (*vandhyā*), *vahū* (*vadhū-*), *vāk* (*vākya-*), *vāv* well (*vāpī*) *vān* (*varṇa-*), *vājū* musical instrument (*vādya-*).

SIBILANTS

60. *ś*, *ṣ* became MI *s*; *s* remained. Before and after *ī*, *ē* MI *s* becomes *ś*.

ś: *sōs* (*śōṣa*-), *sām* head of pestle (*śamba*-), *sūdh* (*śuddhi*-), *sād* sound (*śabda*-), *sūnū* (*śūnya*-), *sūkhū* (*śuṣka*-), *sasū* (*śaśa*-), *śīg* (*śṛṅga*-), *śīr* (*śīras*-), *śīs* (*śīrṣa*-), *śīkh* (*śikṣā*), *śīl* (*śīla*-), *śīlū* (*śītala*-), *śēl* (*śaīlya*-).

ṣ: *sāḍ* bull (*ṣaṇḍa*-), *sāth* 60 (*ṣaṣṭi*-).

s: *sākh* testimony (*sākṣya*-), *sahī* (*sakhī*), *sāth* rent (*saṁsthā*), *sāj* preparation (*sajja*-), *sāv* wholly (*sarva*-), *sāthī* (*sārthika*-), *śīrvū* sew (*śīrvyatē*), *śīdhū* (*siddha*-), *śīm* (*sīmā*).

h remains: *hāth* (*hasta*-), *hasvū* laugh (*hasati*), *hīn* (*hīna*-), *hīg* (*hingu*-), *hīglo* (*hīngula*-).

FINAL CONSONANTS

61. The only consonants that could stand at the end of the word in PI were the nasals, visarga, and the unaspirated breathed stops.

The number of Gujarātī words representing Sanskrit words ending in a stop is very small. The latter comprised (1) nom. sing. of some nouns. Where these exist in Gujarātī, most have been reformed as *a*-stems, e.g. *vāṇiyo* < **vāṇijaka*- (*vaṇij*-). (2) 3rd sing. imperf. and aor. act. of thematic stems, and 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. imperf. and aor. act. of a number of athematic stems. Athematic stems have been replaced by thematic, and the past tenses have disappeared in favour of participial constructions. (3) Neut. sing. of some pronouns. These have been replaced by new forms (cf. Pkt. *taṁ* for *tat*, etc.). (4) Some indeclinable words, e.g. *yāvat cid*.

-*t*: *vīj* (*vidyut*).

Visarga disappeared in MI with lengthening of the preceding vowel. -*aḥ* appeared in the sandhi-form -*ō* (Mg. -*ē*). See above, § 25.

Final nasals all disappeared with or without nasalization of the preceding vowel. See above, § 25.

INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS

62. Intervocalic *k g, c j, t d* are lost.

-*k*-: *camār* (*camakāra*-), *citāro* (*citrakāra*-), *jū* (*yūkā*), *nāliyo* (*nakula*-), *śiyālo* (*śitakāla*-), *vērṇū* scatter (*vyākirati*), *sūdo* (*śuka*-), nom. sing. masc. -o < -*akah*.

-*g*-: *koṭhār* (*kōṣṭhāgūra*-), *sōdhā* (*saṃagandha*-), *śiyāl* (*śyāla*-), *chāṇ* (*chagaṇa*-), *mahīrā* < **māṭṭgarhakam* (*gṛha*-), *jōṭe* ought < **yōgīyatē* (*yōgyatē*), *dāṇū* (Pkt. *duguna*-), *rōyā* ill (*rōgin*-).

-*c*-: *sōī* (*saucika*-).

-*j*-: *viāvū* (*vi jāyatē*), *bī* (*bīja*-), *rāī* (*rājikā*), *bhāṇū* (*bhajana*-), *bhōī* (*bhōjin*-), *vāṇiyo* (*vāṇija*-).

-*t*-: *pīlū* (*pītala*-), *mā* (*māṭṭ*-), *cōṅṇū* (*caturguṇa*-), *divēl* < **dīpataīlya*- (*taila*-), *ākḥā* whole (*akṣata*-), *jāvū* (*dyāta*-), *muo* (*mṛta*-), *ghī* (*ghṛta*-), *amī* (*amṛta*-), *kīdhā* (*kṛta*-), *bhūvo* devil-worshipper (*bhūta*-).

-*d*-: *rōvū* (*rōdati*), *mau* (*mṛdu*-), *pōṇū* (*pāda-ūna*-), *chāvaṇ* thatch < **chādāpana*- (*chādāyati*), *khāvū* (*khādati*), *khēr* (*khadira*-), *avāī* (*āvāda*-), *pā* (*pāda*-).

63. Intervocalic *b* and *p* became MI -*v*-, which converged with PI -*v*-.

-*p*-: *vārvū* sow (*vāpayati*), *tārvū* (*tāpayati*), *dīro* (*dīpa*-), *lavvū* (*lapati*), *govāl* (*gōpāla*-), *paṭhārvū* (*prasthāpayati*), *svērvū* < **supati* (*svapiti*), *vāv* (*vāpī*), *paḍvo* (*pratipad*-), *paḍvāyo* wooden support for leg (*pratipāda*-).

64. The aspirates -*kh*-, -*gh*-, -*th*-, -*dh*-, -*ph*-, -*bh*- became MI -*h*-, which converged with PI -*h*-.

-*kh*-: *sahī* (*sakhī*), *mhō* < **maukha*- (*mukha*-), *sāmū* in front (*sammukha*-), *sōhar* pleasing < **saukhakara*- (*sukha*-).

-*gh*-: *mēh* *mēuḍo* (*mēgha*-).

-*th*-: *ghēlū* (*grathila*-), *pēhlū* (*prathama*-), *pōhlū*

(*pr̥thula-*), *pah̥* (*pathika-*), *jūh̥* (*yūthikā*), *kēhvū* (*kathayati*), *kahāṇī* (*kathānaka-*), *gū* (*gūtha-*).

-*dh-*: *bēhvū* (*badhira-*), *dah̥* (*dadhi-*), *vahū* (*vadhū-*), *ghō* (*gōdhā*), *sāhū* banker (*sādhu-*). In *nagōḍ* (*nyagrōdha-*), *osaḍ* (*ausadhi-*) the *ḍ* belongs to a suffix -*ṭa-*.

-*bh-*: *ghērū* (*gabhīra-*), *ah̥r* (*ābhīra-*), *sohāg* (*saubhāgya-*), *lāhvū* (*lābhayati*), *bhūkh* (*bubhukṣā*), *vahālū* (*vallabha-*), *sōhvū* (*śobhatē*), *dālū* liberal (*durlabha-*), *dukhāvo* pain (*duḥkha-bhāva-*), *pōh* dawn < **prabhaka-* (*prabhā*).

65. As pointed out above, intervocalic cerebrals (except where -*ḍ*- -*dh-* represent primitive Ar. -*ḷḍ*- -*ḷdh-*) are really MI rather than PI sounds. Whatever their origin, MI -*ṭ*- -*ḍ*- become *ḍ*, and -*ṭh-* -*dh-* become *ḍh* in Gujarātī.

-*ṭ-*: *sākaḍ* (*saṅkaṭa-*), *kūḍū* (*kūṭa-*), *naḍ* (*naṭa-*), *bhaḍ* (*bhaṭa-*), *saḍvū* (*śaṭati*), *kaḍvū* (*kaṭuka-*), *puḍo* (*puṭa-*), *kaḍ* (*kaṭi-*), *ghaḍo* (*ghaṭa-*), *phōḍvū* (*sphōṭayati*), *vaḍ* (*vaṭa-*), *puḍo* (*paṭaha-*), *kōḍ* (*kōṭa-*), *kīḍo* (*kīṭa-*), *khaḍ* (*khaṭa-*).

-*ḍ-*: *cūḍo* (*cūḍa-*), *jaḍ* (*jaḍa-*), *lāḍ* (*laḍati*), *dāḍam* pomegranate (*dāḍima-*), *gāḍvū* (*gaḍayati*), *vilāḍī* (*viḍālī*).

-*ṭh-*: *paḍhvū* (*paṭhati*), *kuhāḍo* < **kudhāro*? (*kuthāra-*), *kōḍh* (Pa. *kōṭhu-*).

-*dh-*: *jaḍ* stupid (*jaḍhu-*).

-*n-*, -*n-*, -*m-*

66. The history of intervocalic -*n-*, -*n-* depended on their position in the word.

(1) In the body of the word both appear as MI -*n-*, which remains in Gujarātī.

-*n-*: *khaṇ* (*kṣaṇa-*), *cōgnū* (*caturguṇa-*), *ghāṇ* (*ghrāṇa-*), *suṇvū* (*śṇōṭi*), *ōkhaṇvū* (*avakṣaṇōṭi*), *kaṇas* (*kaṇīsa-*).

-*n-*: *māṇas* (*mānuṣa-*), *tāṇvū* (*tānayati*), *dhaṇī* (*dhanin-*), *hīṇ* (*hīna-*), *ghaṇvū* (*ghana-*), *ūṇvū* (*ūna-*), *vin* (*vinā*), *pāṇī* (*pānīya-*), *vakhāṇ* (*vyākhyāna-*), *āṇvū* (*aṅgana-*).

(2) In inflectional suffixes -*n-*, -*n-* became MI anusvāra

or a nasalization of the surrounding vowels. This process is already marked in the Prakrit spellings *-āim*, *-āmim*, *-āi* beside *-āni*. In other forms *-ēṇa* (Ap. *-eṇi*), *-āṇam*, *n* probably represented anusvāra, but the spelling lagged behind the change of pronunciation.

nom. plur. neut. *-akāni* > G. *-ā*.

instr. sing. *-akēna* > Ap. *-aen*, OWR *-ai*, G. *-e*.

gen. plur. *-akānām* > OWR *-ā*, G. *-ā*.

nom. plur. neut. *-īni* > G. *-ī*, in *dahī* < *dadhīni*.

67. The history of intervocalic *-m-* also depended on its position in the word.¹ It remained (a) immediately after the accent, (b) after the postaccentual syllable (c) before the accent when the preaccentual syllable contained a long vowel. It became *-v-* (a) in the preaccentual syllable, (b) in inflectional suffixes.

(1) *-m-* remains.

(a) *jamvā* (*jamati*), *khamvā* bear (*kṣamatē*), *vām* fathom (*vyāma-*), *vimal* (*vimala-*), *ugāmvā* (*udgāmayati*), *kumḷā* (*kumala-*), *śīm* (*śīmā*), *dhaman* (*dhamani-*), *namvā* (*namati*), *nāmvā* (*nāmayati*), *visāmo* (*viśrāma-*), *bhamro* (*bhramara-*), *sāmḷā* (*śyāmala-*), *gām* (*grāma-*), *lōm* (*lōman-*), *bhūmī* ground (*bhūmi-*).

bhuī beside *bhūmī*, *jāl* twins (*yamala-*), *gosāī* (*gōsvāmin-*), *guhī* (*gōdhūma-*) are loanwords.

(b) *pācma* (*pañcama-*), *sātmā* (*saptama-*), *ugman* (*udgamana-*), *ūgam* source (*udgama-*), *ūjam* zeal (*udyama-*).

kādav mud (*kardama-*) is a loanword. The *-m* of *dādam* (*dāḍima-*) perhaps represents *-mb-*, since the other languages, where *-m-* regularly becomes *-v-*, show *-m*.

(c) *jamāī* (*jāmāṭi-*), *samāṇā* (*sāmāna-*).

(2) *-m-* became *-v-*, from which, later, the nasalization was transferred to the preceding vowel; *-v-* converged with MI *-v-* from PI *-v-*, *-p-*.

¹ Turner, JRAS., January, 1915, p. 21 ff.

(a) *kāvāro* (*kumāra*-), *pṣḍvā* (*pramardati*), *sṣpvā* (*samarpayati*), *sṣghā* (*samargha*-), *sṣg* (**samāṅga*-), *sṣdhā* (*samagandha*-).

(b) 1st sing. -*āmi* > OWR -*āū*, G. -*ā*, in pres. *karā*.

1st plur. -*āmah* > OWR -*āū*, G. -*ā*, in fut. *karīśū*.

-*y*-, -*v*-

68. Intervocalic -*y*- was lost.

viāe (*vi jāyatē*), *nīm* (*niyama*-), *vīmo* (*viyama*-), *gāe* (*gāyatē*), *samo* time (*samaya*-), *sāso* doubt (*saṁśaya*-), *vaḷū* circle (*valaya*-), *dāi* generous (*dāyin*-), *utrāṇ* northern path of sun (*uttarāyana*-), *mōr* (*mayūra*-).

For *aya* > *ē* see above, § 30 (1).

69. Intervocalic -*v*- remained, except in the groups -*ava*-, *vū*, *ūv*, *ōv*.

(1) *cakvā* (*ca kravāka*-), *jīvū* (*jīvati*), *thāvar* (*sthāvara*-), *śēvvū* hatch (*śēvatē*), *kēvaḷ* (*kēvala*-), *dubhāvo* (*durbhāva*-), *dēv* (*dēva*-), *navū* (*nava*-), *nāv* boat (*nāvā*), *nibhāvū* (*nirbhū*-), *rakhāvāt* protection (*vr̥tti*-), *avāi* (*āvāda*-), *avās* (*āvāsa*-), *cīvar* (*cīvara*-).

(2) After *ō*, *ū*, -*v*- is lost: *janōi* (*ya jñōpavīta*-), *sōnū* (*sauvarṇa*-), *ābōi* umbilical cord (*ambā-upavīta*-), *tūrū* (*tuvara*-), *ukhāṇū* (**upakhyāna*-).

-*v*- < -*vv*- < -*vy*- is lost before *ū* : *gāū* (*gavyūti*-).

For -*ava* > *ō* see above, § 30 (1).

In *pyās* (*pipāsā*), *bēsū* (*upaviśati*), *pēsū* (*praviśati*) the loss of -*v*- is due to dissimilation with the preceding labial. *jī* (?*jīvatu*) is a word of address and therefore liable to further change.

-*r*-, -*l*-

70. -*r*- remains, -*l*- becomes -*ḷ*-.

-*r*- : *pāthar* (*prastara*-), *mājar* (*mañjara*-), *rān* (*araṇya*-), *bār* (*dvāra*-), *sutār* (*sūtradhāra*-), *visarvū* (*viśmarati*), *sasro* (*śvaśura*-), *bhamro* (*bhramara*-), *jājṛū* (*janjara*-), *gāgar* (*gargarī*).

-*l*- : *kāl* death (*kāla*-), *pīḷū* (*pīṭala*-), *phal* (*phala*-), *vāl*

hair (*vāla-*), *māl* (*māla-*), *āḡlī* (*aṅguli-*), *kājal* (*kajjala-*), *mēlvā* (*mēlayati*), *ālśū* lazy (*ālasa-*), *jalvū* burn (*jvalati*).

-ś-, -ṣ-, -s-

71. -ś-, -ṣ-, -s- became *MI -s-*, which remained in Gujarātī except before and after *ī ē*, where it became *ś*.

-ś-: *kaṇas* (*kaṇīśa-*), *laṣaṇ* (*laśuna-*), *nās* (*nāśa-*), *kōs* (*kṛōśa-*), *pāśrū* (*prāmśū-*), *daś* (*daśi*), *māsāl* (*mātr-śālā*), *kōś* (*kōśa-*).

-ṣ-: *māṇas* (*mānuṣa-*), *kāmas* scum on sugarcane juice (*kalmaṣa-*), *rusrū* angry (*ruṣati*), *cuṣvū* (*cūṣati*), *māso* a weight (*māṣa-*), *ūs* salt ground (*ūṣa-*), *bhaṣvū* (*bhaṣati*), *kaṣvū* (*kaṣati*).

-s-: *bhāsvū* (*bhāsayati*), *sās* breath (*śvāsa-*), *haṣvū* (*hasati*), *cāmās* (*caturmāsa-*), *kapās* (*karpāsa*), *khaś* (*khaśa-*), *muṣlū* (*muśala-*), *ghās* (*ghāśa-*), *gōras* *gōrśī* (*gōraśa-*).

-h-

72. Intervocalic *-h-* converges with *MI -h-* from aspirated stops. It is preserved in OWR, but in Mod. Gujarātī has undergone certain modifications.

(1) It is attached to a preceding *g*, making *gh*; and the two vowels previously separated coalesce: *ghēlū* (*grathīla-*), *ghērū* (*gabhīra-*), *ghōr* < **gahura-* (*gahvara-*), *vīghū* ½ acre (*vīgraha-*), *ghō* (*gōdhā*).

Similarly in *-rh-* *-mh-* *h* attaches itself to a preceding *g*: *ghar* house < **garham* (*grha-*), *gharaṇ* eclipse < **garhaṇa-* or as a tatsama from **garahaṇa-* (*grahaṇā-*), *ghērvū* < **garhayati* (*grhṇāti*); *ghimel* an insect < *gimha-* (*grīṣma-*).

(2) Where the separated vowels are similar the *-h-* is attached to any preceding stop, and the vowels coalesce: *bhūkh* < *buhukkhā* (*bubhukṣā*).

dhī daughter, Pā. *dhītā*, is usually referred to Skt. *duhitṛ*.¹ Its early occurrence, however, makes this

¹ Pischel, § 143.

doubtful, and it is to be connected rather with $\sqrt{dhē}$ in the sense of "suckled"; cf. RV *dhītā*-sucked. The Pkt. form *dhūdā* (beside *dhīdā*) is due to the influence of *duhitā*.

(3) Where *-h-* separates two originally long vowels, it remains: *sohāg* (*saubhāgya-*), *ahīr* (*ābhīra-*).

(4) In all other circumstances *-h-* becomes *-ḥ-* (i.e. an *h* pronounced with the larynx in an intermediate closure between that for a vowel and that for an *h*). The separated vowels coalesce, the resultant sound following the *ḥ*, which is preceded by a very short vowel, usually *ə*, but doubtless varying according to surrounding sounds and the clearness of the speaker, and perhaps also spoken with the larynx opened as for *ḥ*, e.g. *kahevā* is [*k^{ḥ}ə^{ḥ}əvā*].

In rapid speech and in unstressed positions this *ḥ* disappears, and in the speech of the uneducated *ḥ* has disappeared altogether. In the written language the spelling of this sound varies considerably, e.g. [*k^{ḥ}ə^{ḥ}əvā*] is spelt *kahevā*, *k'hevā*, *kehvā*, *ke'vā*, *kevā*. Where *h* normally is shown in the written language, I have transcribed it as *h* following the vowel.

mōvā (*mōhayati*), *mōh* (*mukha-*), *pīyar* father's house (**pitṛ-garha-*), *vāh* ship (*vāhana-*), *dēhrā* (**dēva-garha-*), *pōhlā* (*prthula-*), *pēhlū* (*prathama-*), *kēhvā* (*kathayati*), *kāhṇī* (*kathānaka-*), *maḍo* (*madhu-*), *vāhlā* (*vallabha-*), *vāhṇū* (*vibhāna-*), *lāhvā* (*lābhayati*).

Where the second vowel in Gujarātī is final and long, the two vowels do not coalesce: *vahū* (*vadhū-*), *sāhū* (*sādhū-*), *pahī* (*pathika-*), *juī* (*yūthikā*), *dahī* (*dadhi-*), *mahī* (*mathita-*).

CONSONANTS IN CONTACT

73. Where two or more consonants come together, assimilation takes place. This assimilation was already completed by the time of the Asoka inscriptions, except in the case of certain groups containing a sibilant or *r* in

some dialects. In the consonant group the explosive consonant absorbed the implosive. Hence in a group like *-tk-* the resulting sound was *-kk-*, e.g. *bhaktam* > *bhattam*. Where both sounds were explosive, i.e. when both formed a syllable with the following vowel, that having the greater degree of closure was the dominant. Hence groups like stop + *r* or stop + nasal became double stop, e.g. *takram* > *takkam*, *agnih* > *aggī*. A sibilant being absorbed imparted aspiration to the group.

In some cases the more open of two explosive consonants exercised a certain influence (owing to the position assumed by the tongue, etc., in the passage from one sound to another) on the more closed or dominant consonant, e.g. dental + *y* or dental + *s* > double palatal; *kṣ* in the eastern dialects > *cch*; dental + *v* or *m* > double labial (double dental in some dialects).

In the groups *hy*, *ry* the *y* became *j* and so the dominant consonant.

These double consonants remained unchanged until some time between Hemacandra and the OWR texts. In these double stops have all been simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, except in unaccented syllables, where the vowel remains (or has again become) short. In the group nasal + consonant the nasality has passed to the vowel, which has been lengthened in the same way as the vowel before a double consonant.

STOP + STOP

74. Homorganic.

kk: *kukḍī* (*kukkuṭī*), *hīk* hiccough (*hikka-*), *cīk* tree-gum (*cikkana-*).

cc: *ūcū* (*ucca-*), *khīcī* (*khiccā*), *ucarvū* (*uccarati*), *ucarvū* (*uccinōti*), *ucālo* furniture (*uccalati*).

cch: *puchvū* (*prcchati*), *ichvū* (*icchati*), *che* (Pa. *acchati*), *puchḍā* (*puccha-*), *pīchū* (*piccha-*), *aṇach* (*anicchā*) *kāch* waist-band (*kacchā*: *kakṣa-*).

jj: *lāj* (*lajjā*), *sāj* (*sajja-*), *bhujvū* (*bhujjati*), *kājal* (*kajjala-*), *ujāgro* insomnia (HD *ujjāgiro*).

tt: *āto* (*atta-*), *kuṭṇī* (*kuttinī*), *kūṭ* (*kuṭṭa-*), *kōṭ* (*koṭṭa-*), *hāṭ* (*hatta-*), *pāṭ* strip of cloth (*patta-*).

tt̥h: *uṭhvū* rise < **uṭṭhita-* (*utthita*), *uṭhāv* height (*utthāpaka-*).

ḍḍ: *udvū* (*udḍayati*), *hāḍ* bone (*haḍḍa-*), *āḍ* obstruction (*aḍḍati*).

tt̥: *chīt* (*chitti-*), *mātū* (*matta-*), *vīt* money (*vitta-*), *tītār* partridge (*tittira-*), *utarvū* descend (*uttarati*), *uṭlū* shallow (*ut-tala-*).

ḍḍ: *kudālī* (*kuddāla-*).

ḍḍh: *śīdhū* honest (*siddha-*), *sūdh* (*śuddhi-*), *jōdh* (*yōddhī-*), *būdh* (*buddha-*).

pp: *pīpḷo* (*pippala-*), *pīpar* (**pipparī* πῖππει).

75. In heterorganic groups the first stop is assimilated to the second.

tk: *mākaṇ* (*matkuṇa-*), *ukarḍo* rubbish (*utkara-*), *ukaḷvū* boil (*utkalayati*).

tkh: *ukhṇī* pounding (*utkhanati*).

dg: *pāg* foot (*padga-*), *ugāmvū* (*udgāmayati*), *ugmaṇ* (*udgamana-*), *ugarvū* escape (*udgirati*), *ugār* escape (*udgāra-*), *mōgar* mallet (*mudgara-*).

dgh: *ughāḍ* fair weather (*udghāṭa-*).

kt: *bhāt* (*bhakta-*), *rātū* red (*rakta-*), *sātū* flour of parched corn (*śaktu-*), *mōṭī* (*mauktika-*).

pt: *sāt* 7 (*sapta-*), *tātū* (*tapta-*), *suto* (*supta-*).

bd: *sād* (*śabda-*).

gdh: *dūdḥ* (*dugdha-*), *dāḍhel* burnt (*dagdha-*).

bdh: *lādhvā* (*labdha-*).

tp: *upajvū* (*utpadyatē*), *uparvū* (*utpunāti*), *upārvū* produce (*utpādayati*), *upāḍvū* lift up (*utpātayati*).

ḍbh: *ubhro* effervescence (*udbharati*), *ubhā* (*udbhāta-*).

GROUPS WITH A NASAL

76. Stop + nasal.

(1) In the group guttural + *n*, the *n* is assimilated.

kn : *mukvā* let go (Pkt. *mukka-* < **mukna-* : *mukta-*).

Dr. Bloch denies this derivation.¹ But the similar evolution of *gn* > *gg*, and the frequency of *-na-* as a participial suffix, are in favour of Pišchel when he postulates a **mukna-*.²

gn : *nāgū* naked (*nagna-*), *āg* (*agni-*), *bhāgū* fled (*bhagna-*).

(2) In the group *jñ* the *j* was assimilated : the resultant *ññ* > *ṇṇ* > *n*.

jñ : *rāñī* (*rājñī*) beside *rāñī*, *ān* command (*ājñā*), *janōī* (*yajñōparvīta-*), *vinavvū* solicit (*viññapayati*), *nāñvū* test (*jñāna-*).

(3) *tm* > *pp*, *pn* > *mm*.

tm : *āpaṇ* own (*ātman-*).

pn : *pāmuvū* obtain (*prāpnōti*) ; *sāmṇū* dream is a doublet-form from **sāmū* (*svapna-*) and **sivṇū* < Pkt. *siviṇa-*, IE **supno-*.

77. Double nasals are simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel : MI *ṇṇ* > *n*. This latter change has occurred in OWR.

ṇṇ : *kān* < *kaṇṇa-* (*kaṇa-*), *pān* betel-leaf < *paṇṇa-* (*paṇa-*).

nn : *chānū* covered (*channa-*), *ān* corn (*anna-*), *bhīnū* wet (*bhinna-*), *kinrī* (*kinna-*), *anāj* (*annādyā-*).

mm : *dām* (*dramma-*), *samārvū* kill (**saṃmārayati*).

78. In the group nasal + stop or sibilant, the nasal is lost and the preceding vowel nasalized and, if it is in the accented syllable, lengthened.

When, however, a voiced stop in modern Gujarātī has become final, this group of vowel + nasal + stop results in two forms, due to difference of sandhi according as it came before another consonant or a vowel. This is most common with *-mb* ; but, though not written, is often heard with *-ṅg* and *-nd*, e.g. *āg* or *āṅ*, *cād* or *cān*, *sāb* or *sām*, *ām* beside *ābo*, *lūm* (HD *lumbī*), *khām* or *khāb(h)*.

¹ Bloch, § 94.

² Pišchel, § 566.

- ñk* : *ākdī* hook (*añka-*), *kākan* bracelet (*kañkana-*), *rāk* humble (*rañka-*).
ñkh : *sākh(h)al* chain (*śrñkhala-*).
ñg : *āg* body (*añga-*), *āgaḷ* (*añguli-*), *bhāgvū* be broken (**bhañgyatē*), *sīg* (*śrñga-*), *āgnū* (*añgana-*), *kāg* a corn (*kañgu-*), *pāglū* (*pañgula-*), *rāgḷū* walking slowly (*rañgati*), *āgūtho* (*añguṣṭha-*), *bhīgāro* (*bhñga-*), *āgāro* ember (*añgāra-*).
ñgh : *jāgh(h)* (*jañghā*), *lāghvū* fast (*lañghati*).
ñc : *pāc* (*pañca*), *cāc* beak (*cañcu-*), *ācaḷ* hem (*añcala-*), *lāc* (*lañcā*), *kācḷī* sleeved coat (*kañcukī*), *kācī* (*kuñcikā*), *sācarvū* pass (*sañcarati*), *sācvū* collect (*sañcaya-*).
ñj : *ājñī* (*añjana-*), *bhājvū* break (**bhañjati*), *pājra* prisoner's bar (*pañjara-*), *lājō* dispute (*lañjati*), *pījvū* (*piñjā*), *mājīth* madder (*mañjīṣṭhā*).
ñjh : cf. *sājh* (*sandhyā*), *vājh* (*vandhyā*).
ñt : *kāto* thorn (*kañṭa-*), *vāto* share (*vañṭa-*), *ghāṭī* ankle (*ghuñṭaka-*), *cūtvū* pluck (*cunṭati*), *lūtvū* plunder (*luñṭati*).
ñth : *sāth* ginger (*śunṭhi-*), *cūthvū* turn over (*cunṭhayati*), *lāthū* violent (*luñṭhati*).
ñḍ : *dāḍī* clothes-stick (*dañḍa-*), *khāḍvū* (*khañḍatē*), *āḍ* (*añḍa-*), *māḍvū* (*mañḍatē*), *tāḍlā* (*tāñḍula-*), *bhāḍ* obscene (*bhañḍa-*), *māḍan* tonsure (*muñḍana-*), *rāḍ* (*rañḍā*), *māḍvo* booth (*mañḍapa-*).
nt : *dāt* (*danta-*), *kāt* beloved (*kānta-*), *sāt* (*śrānta-*), *ātardī* entrails (*antara-*), *tāt* thread (*tantu-*), *sātvū* be finished (*sānta-*), *vātarvū* cut through (*vyantara-*).
nd : *phāḍo* deceit (*spanda-*), *cāḍ* (*candra-*), *khāḍvū* crush (**kṣundati*), *nāḍiyo* Śiva's bull (*nanda-*), *kāḍo* onion (*kanda-*), *śīdūr* vermilion (*sindūra-*).
ndh : *ādhī* storm (*andhikā*), *khāḍ(h)* shoulder (*skandha-*), *gādhī* perfumer (*gandhika-*), *bādh* (*bandha-*), *sādh* joint (*sandhi-*), *ādhḷū* blind (*andha-*), *rādhvū* (*rundhati*).

mp : *kāp* shivering (*kampa-*), *cāpā* (*campaka-*), *līpvā* (*limpati*), *sāpadvā* find (*sampatati*).

mb : *lābā* (*lamba-*), *kābḷo* blanket (*kambala-*), *ābī* (*umbikā*), *jābū* (*jambā-*), *ābar* (*udumbara-*), *sām* (*śamba-*), *lām* (HD *lumbī*), *ām* (Pkt. *amba-* < *āmra-*).

mbh : *lābhā* lottery (*lambha-*), *kābh* pot (*kumbha-*), *khābhār* (*kumbhakāra-*), *khām* pillar (*skambha-*).

hm > *mh* > *mbh*, cf. *sābharvā* (*saṁsmarati*).

mś : *vās* bamboo (*vaṁśa-*), *sāso* (*saṁśaya-*), *pāsrā* (*prāṁśu-*).

mś : *kāśā* cymbals (*kāṁśya-*), *kāś* drinking cup (*kaṁśa-*), *hās* goose (*haṁśa-*).

79. In postaccentual syllables the nasalization is lost. This development was in process in the OWR of the texts, where present participles end in *-antaū*, *-amtaū*, *-ataū* (G. *-to*), e.g. *puchto*, OWR *puchataū*, *puchamtaū* < Pkt. *pucchantaū*. Similarly, *pacās* (*pañcāśat*) after *ēk* *pacās*, etc.; cf. *kādav* < **kāddāv* (*kardama-*).

GROUPS WITH *y*

80. In the groups guttural, palatal, cerebral, or labial + *y*, the *y* is assimilated.

ky : *vāk* speech (*vākya-*), *śīkū* sling (*śīkya-*).

khy : *vakhāṇ* (*vyākhyāna-*), *ukhāṇ* (**upakhyāna-*).

gy : *lāgvū* (*lagyati*), *bhāgvū* run away (*bhagyatē*), *sohāg* (*saubhāgya-*), *bhāg* fortune (*bhāgya-*), *jōg* (*yōgya-*).

verāg, as shown by its *e*, is a tatsama (*vairāgya-*).

cy : *rācvū* look well (*racyatē*), *rucvū* suit (**rucyati* : *rōcatē*), *cuvū* leak (*cyuta-*).

nīcū low is not from **nīcya-*, but Pkt. *nicca-* with *-cc-* after *ucca-*. *kāc* glass is an old tatsama, Pkt. *kacca-* from Skt. *kāca-* (see § 8).

jy : *rāj* (*rājya-*), *vaṇaj* (*vāṇijya-*), *jēḷh* (*jyēṣṭha-*).

ṭy : *tutvū* (*truṭyati*), *phuṭvū* (*sphuṭyate*), *phāṭvū* (**sphaṭyati* : *sphaṭatē*), *ghāṭ* (**ghaṭya-* : *ghaṭatē*).

dy : *jāḍū* thick (*jāḍya-*).

py : *dīpvā* (*dīpyatē*), *rōpvā* (*rōpyatē*), *lōpvā* hide (*lōpya-* : *lōpayati*), *māp* measure (*māpya-*).

bhy : *lābhvā* find (*labhyatē*).

81. The group dental + *y* becomes a double palatal.

ty : *sācū* true (*satya-*), *nāc* dance (**nartya-* or *ṇṭya-*).

bījā 2nd < **dvidya-* by assimilation from **dvitya-*.

dy : *khīj* (*khidyatē*), *khāj* food (*khādyā-*), *siṅvū* sweat (*svidyati*), *āj* (*adya*), *vājū* (*vādyā-*), *vīj* (*vidyut*), *anāj* (*annādyā-*), *nījvū* sleep < **nidyati* (*nidrā*), *mōjī* gay (*mōdyatē*), *chājvū* < **chadyati* (*chadayati*), *ūjam* (*udyama-*).

dhy : *siṅhvū* be finished (*sidhyati*), *riṅhvū* (*ṛdhyati*), *juṅhvū* (*yudhyatē*), *suṅhvū* appear (*śudhyati*), *jhājīhū* < **adhyadhyaka-* (*adhyadhī*), *sājīh* (*sandhyā*), *vājīh* (*vandhyā*), *jhākh* (*adhyakṣa-*).

82. In the groups nasal, *l*, *v* or sibilant + *y*, the *y* is assimilated.

ny : *pūn* (*puṇya-*), *rān* (*araṇya-*).

ny : *sūnū* (*śūnya-*), *dhān* (*dhānya-*), *mānvū* obey (*manyatē*), *ān* another (*anya-*), *nākhvū* throw down (*nyakṣa-*), *nagōḍ* (*nyagrōdha-*).

my : *samāvū* be mitigated (*sāmyati*), *ghumvū* (HD *ghummaṭi* < **ghumya-*).

ly : *kāl* (*kālyam*), *māl* price (*mālyā-*), *śēl* (*śāilyā-*), *tēl* < **tailya-* (*taila-*), *palān* (*palyāṇa-*).

vy : *śivvū* (*sīvyatē*), *avāvvrū* unused (*a + vyāpāra-*), *bhāvvrū* (*bhāvyatē*), *vāgh* tiger (*vyāghra-*), *vērū* (*vyākīrati*), *vām* (*vyāma-*).

For *gāū* (*gāvryūti-*) see § 69 (2).

śy : *nāsvū* (*naśyati*), *diśvū* (*drśyatē*), *sāmḷū* (*śyāmala-*).

śy : fut. -*iśyāmi* > Pkt. -*issam*, G. -*īś*.

sy : *sālo* wife's brother (*syāla-*).

83. In the groups *ry hy*, *r* and *h* are assimilated, and the resultant *yy yyh* become *jj jjh*.

ry : *kāj* (*kārya-*), *ājo* grandfather (*ārya-*), *thijvū* congeal < **sthiryati* (*sthira-*), *dhīj* ordeal (*dhīrya-*).

hy : *dājhvā* be burnt (*dahyatē*), *dujhvā* be milked (*duhyatē*), *mujhāvā* be uneasy (*muhyati*).
 yy : *sēj* bed, Pkt. *sejjā* (*śayyā*), with *e* after *śētē*.

GROUPS WITH *r*

84. In all groups containing *r* the *r* is assimilated. In the groups *mr* and perhaps *nr* the corresponding voiced stop developed between the nasal and *r*, so that these groups became *mb* ? *nd*, which converged with PI *mb nd*.

kr : *tāk* (*takra-*), *cakvā* (*cakravāka-*), *vāk* (*vakra-*), *kōs* (*krōśa-*), *cāk* (*cakra-*).

rk : *tākvū* (*tarkayati*), *mākdī* spider (*markata-*), *ākḍo* (*arka-*), *kākdī* (*karkata-*), *sākar* sugar (*śarkarā*), *kākar* teeth of a saw (*karkara-*).

gr : *āgū* in front (*agra-*), *vīghū* (*vīgraha-*), *jāgvū* wake (*jāgra-*), *gām* (*grāma-*), *gāḥ* (*grantha-*).

rg : *māgvū* (*mārgati*), *māḡ* (*mārga-*), *āḡlī* bolt (*argalī*), *cōḡṇū* (*caturguṇa-*), *māgsur* a month (*mārgasīra-*), *gāgar* (*gargarī*).

ghr : *vāgh* (*vyāghra-*), *ghāṇ* (*ghrāṇa-*).

rgh : *sōghū* (*samargha-*), *mōghū* (*mahārgha-*), *ghāghrī* (*ghargharī*).

rc : *āc* (*arcis-*), *jācvū* (*jarcati*), *kūco* (*kūrca-*).

rj : *mājvū* (*mārjati*), *gājvū* (*garjati*), *gājur* (*garjara-*), *jājro* (*jarjara-*), *gujrī* (*gurjara-*), *bhojāī* (*bhrātur-jāyā*), *mājār* (*mārjāra-*).

rjh : *jhājhar* cymbal (*jharjhara-*).

pr : *pyār* love (*prīyaktāra-*), *pathāro* expanse (*prastāra-*), *pākhar* (*prakṣara-*), *pātharvū* spread (*prastarati*), *pāmavū* (*prāpnōti*), *pōkhvū* (*prōkṣatē*), *pōṇ* (*pravacana-*), *pēkhvū* (*prēkṣatē*), *pakhālū* (*prakṣālayati*), *pāsra* (*prāṁśu-*).

rp : *sāp* (*sarpa-*), *āpvū* give (*arpayati*), *sōpvū* (*samarpayati*), *pāpad* (*parpaṭa-*), *kāpad* (*karpaṭa-*), *kōpriyū* elbow (*kaurpara-*).

rb: *dublū* (*durbala-*), *sābar stag* (*śarbara-*), *kābrū* (*karbara-*), *Ābū* (*arbuda-*).

bhr: *ābh cloud* (*abhra-*), *bhamvū* (*bhramati*), *bhāī* (*bhrātṛ-*), *bhājīyū* fried grain (**bhrajjita-*).

rbh: *gābh* (*garbha-*), *gābhñī* (*garbhñī*), *cibhḍī* (*cirbha-tikā*), *dubhāvo* (*durbhāva-*), *dābh* (*darbha-*), *nibhāvū* (*nirbhū-*), *bhābho* fool (cf. *bharbharā*).

tr rt, rth, dr rd, dhr rdh; see § 43.

rṇ: *kān* (*karṇa-*), *pān* (*parṇa-*), *sōnū* (*sauvarṇa-*), *vān* (*varṇa-*), *ūn* (*ūrṇa-*), *jūnū* (*jūrṇa-*), *cūn* (*cūrṇa-*), *jīnū* (*jīrṇa-*).

rm: *cām* (*carman-*), *kām* (*karman-*), *kāmaṇ* witchcraft (*kārmaṇa-*), *ghām* (*ghārma-*), *cōmās* (*caturmāsa-*), *bhām* tax on leather (*bharma-*), *dhām* holy place (*dharma-*), *dhāmaṇ* (*dharmaṇa-*).

mr: (a) initially > m-: *mākhaṇ* (*mrakṣaṇa-*); (b) medially > -mb- -m: *ābo* (*āmra-*), *tābū* (*tāmra-*), *ām* (*āmra-*).

ry: see § 83.

rl: *nīlājṛū* shameless (*nirlajja-*), *dūlū* (*durlabha-*).

rv: *cāvū* chew (*carvati*), *sāv* (*sarva-*), *kāvṛū* excited (*karvara-*), *covāṭe* (*catur + vṛtta-*).

śr: *sāsū* mother-in-law (*śvaśrū-*), *visāmo* rest (*viśrāma-*), *sāt* (*śrānta-*), *cōras* (*caturaśra-*).

rś: *pāse* aside (*pārśva-*).

rṣ: *śīs* (*śīrṣa-*), *ghasāro* scratch (*gharṣa-*).

pharsū (*sparśa-*), *ārśī* (*ādurśa-*), *sarsav* (*sarśapa-*); see § 32.

sr: *māśī* mother's sister < **māisāsī* < *mātṛgvasrikā*.

GROUPS WITH l

85. l + stop or m: l is assimilated.

lg: *phāgaṇ* (*phālguṇa-*), *phāg* (*phalgu-*), *gūgaḷ* (*gulgulu-*).

lp: *kāp* (*kalpa-*), *kāpvū* (*kalpati*).

lm: *kāmas* (*kalmaṣa-*), *gumḍū* boil (*gulma-*).

86. (1) l + y, v or h, and r + l: y, v, h, r are assimilated.

ly : see § 82.

lv : *bīl* bilva-leaf (*bilva*-).

lh : *kōlā* fox (HD *kolhuo*).

rl : see § 84.

ll : *phūl* (*phulla*-), *ulāl* vomit (*ullalati*), *cīl* (*cilla*-), *gāl* (*galla*-), *khāl* skin (*khalla*-), *chāl* bark (*challi*-), *Bhīl* (*bhilla*-), *jhālar* (*jhallari*).

(2) In the group *ml m* is lost if *saḷagvū* catch fire corresponds to *samlag*-.

GROUPS WITH *v*

87. (1) Guttural, palatal, or cerebral stops + *v* : *v* is assimilated.

kv : *pākū* ripe (*pakva*-).

jv : *ujlā* (*ujjvala*-), *jalvū* (*jvalati*), *jar* fever (*jvara*-).

tv : *khāt* (*khatvā*).

(2) Dental + *v* becomes double labial; see § 51.

tv : *-paṇ* < *-tvana*-, *rādāpo* < **raṇḍatva*-, *kālap* *bālap* < *-tva*-.

dv : *bār* (*dvāra*-), *bē* (*dvē*), *batīs* (*dvā*-), *bījū* (*dvitīya*-).

dhv : *ūbhū* (*ūrdhva*-).

(3) *l* + *v* : *v* is assimilated, see § 86.

(4) Sibilant + *v* : *v* is assimilated.

śv : *pāse* (*pāśva*-), *nisāso* (*niḥśvāsa*-), *sās* (*śvāsa*-), *sasro* (*śvaśura*-).

ṣv : *māśī* (*mātṣvasrikā*).

sv : *sāthiyo* (*svastika*-).

(5) *vy*, *rv* : *y* and *r* are assimilated, see §§ 82, 84.

(6) *lv* > *bhh* : *jībh* (*jīhvā*).

GROUPS WITH A SIBILANT

88. Sibilant + stop becomes double aspirated stop.

śc : *pāchī* after (*paścāt*), *vīchī* (*vṛścika*-), *tīrchū* slanting (*tiraśc*-).

ṣk : *sūkhū* (*śuṣka*-), *vikharvū* be scattered, *vakhērvū* scatter (*viṣkirati*).

ṣṭ : *dīthū* (*drṣṭa*-), *vūthvū* (*vṛṣṭa*-), *āṭh* 8 (*aṣṭau*), *pīth*

- (*pīṣṭa-*), *ruthvū* (*ruṣṭa-*), *nāthū* (*naṣṭa-*), *māthū* (*mṛṣṭa-*), *mūthī* (*muṣṭi-*), *kāthū* wretched (*kaṣṭa-*).
- ṣṭh* : *āgūtho* (*aṅguṣṭha-*), *kāth* (*kāṣṭha-*), *pūth* (*pṛṣṭha-*), *kōth* (*kōṣṭha-*), *gōth* (*gōṣṭha-*), *jēth* (*jyēṣṭha-*), *śēth* (*śrēṣṭhin-*), *ṭhām* < **sthāma-* (*sthāman-*).
- sk* : *vakhār* warehouse (*vakṣaskāra-*), *khām* (*skambha-*), *khāḍ(h)* (*skandha-*).
- skh* : *khālvū* hinder (*skhālayati*).
- st* : *hāth* (*hasta-*), *māthū* (*mastaka-*), *pāthar* (*prastara-*), *sāthiyo* (*svastika-*), *bhāt(h)* o quiver (*bhastra-*), *sāthro* grass bed (*sastara-*), *nāth* nose ring (*nastā*), *āth* store of money (*asta-*), *āthamṇū* western (*astamana-*), *thar* layer (*stara-*).
- sth* : *thānū* station (*sthāna-*), *thāvar* (*sthāvara-*), *thāl* shallow copper vessel (*sthālī*), *thōr* old < **thavara-* (*sthavira-*), *sāth* lease (*saṁsthi-*).
- sp* : *phāḍo* (*spanda-*).
- sph* : *phāṭvū* (*sphaṭatē*), *phār* too much (*sphāra-*), *pharvū* wheel (*spharati*), *phutvū* (*sphutyatē*), *aphālvū* (*āsphālayati*).

89. Stop + sibilant.

(1) *kṣ* became *kkh* : *līkh* louse-nit (*likṣā*), *lākh* wax (*lākṣā*), *śīkh* (*śīkṣā*), *ākhū* (*akṣata-*), *ōkhaṇvū* (*avakṣanōti*), *olakhvū* (*upalakṣatē*), *khīr* (*kṣīra-*), *khōvū* lose (*kṣapana-*), *khamvū* (*kṣamatē*), *khaṇ* (*kṣaṇa-*), *sākh* (*sākṣya-*), *tīkhū* (*tīkṣṇa-*).

Beside *tīkhū* also *tīnū*. Marāṭhī and Nepālī both show the double treatment of *kṣṇ*, e.g. M. *tīkhā* (*tīkṣṇa-*) beside M. *sān* (*ślakṣṇa-*), N. *tīkho* beside *sāno* small (*ślakṣṇa-*). The difference is found in Prakrit,¹ where *tīkkha-*, *tīṇha-*, *saṇha-* appear, as well as *paṁha-* (*pakṣma-*). The remark of Mārkaṇḍeya, quoted by Pischel, that *tīkkha-* has the literal meaning and *tīṇha-* the derived, points to the second form, in this particular case, being a loanword from another dialect.

¹ Pischel, § 312.

The following are loanwords from a *ch*-dialect: *kāch* (*kacchā* : *kakṣa*-), *rīch* (*rīkṣa*-), *churo* (*chura*- : *kṣura*-), *tāch* (*takṣa*-), *cha* 6, (**kṣvaks*), *chār* beside *khār* (*kṣāra*-), *ūs* < **ūch* (Northern Gujarātī or Marāṭhī < *ikṣu*-), *vichalvū* (*vikṣal*-), *chūdvū* beside *khūdvū* (*kṣud*-).

(2) *t* or *p* + *s* become *cch*.

ts: *vāch* (*vatsa*-), *mācho* fish (*matsya*-), *char* knife (*tsaru*-), *ucharvū* be brought up (*utsarati*).

ps: *gūcho* bunch (*guccha*- : *gṛpsa*-).

90. Sibilant + nasal.

(1) *ṣṇ*, *sn* become *nḥ*.

ṣṇ: *ūn(h)ū* (*uṣṇa*-), *un(h)āḷo* (*uṣṇakūla*-).

sn: *pānav* flow of milk into udder (*prasnava*-), *nhāvū* (*snāti*), *nhāṇū* (*snāna*-), *nēh* (*snēha*-).

(2) *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm*; see § 53.

91. Sibilant + *y*, *r* or *v*; and *r* + sibilant: *y*, *r*, *v* are assimilated. *śy*, *ṣy*, *sy*, § 82; *śr*, *ṣr*, *rs*, *rṣ*, *rs*, § 84; *śv*, *ṣv*, *sv*, § 87 (4).

92. *ḥk*, *ḥkh*, *ḥp* become *kk*, *kkh*, *pp*: *cōk* Pkt. *caukka*- < **catuḥka*- (*catuska*-), *dukhvū* (Pkt. *dukkha*-, Skt. *duḥkha*-), *cōpāi* < **catuḥpāda*- (*catuspāda*-).

SUMMARY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GUJARATĪ AND PRIMITIVE INDIAN SOUNDS

93. The sounds on the left of each column are Gujarātī, those on the right PI, unless otherwise stated. The numbers refer to preceding paragraphs.

a = *a* 17, 21, 23.

MI *-āim* 66 (2).

i 23 (2), 24 (1).

i = *i* 17, 23 (2).

u 23 (3), 24 (1).

ī 20, 21, 23 (3).

ā 23 (3).

ṛ 18.

ṛ 18.

ī = *ī* 17.

ā = *ā* 17.

i 19.

a 19.

ṛ 18.

ṛ 18.

ē 17.

MI *ā* + *ā* 27 (1).

MI *ī* + *ī* 27 (1).

- MI *iā* 27 (3).
 MI *iū* 27 (3).
 MI *iam̃* 27 (4).
 MI *iūm̃* 27 (4).
u = *u* 17, 21, 23 (2).
 ū 20, 21, 23 (3).
 ɽ 18.
 āmi 67 (2) (b).
ū = *ū* 17.
 u 19.
 ɽ 18.
 MI *ũ* + *ũ* 27 (1).
 MI *uā* 27 (5).
 MI *ua* 27 (5).
e = *e* 23 (3).
 ai 23 (3).
 MI *aī* 28 (3) (a), (b).
ē = *ē* 17.
 ai 17.
 aya 30 (1).
 ā 31.
 MI *e* 19.
 MI *ēa* 27 (2) (a).
 MI *ēu* 27 (2) (a).
 MI *aē* 27 (2) (c).
o = *ō* 21, 23 (3).
 au 23 (3).
 MI *aū* 28 (3) (a), (b).
ō = *ō* 17.
 au 17.
 ava 30 (1), (2).
 MI *o* 19.
 MI *ōa* 27 (2) (a).
 MI *aō* 27 (2) (c).
 MI *aū* 28 (1).
ε = MI *aī* 28 (2) (a).
- ē* = MI *aī* 28 (2) (a).
 MI *aī* 28 (2) (a).
 MI *aya* 30 (3) (a).
 a 33.
o = MI *aū* 28 (2) (b).
ō = MI *aū* 28 (2) (b).
 MI *aū* 28 (2) (b).
 MI *ava* 30 (2), (3).
 MI *ōā* 27 (2).
 MI *ōī* 27 (2) (b).
k = *k* 57.
 kk 74.
 tk 75.
 kn 76 (1).
 nk 78.
 kr 84.
 rk 84.
 ky 80.
 kv 87 (1).
 hk 88.
 kh 40.
kh = *kh* 57.
 tkh 75.
 ŋkh 78.
 khy 80.
 sk 88.
 sk 88.
 skh 88.
 kṣ 89 (1).
 kṣṇ 89 (1).
 hkh 88.
g = *g* 57.
 dg 75.
 gn 76.
 ng 78.
 gy 80.

<i>gr</i> 84.	<i>g</i> 41.
<i>rg</i> 84.	<i>jh</i> = <i>jh</i> 57.
<i>lg</i> 85.	IE <i>gāh</i> , Skt. <i>kṣ</i> 42.
<i>gh</i> 40.	<i>rjh</i> 84.
<i>gh</i> = <i>gh</i> 57.	<i>dhy</i> 81.
<i>dgh</i> 75.	<i>hy</i> 83.
<i>ṅgh</i> 78.	<i>t</i> = <i>rt</i> 43 B.
<i>ghr</i> 84.	<i>gtt</i> 43 B.
<i>rgh</i> 84.	<i>t</i> 44.
MI <i>g-h</i> 72 (1).	<i>tt</i> 74.
<i>c</i> = <i>c</i> 57.	<i>ty</i> 80.
<i>cc</i> 74.	<i>tv</i> 87 (1).
<i>ñc</i> 78, 79.	<i>nt</i> 78.
<i>cy</i> 80.	<i>th</i> 40.
<i>rc</i> 84.	<i>th</i> = <i>tth</i> 74.
<i>ty</i> 81.	<i>nth</i> 78.
<i>k</i> 41.	<i>st</i> 88.
<i>ch</i> = <i>ch</i> 57.	<i>sth</i> 88.
<i>cch</i> 74.	<i>ḍ</i> = <i>dr</i> 43 B.
<i>cchr</i> 84.	<i>rḍ</i> 43 B.
<i>kṣ</i> 89 (1).	<i>rdh</i> 43 B.
<i>ts</i> 89 (2).	<i>gḍ</i> 43 B.
<i>ps</i> 89 (2).	<i>gdh</i> 43 B.
<i>śc</i> 88.	<i>r-t</i> 43 B.
<i>kh</i> 41.	<i>ḍ</i> 44.
<i>j</i> = <i>j</i> 57.	<i>t</i> 44.
<i>jj</i> 74.	<i>ḍ</i> 65.
<i>ñj</i> 78.	<i>ḍḍ</i> 74.
<i>jy</i> 80.	<i>ḍy</i> 80.
<i>rj</i> 84.	<i>nḍ</i> 78.
<i>jv</i> 87.	<i>t</i> 65.
<i>y</i> 59.	MI <i>ḍh</i> 40.
<i>dy</i> 81.	<i>ḍh</i> = <i>th</i> 65.
<i>ry</i> 83.	<i>sth</i> 56.
<i>yy</i> 83.	<i>gth</i> 43 B.
<i>jh</i> 40.	<i>t</i> = <i>t</i> 57.

<i>tt</i> 74.	<i>tv</i> 87 (2).
<i>kt</i> 75.	<i>ph</i> = <i>ph</i> 57.
<i>pt</i> 75.	<i>sp</i> 88.
<i>nt</i> 78, 79.	<i>sph</i> 88.
<i>tr</i> 43 A.	<i>sm</i> 55 (3).
<i>rt</i> 43 A.	<i>b</i> = <i>b</i> 57.
MI <i>th</i> 40.	<i>mb</i> 78.
<i>th</i> = <i>nth</i> 78.	<i>rb</i> 84.
<i>rth</i> 43 A.	<i>mr</i> 84.
<i>st</i> 88.	<i>dv</i> 87 (2).
<i>sth</i> 88.	<i>bh</i> = <i>bh</i> 57.
<i>d</i> = <i>d</i> 57.	<i>dbh</i> 75.
<i>dd</i> 74.	<i>mbh</i> 78.
<i>bd</i> 75.	<i>bhy</i> 80.
<i>nd</i> 78.	<i>bhr</i> 84.
<i>dr</i> 43 A.	<i>rbh</i> 84.
<i>rd</i> 43 A.	<i>dhv</i> 87 (2).
MI <i>dh</i> 40.	<i>hv</i> 87 (6).
<i>dh</i> = <i>dh</i> 57.	MI <i>b-h</i> 72 (2).
<i>gdh</i> 75.	<i>ñ</i> = <i>ng</i> 78.
<i>ddh</i> 74.	<i>ngh</i> 78.
<i>bdh</i> 75.	<i>ṇ</i> = <i>ṇ</i> 66 (1).
<i>ndh</i> 78.	<i>n</i> 66 (1).
<i>dhr</i> 43 A.	<i>n</i> = <i>n</i> 57.
<i>rdh</i> 43 A.	<i>nn</i> 77.
<i>d-h</i> 72 (2).	<i>ṇṇ</i> 77.
<i>p</i> = <i>p</i> 57.	<i>ny</i> 82.
<i>pp</i> 74.	<i>ṇy</i> 82.
<i>tp</i> 75.	<i>jñ</i> 76 (2).
<i>mp</i> 78.	<i>rṇ</i> 84.
<i>py</i> 80.	<i>sn</i> 90 (1).
<i>pr</i> 84.	<i>ṣṇ</i> 90 (1).
<i>rp</i> 84.	<i>lṣṇ</i> 89 (1).
<i>lp</i> 85.	<i>m</i> = <i>m</i> 57, 67 (1).
<i>hp</i> 88.	<i>mm</i> 77.
<i>tm</i> 76 (3).	<i>mb</i> 78.

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<i>pn</i> 76 (3).	rś 84.
<i>y</i> = MI ĩ 27 (4), 29, 49.	rṣ 84.
<i>v</i> = v 59, 69.	śv 87 (4).
<i>vy</i> 82.	ṣv 87 (4).
<i>rv</i> 84.	sv 87 (4).
<i>b</i> 63.	śm 55 (1).
<i>p</i> 63.	sm 55 (1).
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The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517

By E. DENISON ROSS

IN the January number of this Journal there appeared a most interesting article by Mr. M. Longworth Dames on "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century". The article furnishes an admirable introduction to this engrossing, if little known, subject; and it is only by way of supplement that I am writing the following notes.

The main sources of information on which we can draw are : Portuguese, Persian (Indian), Arabic, and Turkish. By far the most important are, of course, the Portuguese, and these have been fully utilized by Mr. Longworth Dames. He has also made use of such Persian histories as *Ferishta* and the *Mir'ât-i-Sikandari*, but the Arabic and Turkish histories have remained for the most part unexplored. Certain of these last throw much light on the history of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century, and I propose in this place to illustrate this claim. I wish, however, to state at the outset that the intimacy with which the early Portuguese writers disclose with the public affairs and private intrigues of the Moslems in Arabia and India is quite astonishing, and that the accounts that they give of the relations of the various Muhammedan states with one another is usually in striking accord with the narratives of Moslem historians.

In the present article it is my intention to deal only with the period of history covered by the years A.D. 1507-17, reserving for a future occasion the period of Indo-Portuguese History which terminated in the unsuccessful expedition of Sulayman Pasha against the Portuguese in Gujarat in 1538.

The ten years 1507-17 saw many happenings of historical importance in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, including

the partial conquest of the Yaman by the Circassian Mamluks, and the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks.

In the course of my researches on this period I have consulted upwards of twenty Arabic and Turkish works, chiefly in manuscript. I do not propose in this place to enumerate all these authorities, but will confine myself to the mention of those which appear to me the most important. I may mention that the two best Turkish Histories, namely, those of Munajjim Báshi and Colonel Aḥmad Ráshid, both of which have been printed, contain nothing that is not to be found in the local Arabic Histories of the period.

The most important writer on the History of the Yaman down to A.D. 1517 is undoubtedly Wajih ad-Dayba', who as an inhabitant of Zabid had ample opportunity of obtaining first-hand information. He is the author of no less than five works dealing with the history of the Yaman, one of which is in verse. The best known of these is the *Bughyat ul-Mustafid fi Akhbár Zabid*, of which an incomplete Latin translation was published by Johannsen in 1828.

Ad-Dayba' was born in A.H. 866 (A.D. 1461), and died in A.H. 944 (A.D. 1537), but none of his histories bring the narrative beyond A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517).

The next Arabic writer of importance is Quṭb ud-Dín al-Makki an-Nahrawáli, who wrote two important works. 1. A history of the Yaman called *al-Barq al-Yamání fi 'l-fath al-'Othmání*, of which a somewhat abridged translation was published by De Sacy in tome iv of *Notices et Extraits*. 2. A History of Mekka called *Kitáb ul-A'lam fi 'lam baytullah il-hiram*, which was edited and epitomized by Wüstenfeld in his *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig, 1858).

Quṭb ud-Dín was born in Mekka in A.H. 920 (A.D. 1514), and died in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). For the first two decades of the Tenth Century he is not always reliable, and by an unfortunate chance certain statements of his which are misleading have been slavishly copied by later writers, as will be seen below.

The third writer I have to mention is 'Abdullah Muḥammed ibn 'Omar commonly known as Ḥájji ad-Dabír, who wrote an Arabic History of Gujarat called *az-Zafar al Wálih bi Muẓaffar wa álih*, of which the text is now being published in the Indian Text Series.

Ḥájji ad-Dabír was born in Mekka about A.D. 1540, came to India as a young man, and remained there most of his life, employed in secretarial duties by various leading notables of Gujarat and the Deccan. His History of Gujarat, which is brought down as far as A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605), contains a vast amount of interesting historical matter outside his immediate subject, and incidentally he devotes a good deal of space to the affairs in the Yaman and the Red Sea during the first half of the Sixteenth Century. To his quotations from ad-Dayba' he adds not merely his own intelligent commentaries, but also the personal narratives of eye-witnesses. It is noteworthy that he makes no allusion to Quṭb ud-Dín's Histories, though it is hard to believe that they were unknown to him.

With so much by way of introduction I will proceed with my notes on Mr. Longworth Dames' paper.

p. 8. *The battle of Chaul*.—I think this battle undoubtedly took place in January, 1508, ad-Dayba' tells us that Amir Ḥusayn only reached Aden on his way to India in Rab'ī ii, 913 (i.e. August, 1507). Castanheda, alluded to in the foot-note, is therefore correct.

p. 9. *Silence of the Gujarati Historians regarding the Victory of the Portuguese off Diu in 1509*.—There is only one Moslem historian who alludes to this victory, namely, Zayn ud-Dín, the author of the well-known *Tuhfat ul Mujáhidín*.

The silence of the Mir'at-i-Sikandari is very remarkable, and a passage in the Arabic History of Gujarat led me for a time to conclude that at any rate the Egyptian fleet under Amír Ḥusayn did not take part in the battle: for Ḥájji ad-Dabír implies that after the combined victory of the Gujarati and Egyptian fleets off Chaul, Mahmúd, king of Gujarat, invited Amír Ḥusayn to remain in his service, but

that Amír Husayn excused himself and withdrew with his fleet to Hormuz. In view, however, of the very circumstantial and detailed account given by Goes¹ and others of Amír Husayn's escape from the battle off Diu in 1509, I am inclined to think that Hájji ad-Dabír is guilty of *suppressio veri*.

As further evidence of the presence of Amír Husayn and the Egyptian fleet at the battle, we are told that the banners of the Soldan (i.e. Qánsawh al-Ghawri) and of Amír Husayn were taken to Portugal and hung up in the Temple of Tomar, head of the illustrious military order of Christ. We are further told that among the spoils of victory were books in a great variety of languages showing the motley crowd of nationalities of which the Sultan's army was composed. It is, of course, quite probable that the ruler of Hormuz, like many other Moslem rulers, appealed to the Mamluk Sovereign for help in 1507, and Hájji ad-Dabír tells us that the king of the Yaman set out from Aden to attack the Portuguese near Hormuz in March, 1507. The Portuguese actually captured Hormuz in the following year. It is possible that after the Moslem victory off Chaul in January, 1508, Amír Husayn, under orders from the Sultan, Qánsawh al-Ghawri, took his fleet to Hormuz, and thence returned to India to take an ignominious part in the battle off Diu.

Goes (part ii, ch. 39) gives full details of the Moslem fleets present at the battle of Diu, and says that Amír Husayn's fleet comprised more than 100 ships. This would imply that he had a far larger fleet than at the battle of Chaul,

¹ "Amir Husayn finding himself surrounded on all sides and finding that Malik Ayaz was holding aloof, watching the battle without entering it himself, and seeing that he had put his reliance on the Fustas, which now seemed to have abandoned him, and being himself wounded and many of his men being wounded or dead, he secretly slipped away through the rudder-hole of his ship and let himself down on to a barge which he had there in readiness for such an emergency, and escaped disguised to a village where he hid, and whence he took a horse and proceeded to join the Governor of Cambay, for he feared Malik Ayaz because he could not trust him, as much as he feared our people on whose account he had shed so much blood."

where, according to most Moslem authorities, the Egyptian contingent comprised only ten vessels.

The expedition which left Suez in May, 1507, is fully described by ad-Dayba', and even more fully by Hájji ad-Dabír. It is not, however, mentioned by Quṭb ud-Dín in either of his histories, and the fact that the later writers have followed Quṭb ud-Dín rather than ad-Dayba' has led to considerable confusion. Ad-Dayba' tells that in response to the appeals received from the King of the Yaman and several rulers in Western India, Qánsawh al-Ghawri, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, appointed Amír Husayn Governor of Jedda, and ordered him to proceed with a fleet to India. Ad-Dayba' also says that Amír Husayn was accompanied by Salmán Ra'ís, who had been sent by the Ottoman Sultan, Salím, to help the Ghawri against the Franks. This detail is interesting in connexion with circumstances that (as Mr. Longworth Dames points out on p. 11) many historians, both Portuguese and Indian, speak of the Egyptian fleet as one sent out by the Sultan of Rum, or Constantinople. Goes, on the other hand (part iv, chap. 12), says that Salmán Ra'ís was a Turk by birth, who, after many years as a Mediterranean corsair, entered the service of the Grand Turk, and afterwards fled to the Sultan of Babylonia (i.e. Cairo). Hájji ad-Dabír also tells us that Salmán Ra'ís had been famous as a corsair in the Mediterranean, but he does not say specifically that he accompanied Amír Husayn on his first Indian Expedition.

The account given by Hájji ad-Dabír of this expedition and the sea battle in 1508 off Chaul is as follows :—

In the meantime, the Mamluk sovereign, Qánsawh al-Ghawri, had been in correspondence with these Muhammedan rulers in India, of whom the principal was Maḥmúd Sháh Begara of Gujarat, through whom co-operation was established with the famous Governor of Diu, Malik Ayáz.¹

In response to the Gujarati and other invitations, preparations for the dispatch of an Egyptian fleet were made by

¹ He is said to have been a Russian by birth.

the Mamluk king, under the orders of Amír Ḥusayn, the Governor of Jedda.

In the month of Muharram, 913, May, 1507, the *Turkish Fleet* (possibly commanded by Salmán), consisting of two large vessels (*barshas*), and three small ones (*grabs*), set sail from Jedda. They passed by Jázán, Kamarán, Matína, and Mokhá, and finally reached Aden. They also made a landing at Abyan. Wherever they went the inhabitants fled from them. A few months after Amír Ḥusayn *set out after them* with two large vessels (ad-Dayba' says three large vessels (*barshas*)), and three small ones from Jedda, and anchored at Bab-al-Mandeb. Ad-Dayba' says no one knew what was his objective. (It is to be noted that the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* (Bayley, p. 222) says that there were *ten* Turkish ships.) And when he finally came near Aden he sent out a small boat with a messenger carrying a request to the Amír *Mirján* (Barros says "Miramizan" was an Abyssinian converted to Islam) asking permission to enter the port. This was granted, and he entered Aden without a shot being fired. *Mirján* sent two of his officers to welcome him, and Amír Ḥusayn said to them: "Tell the Amír from me that if I had not received orders from the Sultan Qānṣawh not to enter Aden I should have entered Aden and gone to meet him: tell him, however, that I ask permission to take on board drinking water, firewood, etc." The Amír not only gave him permission to do so in return for certain concessions, but bestowed innumerable favours and robes of honour on his companions. Then the Amír sent him precious gifts and set out for *Diū to fight the Franks who had appeared there*.

On pp. 37 and 38 of the Arabic History of Gujarat we read:

"And in Ramazan 913 (January, 1508) took place the great engagement with the Franks on the coast of India, and the Sultan [Maḥmúd] set out from Champanir with the intent of making Holy War, and he travelled along the coast as far as Damman, where he halted.

“Now, he had written to Malik Ayáz, the Governor of Junagar and Diu, telling him to make ready to attack the Franks by sea, and the sortie of Ayáz from Diu coincided with the arrival of Amír Ḥusayn, the Egyptian, at the head of two galleons and three fusts, which had been sent by the Lord of Egypt, Qánsawh al-Ghawri, to the Indian Ocean and Hormuz against the Franks, for he had heard of the mischief being wrought by the Franks in those two seas. And Ayáz went out to meet him with all ceremony, and expressed his great delight at his arrival, paying him every possible mark of attention and respect as was due—nay, even more than was due. Then these two captains took their fleets in the direction of Chaul to give battle: Amír Ḥusayn acting as vanguard. The Franks appeared upon the coast of Chaul and had collected many men, but God Most High protected the True Faith, and many of the Franks were put to the sword and a number of their ships were broken, many of them were taken prisoners, while others, boarding such ships as remained seaworthy, fled from the sword to the shore, hotly pursued by Ayáz, who killed 7,000 of them, and took prisoners even more, so that the total of those who perished reached 10,000, while the number of the martyrs among Amír Ḥusayn’s Turkish troops was 400, and the martyrs among the troops of Ayáz amounted to 600. (May God exalt their rank!). And Ayáz wrote to the Sultan announcing the victory, which he attributed to Maḥmúd’s good fortune, and Maḥmúd gave praise to God, and set out for the port of Bassein, where he encamped on the shore. And Melik Ayáz returned to him and cast anchor in that part, and when he and Amír Ḥusayn reached the shore the Sultan rode out to meet them with great honour to celebrate the Holy War, and led them back to his pavilion, and honoured them with every kind of favour and mark of esteem, especially Amír Ḥusayn, whom he desired to keep with him, offering him, if he remained, the command of Mahaim, but Ḥusayn excused himself on the plea that his Sultan had ordered him to proceed to Hormuz to

attack the Franks, but that when he had accomplished this he would reconsider the matter ; and he remained in the enjoyment of favours and gifts until he was allowed to depart with all the stores required and set out for Hormuz."

Now, Qutb ud-Dín in both his histories has a good deal to say about Amír Husayn, and it is almost impossible to reconcile his statements with those of the two Arabic historians referred to above or with the Portuguese chronicles. He says in the Barq al-Yamáni : " 'Amir ibn 'Abdul Wahháb, King of the Yaman, called on the Sultan of Egypt for help at the same time as did Sultan Muza'ffar of Gujarat. Amír Husayn was appointed to command an expedition with Salmán Ra'ís under him. Amír Husayn was appointed Governor of Jedda, where he arrived in A.H. 917 (A.D. 1511-12). He built a strong wall round Jedda, and then (according to the same author's History of Mekka, in A.H. 921 (A.D. 1515)), set out for India, entered the port of Diu and had an interview with Sultan Muza'ffar, but finding the Portuguese firmly re-established in Goa, he left India without doing anything, and returned to Kamarán. Now Qutb ud-Dín appears to be alone responsible for this story, which has been copied by later Moslem writers. The Gujarat historians and the Portuguese are both alike silent ; and it is hard to believe that such an expedition had it taken place would have been ignored by either. It is equally curious that Qutb ud-Dín should be ignorant of Amír Husayn's expedition in 1507-8, and he certainly seems to regard A.H. 921 (A.D. 1515) as the date of the Amír's first journey to India. Ráshid, the Turkish historian, has indeed noted the discrepancy in the various narratives, but offers no explanation. One detail in Qutb ud-Dín's narrative is worthy of notice. He says that an appeal for help was made to Egypt by Sultan Muza'ffar of Gujarat in 1511. It was in November of that year that Muza'ffar came to the throne, and this detail being correct, one wonders whether there may not be some truth behind the story after all.

It seems at any rate certain that Amír Husayn withdrew

to Kamarán at the end of 1509 and remained either there or in Jedda (of which he was Governor until his death in 1517), until 1515, when a fresh expedition to India was organized by Qánṣawh al-Ghawri, at the request of several of the kings of India, including those of Cambay (Gujarat), and Calicut (Goes, part iv, chap. 12). This is, I fancy, the occasion which Qutb ud-Dín must have had in his mind, though the fleet which left Suez in October, 1515, under the command of Amír Husayn and Salmán Ra'ís never got beyond Aden.¹

p. 10. *The Fate of Amír Husayn.* According to the Portuguese Chronicles, Amír Husayn was thrown into the sea with a stone round his neck by the orders of Salmán Ra'ís.

The manner of his death is no doubt correct, but the Arabic historians give what were no doubt the actual circumstances.

Qutb ud-Dín tells us that no sooner did the victorious Sultan Salím reach Cairo than Sayyid al-Barakát, the Sharif of Mekka, sent his thirteen-year-old son, Abú Numayy, to wait on the Sultan and offer his congratulations. Salím was highly pleased, and confirmed Barakát in the government of the Holy Towns and the land round about. Salím also sent by Abu Numayy orders that Amír Husayn should be put to death. No doubt the Sultan had heard of the cruelty and unpopularity of the Governor of Jedda. Husayn was, therefore, sent for by the Sharif, and told that he was to report himself to the Sultan in Cairo. Secret instructions were, however, given to the captain to drop him overboard as soon as the open sea was reached.

p. 12. *Albuquerque's Attack on Aden in 1513.*—In the year 1513 the great Albuquerque set out towards Arabia "to look for the fleet of the Rumes", and his unsuccessful attack on Aden is one of the most romantic episodes in the history of Portuguese adventure. The account contained in his own Commentaries has long been accessible to the English reader,

¹ Qutb ud-Dín, however, says that when in A.H. 926 (A.D. 1519) Husayn Beg Rúmí was made Governor of Jedda he found there "a number of fully armed ships which Husayn Kurdí had taken to India and had brought back again for Qánṣawh al-Ghawri.

but not so, I believe, that of Barros, and it may be of interest to see side by side the translation of salient passages from the description given in *Decada II*, with that given by the Arabic writers.

I am led to suppose that when Amír Husayn had heard that the Portuguese were about to enter the Red Sea he withdrew from the Island of Kamarán to Jedda, which he had fortified with great strength in anticipation of Portuguese attacks; and that he only returned to Kamarán when he learnt that the Portuguese had returned to India.

ALBUQUERQUE'S ATTACK ON ADEN.

(i) *According to Barros Decada II, Liv. VII, Chaps. 9 seq.*, Albuquerque having captured the fort of Benestarim, and having placed matters on a sound footing in Goa (he had also concluded a treaty of peace with the Samori (Samudri Rájá) by which he was allowed to build a fortress at Calicut), set out for the Red Sea with a fleet of twenty sail on February 7, 1513. His orders from Dom Manuel I, which he disclosed to his captains when they had reached the open sea, were to conquer Aden and then attack the Egyptian fleet in the Red Sea.

When he first reached Aden he received on board Mír Mirján, an Abyssinian by birth, who had turned Mussulman, Commander of the town, who came to inquire whether Albuquerque needed any supplies for his fleet; to which Albuquerque replied that he had come to look for the *Armada dos Rumes*, which was said to have been sent out from Suez by the Sultan of Cairo, and he wished to save them the trouble of going to look for him in India! Albuquerque, after an exchange of compliments, asked Mirján to acknowledge the suzerainty of the king of Portugal—which Mirján ultimately refused.

During the three days spent in the harbour Albuquerque was able to decide on his plan of attack, and eventually it was determined that his whole force should engage in a scaling assault on an arm of the city wall which ran along the sea

front. His forces numbered 1,400 men, one thousand Portuguese, and four hundred Malabarais. The attacking party went to the shore in small boats, carrying with them scaling ladders so wide that six men could ascend side by side. The Aden garrison had decided to entice the Portuguese within the city walls and fight them there rather than outside, where they would be at the mercy of the superior artillery of the Franks. (This is borne out by the Arabic accounts.) There followed a very keen competition among the Portuguese for the honour of being the first to scale the town walls. We are told that the men, in their enthusiasm, jumped out of their boats into the sea, carrying their ladders and shouting "To the wall! To the wall!"

(The Arabic accounts say that Mirján gave orders for no notice to be taken of the besieging force till they got into the town—we are, nevertheless, told that one of the first Portuguese to mount the wall, Fernandez de Beja, who was in charge of the ladder which Albuquerque was to use, was knocked down by a musket shot fired from the wall.) But their keenness was such that they broke the ladders with their weight. When Albuquerque saw this he sent the halbardiers of his guard to prop up the ladders with their spears, but many who were pushed back from the walls fell transfixed by these spears—*que foi cousa piedosa de ver!* The chief success of the attack lay in the occupation by Garcia de Sousa of a *cubello* (fortified turret or "pill box").

Meanwhile Mir Mirján rode out, with others also, on horseback, and pressed down upon those who had entered the town. This the attackers could not resist, and most turned in flight back to the walls, while a few joined G. de Sousa in his turret. The Moors brought straw, and placing it below this turret, set fire to it in order to smoke the men out. Whereupon Albuquerque sent ropes by which they could let themselves down. Garcia de Sousa refused to use a rope, and when Albuquerque called out telling him to do so he made the spirited reply: "Senor, I am not the man to come down in

any other way than that by which I came up: and since you cannot help me except with a rope, God grant me His help, for I sorely need it." He died a true hero.

When the fighting had lasted four hours, Albuquerque decided to withdraw his men to their ships. A council of war was held, and though many of his captains were in favour of renewing the attack, Albuquerque decided that they should at once pass through the Straits as the season was late—and "leave the chastisement of that town for another time".¹

Employing Muhammedan pilots, since there were no Portuguese who knew the Red Sea, they set sail next day, and (at the beginning of April ?) reached the Island of Kamarán. Here Albuquerque captured four ships, one a richly laden merchantman belonging to the Sultan of Cairo which was bound for Jedda. (It seems that whenever Kamarán was attacked most of the inhabitants deserted it, going to Lohaya and elsewhere on the coast. Barros says: *e parece estarem alli mais por causa de algum proveito que recebiam das náos que vinham fazer aguada, que por folgar de habitar a terra.*) It is interesting to note that Albuquerque found the island governed by a slave placed there by the king of Aden with a garrison, from which the king derived a large revenue, principally from the fisheries. (*At this date we hear nothing of Mír Husayn in Kamarán.*)

Albuquerque wished now to proceed to Jedda, but the winds were unfavourable, and after coasting round on either shore of the Red Sea (John Gomes was sent on shore on the Abyssinian coast) they decided in the month of May to anchor in Kamarán.

On the 15th July Albuquerque, after utterly devastating Kamarán, "*sem ficas pedra sobre pedra, porque quantos*

¹ One of the bastions on the strip of land which ran into the sea was meanwhile working havoc among Albuquerque's ships. This bastion was captured by Manuel de Lucerda, who cruelly put the garrison to death.

edifícios dos antigos estarem em pé," levelled it with the ground, so that the Moors of Jedda should not build defences there to prevent future Portuguese fleets from landing. On his way through the Straits he sent Ruy Galvão and John Gomez to explore Zayla' with two ships.

When Albuquerque reached Aden he found it in a much stronger state of defence than when he had left it, for the inhabitants had directed their whole time and energies repairing the damage done, and to building large cannons. He remained ten days, waiting for the monsoon, nothing being achieved beyond the capture of a few vessels in the harbour, and certain foolhardy enterprises. See Barros II, viii, 4 pp., 294–301. Albuquerque left Aden on the 4th August, 1513.

He reached Diu after a journey of only twelve days; and having there entered into an agreement with Malik Ayáz regarding the establishment of a factory, he set out for Goa.

(ii) *According to Hajji ad-Dabir and ad-Dayba'.* When in Muḥaram A.H. 919 (March A.D. 1513) the people of Aden, the Yemenites, learnt that the Franks were about to attack them with *nineteen* (some writers give eighteen) vessels, 'Ámir sent a force to protect Aden frontier, and ordered prayers to be read five times a day in all the Mosques. 'Ámir having heard of their approaching attack, appealed to Qáṣawh for help. Qáṣawh sent an envoy and an agreement was reached by which 'Ámir was to make certain concessions in territory to Qáṣawh in return for his assistance. The Franks reached Aden on Friday night, the 17th Muḥarram (26th March, 1513), and nobody was aware of their arrival, and as soon as dawn came they were observed by the people in the town and the people on the shores, including Mirján, who commanded the town. He gave orders for the town to be put in a state of siege inside, but outwardly pretended to ignore their presence (and the Franks captured some of their cargo ships without opposition), and then made a landing with more than forty ladders, and

they thought it would be an easy matter to capture Aden as nobody appeared ; and they placed their ladders on the outer walls of the town and ascended the ladders, and some of the Franks entered the town. Thereupon Mirján (Muhammedan histories say that Mirján *alone* was on horseback, while Barros says (Decada II, liv. viii, chap. ix) “ao qual tempo acudis mira mirzan a cavallo *com outras que o sequiam tambem a cavallo*”) gave orders to make a sortie against them from the broken gateway, and they attacked them and seized the ladders and killed many of the Franks, and captured four of them. The rest of the Franks who were able, escaped to their ships, and, hoisting sail, fled from the port, after sinking all the ships belonging to Aden, of which there were more than forty (*Compendio*, p. 191, says thirty merchantmen) so that they might not be followed. They proceeded to Bab-al-Mandab, and then to Mokhá and Matína, but in each of these ports the local garrison drove them off. The Franks next attacked Hodeida, but without success, so that they set out for Kamarán, which they entered at the beginning of the month of Šafar, A.H. 919, April, A.D. 1513, and which they plundered, killing a number of the inhabitants. They then put out to sea again, after destroying Kamarán so that no trace of it was left, and when they reached Aden a few weeks later with sixteen ships, they dropped anchor where they had anchored before. They had, in the meantime, sent two ships to Zeyla' and destroyed all the craft in the harbour ; when all these ships reached Aden their arrival was warmly greeted by the others, who fired their guns for joy and spread their banners. And before the arrival of these two boats they had tried to capture Aden by ruse, but could not discover the best way of approach ; but after the arrival of the two ships they made ready for battle again, and burned everything they found in the way of timber. Then they disembarked on the shore by night in small boats, and the sea was very rough, and the people on the hill called Šíra saw them landing, and informed the people of Aden accordingly,

who thereupon got ready their arms and drew up in battle order on the shore and when they landed from their boats on the shore (and they were not aware that the Musulmans were awake), the Musulmans charged them from all sides and opened fire from the town batteries and from the Musulmans' ships, and a great battle ensued, and God gave victory to the Musulmans, who killed the advance party (?) of the Franks, including their commander and seven other captains. There were also many wounded. The rest fled back to the small boats, but the Moslems remained on shore, fearing the rising tide on the shoal. And on the second day the man who had taken command of the Franks ordered them to again make a landing, but they refused and despaired of capturing the town, or the warships which were on the shore, which they had desired, and certain of the merchant vessels, which were unarmed; and, meantime, the guns of the fort were destroying daily two or three of the big ships of the Franks, so they fled disappointed from Aden towards India.

p. 12. *The Egyptian Attack on Aden in A.D. 1516.*

The circumstances which led up to this expedition, though only indirectly connected with the Portuguese, are of considerable interest to the historian of the period. Although the attack was unsuccessful, it achieved what Albuquerque had been unable to do in reducing the defences of the place, and it was only the stupidity of his successor, Lopo Soares, which prevented the Portuguese from taking undisputed possession of that important harbour and city. Up to the last year of Qánsawh al-Ghawri's reign (A.D. 1516) the Yaman had been ruled by the independent dynasty of the Táhirids (also called 'Ámirids). Their most important towns were the fortified ports of Aden and Zabíd.

On his first visit to Aden in 1507, Amír Husayn had been received in a friendly way and had obtained provisions. Some time between his return from India in 1509 and the year

1515 he had received a rebuff from the Governor of Aden, which made him resolve on the conquest of the Yaman. It is impossible, in view of the conflicting narratives, to determine in what year the Governor refused to send the supplies demanded by Amīr Ḥusayn; some writers imply that it was immediately after his return from India, others that it was in 1515.

In 1513, when news reached Aden of the impending attack of the Portuguese, the King of the Yaman appealed to the Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawri for help, in return for which he agreed to make certain territorial concessions to the Mamluk Sultan, but ere such help could arrive the Portuguese had been driven off, and although the help was no longer required, the Sultan insisted on the fulfilment of the terms. This the King of the Yaman refused to carry out, and when this refusal was reported to the Sultan he lost his temper and ordered Salmān Ra'īs, who happened to be in Cairo, to go and conquer the Yaman with Amīr Ḥusayn.

Since his return to Kamarān at the end of 1513, Amir Ḥusayn had been busy making alliances with various Yamanite (chiefly Zaydi) chiefs, and had planned an attack on Zabīd without informing Qānṣawh al-Ghawri.

We have seen that according to both the Portuguese and Arabic sources a fleet had been got ready in Suez for a fresh expedition to India. According to Goes this fleet, under command of Salmān Ra'īs, sailed from Suez in October of that year; and we can only presume that a fleet which was originally intended to help the Muhammedans in India against the Portuguese was ordered by the enraged Mamluk Sultan to undertake instead the conquest of the Yaman before proceeding to India.

The gist of a most confused set of narratives seems that Amīr Ḥusayn and Salmān Ra'īs finally joined forces at a place called Nakhl Wādi, near Zabīd, on the 15th June, 1516. They then advanced overland to attack Zabīd, which they captured after various engagements on the 20th June. Leaving

a Circassian officer in charge of Zabīd and the army, Amīr Ḥusayn returned to his ships with Salmān, and they spent a month in Zayla' repairing their ships and replenishing their stores preparatory to an attack on Aden.

They reached Aden on 31st July, 1516, with a fleet of twenty-one vessels, and there they learned that the merchant ships of Aden had set out for India on the day of their arrival. We are told they actually saw the sails on the horizon.

Salmān Ra'īs at once set out after these merchantmen, and overtaking one of the King of Yaman's own ships, replaced the captain and pilot by men of his own and sent a letter by them to the "Lords of India" announcing that he had conquered the Yaman, and that his fleet was about to sail for India. Salman Ra'īs then continued the attack on Aden, which had been begun by Amīr Ḥusayn during his temporary absence. The attack seemed unlikely to succeed from the first, and Amīr Ḥusayn, after a few days, retired to Jedda laden with booty, leaving Salmān Ra'īs to continue his hopeless task. Finally, on the 20th Rajab, 19th August, he abandoned the attack, thankful to escape alive.

We are not told what happened to Salmān after his withdrawal from Aden, but it may be presumed that he remained in the Yaman until the death of Amīr Ḥusayn, whom he succeeded as Governor of Jedda in A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517).

More will be said about Salmān Ra'īs in my notes on the following period.

Colonel Aḥmad Rāshid in his History of the Yaman and Sana'a considers it unlikely that Sultan 'Āmir appealed to Qānṣawh al-Ghawri for help, but that Amīr Ḥusayn was possibly sent to the Yaman by the Mamluk Sultan in order to keep a check on the Franks and prevent their ultimately attacking the Egyptian coast (i.e. Jedda or Suez). The Turkish historian, however, seems to give preference to another view which would fully account for Amīr Ḥusayn's attempted conquest of the Yaman. He points out that at this time (i.e. in 1516) the extensive foreign conquests of

Sultan Salīm had filled the Mamluk Government with alarm, and that they ordered Amīr Husayn to go and conquer the Yaman bit by bit in order that, in the event of Egypt being conquered by the Ottoman Sultan, the Mamluks might have in the Yaman a place of refuge whither in case of need they could withdraw and possibly again assume power.

(To be continued.)

The Dispersion of the Kurds in Ancient Times

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THE territory occupied by the Kurdish race in historic times seems to have been the district called by the Greeks Kardûchia, and by both Greeks and Romans Corduene or Gordiaea,¹ and by the Syriac writers Qardû, whence the earliest Arabic authorities derived the name Qardā, the country bounded roughly on the north by Armenia, on the west by the river Euphrates, on the south by the Arabian desert, and on the east by the ancient kingdom of Media. Strabo, the Greek geographer, states that Armenia and Atropatene consisted of prosperous districts, but that the northern part was a mountainous country occupied by wild tribes, such as the Kyrtili, nomads and brigands dispersed over the whole of Armenia and extending eastwards over the Zagros mountains. More closely he defines the land of the Gordiaei, whom the earlier writers called Kardûchi, by locating it on the banks of the Tigris and by adding that one of its chief cities was Pinaka, the modern Finik, "a very strong fortress, having three hill-tops, each fortified with its own wall, so as to form as it were a threefold city; yet Armenians subjugated it and Romans took it by storm, although the Gordiaei were

¹ The root underlying these names seems to have been *Gortu*, of which the Armenians formed a plural *Gortukh*, Kurds, by adding the regular termination *kh*; from this the Greeks borrowed the word *Καρδοῦχοι*, retaining the termination of the Armenian plural, as heard in some form of *Uramenisch* current in the days of Xenophon, and only assimilating *-ukh* to the familiar Greek termination *-οῦχοι*. The same phenomenon also occurs in Xenophon in the case of a neighbouring tribe called by him the *Τάοχοι* (*Anabasis*, iv, 4, 18; 6, 5; 7, 1; v, 5, 17), whom Stephanus of Byzantium states to have been called the *Τάοι* by Sophænetus (Steph. Byz., s.v. *Τάοχοι*; Sophæn., fragm. 4, in Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii, p. 75). Later the Armenian termination *-kh* was dropped and the Greek gentile terminations *-αῖος* or *-ηνός* were added, forming *Γορδιαῖος* or *Καρδουνός*, which thus passed over into Latin.

² Strabo, *Geographica*, xi, 13, p. 523, and xv, 3, 1; see also Theopylactus Simocatta, *Historiæ*, ii. 10, 3.

apparently good builders and skilled in siege-works, for which reason Tigranes so employed them.”¹ Immediately adjoining the province of Carduene lay on the west Arzanene, on the south Zabdiene, and on the north Moxoene. Further off on the north Armenia reached from the Antitaurus range, past the north of Lake Wân, then called Lake Thospitis, beyond Mount Niphates, as far as the River Artaxes. To the south-west of Armenia lay the districts of Ingilene and Sophene, from Malaṭīyah almost as far as Âmid, now the town of Diyârbakr, while between the latter place and Hierapolis, now called Jirablûs, lay Osrhoene, whose capital was Urhâi (Edessa). The whole of the southern side, below Zabdikene, was bounded by the province of Mesopotamia. Beyond Mesopotamia, from Carduene towards the south-east, the whole range of hilly country past Arbela or Arbîl as far as the Dialas, now the Diyâlâ, was called Adiabene. To the north-east of Adiabene lay Atropatene, and beyond that again the vast, ill-defined province of Media.² Thus the ancient province of Carduene was but a small district, bosomed in the hills between Diyârbakr, Naşîbîn, and Zâkhû, and of far smaller extent than the land now known as Kurdistan. Its exact limits, however, always remained somewhat uncertain. Strabo's description is probably the most exact; for, while admitting that some people considered the Gordiaean hills the whole chain that ran from the Taurus range in the neighbourhood of Edessa, the modern Urfa, to Nisibis (Naşîbîn) and beyond, thus dividing Sophene and the rest of Armenia from Mesopotamia, he himself states that they are the hills which lie astride the Tigris above Naşîbîn.³ Plinius says that the Gordyaei adjoin the Azoni, from whom the modern town of Hazzû perhaps has derived its name.⁴ Philostorgius, in

¹ Id. ib., xvi, 1, p. 747.

² Id. ib., ii, 1, p. 26; xi, 14, pp. 527, 529; xii, 13, p. 532; xvi, 1, pp. 736, 739, 746.

³ Id. ib., xi, 12, p. 522. Ptolemæus located them at 75°/39° 40' (*Geographia*, v, 12, 3; see also v, 12, 9).

⁴ Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, vi, 30, 118.

his ecclesiastical history, records that the Tigris, flowing down from the Hyrcanian Sea, by which he probably means Lake Wân, receives visible additions in Cordiaea as it flows past Assyria; and this points to the same locality, for countless streams flow down from the mountains above Naşîbîn and Jazîrat-ibn-‘Umar and there empty themselves into the Tigris.¹ The definition of Julius Honorius is even more close, for he states that Corduena, which he calls a town, is enclosed by the rivers Chrysorroas and the Tigris.²

The reference to Cordyene or Qardû, as the Syriac writers called it, need not long detain the reader. Its locality is vague and uncertain in Jewish and Christian exegetical writers, and mention of it is almost confined to the history of mythical events which are supposed to have occurred there. Of these that which most frequently recurs is its identification with the land in which lay Mount Arârât, a clear proof of the ignorance of these writers, for that mountain is situated to the north of Wân, between the lake and the river Araxes. Its importance to them lay in the fact that it was there, in the land of Qardû, that the ark of Noah was supposed to have come to rest after the deluge had subsided, a tradition which seems to have originated with Berossus in the third century before Christ.³ Another class occurs in those ecclesiastical writers who divide the world among the sons of Noah, and by whom Corduene is allotted to the sons of Shem,⁴ while a writer

¹ Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 7, where “Syria” is clearly an error for “Assyria”; this passage is copied in Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ix, 19.

² Julius Honorius, *Cosmographia*, B. 10.

³ Berossus, Fragment No. 7 in *Bibliotheca Græcorum Scriptorum*, vol. ii, pp. 501-2; Josephus, *Antiquitates*, i, 3, 6; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, p. 208, s. v. Ararat; *Chronicon* (ed. Karst), p. 11; Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, i, 1, 4, who calls it “the land of the Cardyei”; *Die Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold), Syr. p. 98, Arab. p. 99; Ibn Khurdâdhbih, *Al-Masâlik wa-l-Mamâlik* (ed. de Goeje), pp. 76 and 245, who states that the ark came down, not on Mount Arârât, but on the Jabal Jûdî in Qardâ; Dionysius of Telmahârê in Asseman’s *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii, p. 113.

⁴ Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, ii, 2, 82; *Chronicon Pascale* (ed. du Fresne), p. 31d.

in the Jewish Talmud states that Abraham resided for seven years in the land of Qardū.¹ But the historians of the Syriac church mention Qardū innumerable times as a Nestorian diocese with its episcopal see at Gāzartā or Bāzabdā, ranking between the sees of Beled and Arzūn in the province of Naṣībīn.²

Although the Arab historians and geographers rarely mention Qardā and Bāzabdā by their Syriac names, which gave place to their own more exact nomenclature, Ibn Khurdādhīb, who flourished in the ninth century of the Christian era, is an exception. In a list of the chief places in the district of Diyār Rabī'ah, he mentions Naṣībīn, Amid, Rās 'Ain, Miṣrāfāriqīn, Mārdīn, Bā'arbāyā, Balad Sinjār, Qardā, and Bāzabdā,³ and adds that "a poet has said that Qardā and Bāzabdā offer an excellent sojourn in the spring and in the summer, for the water there is sweet and cool, delicious as *salsabīl*", the wine (or the lake) of the Muslim paradise.⁴ In another passage of the same author it is stated that the revenue of Qardā and Bāzabdā in his time was 3,200,000 dirhems a year, while that of Mausiḥ was 6,300,000, of Diyār Rabī'ah 9,635,000, and of Arzan and Miṣrāfāriqīn jointly 4,200,000 dirhems.⁵

After Ibn Khurdādhīb the name Qardā vanishes from the Arabic writers, whose testimony, however, becomes of great

¹ Babylonian Talmud, *Babā Bathrá*, 91a.

² "Primates Orientis," in Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii, p. 548; Bar Hebraeus (ib.), ii, p. 262; *Thomæ Historia Monastica* (ib.), iii, pt. i, p. 499; Amri et Šlibā, *de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria* (ed. Gismondi), p. 80. Another Syriac writer records that two forts had to be built to prevent Persian marauders crossing the frontiers and penetrating in Qardā and Arzūn and pillaging Naṣībīn and Rās-ul-'Ain, the respective capitals of those two provinces (Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts at Cambridge*, p. 1136, col. ii).

³ Al-Balādhurī (c. A.D. 892) mentions the conquest of Qardā and Bāzabdā by 'Iyād ibn Ghanam in A.D. 640 (*Al-Futūḥ*, p. 176), and Ibn-ul-Faḡīh (c. A.D. 903) mentions both in a list of places in Jazīrah (*Al-Buldān*, in de Goeje's *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, p. 136).

⁴ Ibn Khurdādhīb, op. cit., p. 95.

⁵ Id. ib., p. 251.

importance in illustrating the wide diffusion of the Kurds. Al-Yaqûbî, writing towards the close of the same century as Ibn Khurdâdhîb, states that the home of the Kurds is the Jabal or the hill country to the east of 'Irâq and on the western frontier of Persia,¹ that in the caliphate of 'Umar ibn-ul-Khaţţâb (A.D. 634-43) they overran Mâsibdhân, 'Ajam and Aş-Şaimarah in the Marj-ul-Afyâh,² and that together with the Arabs they formed the greater part of the population of Hulwân and Qarmîşîn,³ while Kurds also were to be found settled in the province of Işfahân.⁴ Ibn Rustah (c. A.D. 903), mentions Kurds dwelling in tents in the desert plains of 'Irâq to the south of Al-Madâ'in,⁵ and others infesting the road from Darawâstân to Marj-ul-Qala'ah.⁶ A little later Al-Mas'ûdî (c. A.D. 943) attests their presence in the Jibâl⁷ and in Adharbaijân, where their clans pass under the name of *shurât*, and one of whose chiefs, Aslam, surnamed Ibn Shâdliwaih, ruled over wide districts in Adharbaijân, Arrân, Al-Bailaqân, and Armenia⁸; he adds also that there were a number of Jacobite Christians among the Kurds living in the territory of Mauşil and the Jabal Jûdî.⁹ In another work the same author relates that Kurds were found in Kirmân, Sijistân, Khurâsân, Işfahân, the Jibâl, in and around Kûfah and Baṣrah in Mesopotamia, and in other places between Mesopotamia and Persia, in Hamadhân, Shahrâzûr, Darâbâdh Aş-Şâmighân, Arrân, Adharbaijân, and Armenia, in the Jazîrah, and even in Syria.¹⁰ Istakhârî, writing about the same

¹ Al-Yaqûbî, *Al-Buldân* (ed. de Goeje) in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vol. vii, p. 236.

² Id. ib., p. 270, s.v. Aş-Şamariah.

³ Id. ib., p. 270, s.v. Hulwân.

⁴ Id. ib., p. 275.

⁵ Ibn Rustah, *Al-A'îd-un-Nafîsah* (ib.), vol. vii, p. 128.

⁶ Id. ib., p. 165.

⁷ Al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj-udh-Dhahab* (ed. de Meynard and de Courteille), vol. iii, p. 253.

⁸ Id. ib., vol. v, p. 231.

⁹ Id. ib., vol. iii, p. 253.

¹⁰ Id., *At-Tanbîh wa'l-Ishrâf* (ib.), vol. viii, pp. 88-91; elsewhere he mentions 'Alî ibn Dâ'ûd the Kurd as a prominent chief near the Jabal Jûdî in the land of Zauzân (or Zawazân) (id. ib., p. 54). Zawazân is described by Yâqût as "a fair province between the mountains of

time (c. A.D. 951), mentions a village of Kurds in Isdâbâdh¹ and a city called Kurd,² of which the buildings were of mud or clay, in a district in the vicinity of Işfahân,³ so cold, however, that neither crops nor fruits could be grown there;⁴ and in the district also of Bâzanjân the Kurds, under their chief Shahriyân, were the predominant element in the population.⁵ In the *Oriental Geography*, which was probably also the work of Istakhri, it is stated that the tribes of the Kurds were at that time already more than could be numbered, and that there were more than 500,000 *khândt*, settlements or families, of them in the province of Fârs alone; these people were wont to remain on their pastures both winter and summer and some of the wealthier Kurds used to maintain two hundred or more serfs working as shepherds, labourers, grooms, pages, and domestic servants;⁶ and amongst the places which they frequented are mentioned Shahrazûr and Shahrawar, which were completely in their hands,⁷ while a few also were to be found on the confines of Şarûr and Jarûr.⁸ Ibn Hauqal (c. A.D. 978) imparts the interesting information that in certain districts of Persia a Kurdish chief was charged with the collection of the tribute in each *nûhiyah* or administrative

Armenia, Khilât, Adharbaijân, Diyarbakr, and Mauşil, of which the inhabitants are Armenians, although there are also Kurdish families there", in which he certainly seems to underestimate the Kurdish population (*Mu'jam-ul-Bulldn*, ii, 957, s.r. Zawazân).

¹ Al-Istakhri, *Mas'alik-ul-Mamâlik* (ib.), p. 283.

² Id. ib., p. 103.

³ Id. ib., pp. 125-6.

⁴ Id. ib., p. 137. Ibn Hauqal (c. A.D. 978) also mentions the city of Kurd (*Al-Musâlik wa'l-Mamâlik*, ib., pp. 182, 196), but states on the contrary that it was very fertile (id. ib., pp. 197, 214). Elsewhere Al-Istakhri records that the chief of the Kurds in this district, by name Azârmard ibn Khûshâdh, rebelled, but was defeated by the Sultan and fled to Umân, where he died; the *amîr* who succeeded him was Al-Husain ibn Şâlih, and the government of the district remained in his hands and in those of his descendants until the time of 'Amr ibn ul-Laith, who deprived them of it and transferred it to Sâsân ibn Ghazwân, who was also a Kurd and in whose family it remained until Istakhri's own time (op. cit., p. 145).

⁵ Id. ib., p. 145.

⁶ [Istakhri], *Oriental Geography* (ed. Ouseley), p. 83.

⁷ Id. ib., p. 171.

⁸ Id. ib., p. 92.

district, with the care of the whole area under his control, with the upkeep of the roads, with the duty of ensuring the safe passage of caravans through it, and with the general supervision of the Sultan's interests.¹ At the end of the same century Al-Muqaddasî (c. A.D. 985) reports that Kurds were dwelling in buildings of mud and also of stone in the district of Dabîl, that Salmâs was surrounded by Kurds, and that Qandariyah in the same neighbourhood was a town which the Kurds themselves had built.²

In the two following centuries the geographers have nothing further to record about the Kurds, and it is not till the time of Yâqût (c. A.D. 1225) that any more information of importance is forthcoming. From him we learn that there were five *zumûm* or quarters in Persia occupied by Kurds³ and that each *zamm* contained several towns and villages; the taxes were collected by an official appointed by the Kurds themselves, who were responsible also for escorting caravans through their own territory, for the security of the roads, and for the maintenance of troops to serve the Sultan in time of war, and who, apart from these obligations, were virtually independent. The five *zumûm* were those of Zinjân, between Isfahân and Arrajân, Bâzinjân in the Jibâl, a district rich in villages and well-tilled fields in the valleys, Zîzân and Rihân near Ardashîr, and Kâriyân near Kirunân.⁴ He further mentions that there were two cities named Kurd in Persia⁵ and that Zawazân was a vast tract of country between the mountains of Armenia, Adharbaijân, Diyârbakr, and Mauşil, lying at a distance of a two days' journey from that city and reaching as far as Khilât, whose population was composed almost entirely of Armenians and Kurds.⁶ From the same work a considerable amount of detailed information can be

¹ Ibn Hauqal, op. cit., pp. 185-7. He also mentions a Qariyat-ul-Akrâd or "Village of the Kurds" in the middle of the district of Isdâbâdh in Khurâsân (op. cit., p. 331).

² Al-Muqaddasî, *Aḥsan-ut-Taqâdim* (ib.), p. 277.

³ Yâqût, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldân* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), pp. 263, 410, who is perhaps only copying from Ibn Hauqal, as quoted above.

⁴ Id. ib., pp. 263-4.

⁵ Id. ib., p. 479.

⁶ Id. ib., p. 290.

gleaned. Kurds, he relates, occupied Bardha'ah, a city known also as "the Gate of the Kurds",¹ Baidā, where 'Ali ibn Husain the Kurd lived,² Jurdhaqīl, which was also called Bukhtiyah, in Zawazān,³ Dasht, a small town between Arbīl and Tabrīz,⁴ Dawīn near Arrān on the borders of Adharbaijān, the original home of the Aiyūbī dynasty,⁵ Sabūr near Shīrāz,⁶ Sarmāj between Hamadhān and Qūjistān, a town belonging to Badr ibn Ḥubbiwaih the Kurd, who ruled also Sābūr-Khast,⁷ Sīsar in Hamadhān, which they had long owned,⁸ Sharmākh, which they built themselves almost entirely with materials taken from Nahāwand,⁹ and Shahrazūr, whose inhabitants were a branch of the Kurds notorious for rebellion and insubordination;¹⁰ in the province of Fārs he computes that there were 500,000 tents belonging to the Kurdish tribes, who spent both summer and winter on their pasture-grounds,¹¹ while in Qūhistān there were extensive stretches of country lying between the towns which were entirely occupied by Kurds and various nomad tribes engaged in the breeding of goats and sheep,¹² while other Kurds had overrun large parts of Luristān.¹³ Amongst important towns in Kurdistān he includes Alain,¹⁴ Alishtar,¹⁵ Bahār,¹⁶ Bāz, a fortress in Zawazān belonging to the Bukhtī Kurds,¹⁷ Khuftiyān, a strong place on the river Zāb,¹⁸ Khushan, remarkable for its fertility, its excellent irrigation, and its crops of wheat and fruits of various kinds,¹⁹ two small towns of the name of Darband,²⁰ Māhī-Abād,²¹ 'Allūs, one of the chief fortresses of the Bukhtī Kurds,²² and Harsīn.²³ One place also he mentions as being occupied by people "like the Kurds" known as the Balūs,²⁴

¹ Id. ib., p. 92.² Id. ib., pp. 128, 479-80.³ Id. ib., p. 158.⁴ Id. ib., p. 233.⁵ Id. ib., p. 246.⁶ Id. ib., p. 294.⁷ Id. ib., p. 311.⁸ Id. ib., p. 335; Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ-ul-Bulḍān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 310 (=358).⁹ Yāqūt, op. cit., p. 349.¹⁰ Id. ib., pp. 356-8.¹¹ Id. ib., p. 412.¹² Id. ib., p. 466.¹³ Id. ib., p. 504.¹⁴ Id. ib., p. 51.¹⁵ Id. ib., p. 52.¹⁶ Id. ib., p. 123.¹⁷ Id. ib., p. 76.¹⁸ Id. ib., p. 210.¹⁹ Id. ib., p. 219.²⁰ Id. ib., p. 228.²¹ Id. ib., p. 516.²² Id. ib., p. 404.²³ Id. ib., p. 594.²⁴ Id. ib., p. 115.

and he adds two instances of the baneful effect of the Kurds on districts adjoining their own; Dûr-ar-Râsibî in Qûzistân, which had suffered much from their depredations,¹ and Marand, a town in Adharbaijân, which had lost its former importance and was in his days deserted and half-ruined owing to the continuous inroads of the Kurds, who would not desist from raiding it and carrying off its inhabitants into captivity.²

About a century later Mustaufi (c. A.D. 1340) mentions that the inhabitants of Nihâwand were for the most part Kurds of the Shî'î sect, and followers of the "Twelve *Imâm*", and that the city was the centre of large numbers of nomadic Kurdish horsemen, who were subject to a yearly impost of 12,000 sheep in place of the payment of the usual taxes;³ and elsewhere he mentions that Shahrazûr, which was built by Qubâd the Sassanian, was so-called since the word meant "the city of strength", because "its governors are always Kurds and he whose strength is greater becomes governor".⁴

The last of the greater Arab travellers and geographers to visit the land of the Kurds was Ibn Baṭṭah (c. A.D. 1355), who passed on one side of Râmhumuz Kurds dwelling in tents who thought themselves to be descended from Arabs, a theory undoubtedly due to the fact that they followed the Arab practice of living all the year round in tents, and on the other a few villages occupied by Kurds,⁵ and at Hillah in Mesopotamia he found the population divided into two factions, the one a religious sect known as the "People of the Two Mosques" and the other the Kurdish party, between whom there raged a perpetual feud.⁶ He also visited Sinjâr, whose inhabitants he declares to have been endowed with courage and generosity, and of whose *shaiikh*, the holy

¹ Id. ib., p. 240.

² Id. ib., p. 524.

³ Mustaufi, *Nuzhat-ul-Qulûb* (ed. Le Strange), p. 76.

⁴ Id. ib., pp. 105-7.

⁵ Ibn Baṭṭah, *Voyages* (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinette), vol. ii, pp. 22-3.

⁶ Id. ib., vol. ii, p. 97.

and ascetic 'Adb-ullah the Kurd, he has left it on record that he was reputed to be a worker of miracles and to be in the habit of fasting for forty days and then of only breaking his fast with a piece of barley-bread.¹

The Kurds were, therefore, a widely dispersed people, whose wanderings led them from Khurāsān and Hamadān to the confines of Asia Minor, by Sumaisât and Malaṭīyah.² But in the twelfth century the Saljûqî emperor Sinjâr created the new province of Kurdistân between Persian and Arabian 'Irâq and put it under the government of his nephew, Sulaimân Shâh. Two centuries later the Mongols reorganized the provinces, when that of Kurdistan was increased by the addition of a large strip of territory previously forming a part of Persian 'Irâq.³ Mustaufi the geographer defines the province of Kurdistân as being "bounded by Arabian 'Irâq, Qûzistân, Persian 'Irâq, Adharbaijân, and Diyârbakr", and states that, although in the time of the Saljûq the revenues of the province amounted to 2,900,000 dinars⁴ annually, they had sunk to 201,500⁵ dinars in his own time. Amongst its chief towns he mentions several that are now unknown, and records especially that the people of Darband-i-Zankî were "robbers and highwaymen, an abominable folk".⁶

¹ Id. ib., vol. ii, p. 141.

² Outside Kurdistân the Kurds did not roam far afield. Ibn-ul-Athîr speaks of Kurds in Syria, whom the governor of Aleppo summoned to his aid in A.D. 1082 or 1083 to repel the onset of the Saljûqî Tutush (*Kâmil*, x, 82), and twenty years later he speaks of a settlement of Kurds living peaceably with their Arab neighbours along the banks of the Khâbûr in A.D. 1101 or 1102 (*Kâmil*, x, 236); Ibn Khaldûn (A.D. 1332-1406), in his *History of the Berbers*, mentions the presence of Kurds in Morocco (vol. iii, p. 413), and Auliya, the Turkish traveller, came upon some colonies of them on the northern shores of the Black Sea in the seventeenth century. It should be added that the early presence of Kurds in Syria is attested by Hîṣn-ul-Akrâd or "the Fortress of the Kurds", a stronghold on an almost inaccessible height in the Lebanon.

³ See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate and Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols*.

⁴ About £1,000,000 in English money.

⁵ About £100,750 in English money.

⁶ Mustaufi, op. cit., pp. 105-7.

Assyrian Lexicographical Notes

By PROFESSOR S. LANGDON

I.—ŠARĀPU, TO BURN, HEBREW RĀŠAPH

THIS Semitic root occurs regularly in Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic in the form *r-š-p*, although Syriac agrees with Assyrian in having the metathesis *š-r-b*. The regular Semitic form of this root exists in Assyrian in the word *raššubatu*, flame, conflagration, brilliancy, terror, and is the cognate of Hebrew *rēšeph*. The root *rašābu*, blaze, has been entered in the lexicons with the meaning "be powerful, terrible", and the error still persists, although Jensen indicated the correct root of *rašābu*, *rašbu*, and *rašubbu*, blazing, in his *Mythen und Epen*, 580. A passage which finally disposes of the old error is CT. 19, 22, 11, *izi ú-gug-ga-ra-šub-bat išāti*, Syn. of *kibbat išāti*, flame of fire. The syllable *ra* is written with the sign *UD*, which has the value *ra*, RA. 10, 74, 18. But it is a rare value and consequently the passage was never understood. The Sumerian word *ugug* is a derivative of the root *gug*, to burn.

II.—A NEW CASSITE SEAL


The Ashmolean Museum has recently obtained an interesting seal of the Cassite period which carries an inscription of six lines in Sumerian. The text is transcribed as follows: ^{mul}*Alan-sir-gal ġe-dú dugud nag-na dingir alad kalag* ^a*Na-na-a-eri-ba-am subur* ¹*ni-tuk-na éš-ma(l)-ma(l)-a*.² "Oh star Alansirgal which satiates with vast splendour, mighty protecting genius, upon Nanā-eribam the servant who worships thee, have mercy." The epigraphy and philology of the text increase our knowledge of Sumerian, and the name of the star or constellation

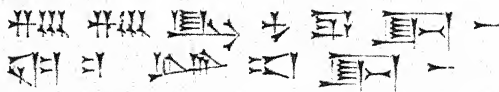
¹ A new example of *subur* = *ardu*.

² *éš* I interpret as a variant of *uš* = *rīmu*, mercy.



is new. The deity identified with this star is unknown. The gesture of the praying figure reveals Egyptian influence, which is known to have been great in this period. The hands upheld with palms outward is a gesture wholly un-Babylonian and un-Semitic. It occurs on a few other seals of the Cassite period, *Collection de Clercq*, 276; Delaporte, *Catalogue of the Seals in the Musée du Louvre*, S. 540; Ward, *Seals of Western Asia*, 541.

III.—A BEAD-SHAPED AMULET

Another interesting object recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum is a small bead-shaped amulet of onyx, perforated lengthwise. It is inscribed with a Sumerian inscription concerning the demon *Zi-zi-gál*, which throws some light upon similar amulet inscriptions. The curses inscribed on amulets are notoriously difficult, and I am unable to decipher the words *NU-E-DA-AŠ* and *AB-DA-AŠ*. For *NU* the parallel amulet inscription of the *De Clercq Collection*, No. 253, has the sign  (*zir*), and consequently *NU* should be read *sir* in the parallel passages. A light blue chalcedony flask-shaped amulet of the British Museum has, in the last four lines, an exact duplicate of the Ashmolean text, see *Babyloniaca*, iii, 11, where my interpretation is to be withdrawn for these lines. An interesting variant is Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 88, fragment 5, Rev. 5, *zi-zi-gál NU e-li-eš*, and cf. *ibid.* l. 10. The text of the Ashmolean amulet is given below since it is not very clear on the monument.



IV.— (*SIZKUR*), TO SACRIFICE

The true reading of this important sign is not *si-giš-še* but *si-iz-kur*. I have collated CT. 12, 10, 28 and 93034 in CT. 11, 42. Both syllabaries read  clearly, and 

is distinctly separated from $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$. These Neo-Babylonian tablets would not write the sign *še* as $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$ but $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$. For Syl. B. iii, 24 the two texts which furnish the reading of the sign $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$ are K. 110 and 7683. The latter text published by Thompson in CT. 11, 19 has only *si-iz* [], but K. 110 (cf. ii R., Pl. 1, 157) has *si-iz-kur*. The last sign was written $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$ and then rubbed by the scribe so as to leave $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$.¹ There can be no doubt concerning the signs. The most natural rendering is *sizkur*, but *sigiškur* is a possibility. The final element *kur* means "to eat". Note that the value *kú* for the sign $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$ = $\mathbf{\text{𐎶}}$ = *akālu* represents a syllable with a lost final consonant, and hence it is frequently written *kú-a*, Gudea, Cyl. B. 7, 8; Poebel, PBS. v, 141, 3. Note that this sign has the value *ḫi-ri-kasūsu*, to gnaw, PBS. v, 141, 6. The original word for "to eat" was, therefore, *kur*, not *ku*. *iz-kur* may possibly contain the word *izi*, fire, or more likely the word *izi*, *izzi*, sheep, CT. 35, 4, 67; Yale Syl. 164. The first element *si* possibly represents *sig*, to give. I suggest that the word means, "To give to eat by fire."

V.—A MANA STONE WEIGHT OF THE PERIOD OF ENTEMENA

The Ashmolean Museum has acquired from Mr. Haysom of Keble College, formerly an officer in the Mesopotamian army, a stone weight in perfect condition. It has a unique form, being pear-shaped, with a deep groove on each side running from the point to the base, and is regarded by Oxford anthropologists as an imitation of a scrotum. The stone is nummulitic and highly polished. The top is pierced by a round hole by which the weight was suspended. The object weighs 680.485 grams or about a pound and a half, and carries the following Sumerian legend engraved in early linear characters:—

ma-na sig-ba. Du-du šangu. "One mana of wages in wool. Dudu the high priest."

¹ K. 110 was collated for me by Mr. Gadd of the British Museum.

The name "Dudu high priest" fixes the date and gives the monument the distinction of being the most ancient weight now published. *Dudu*, *šangu* of Ningirsu god of Lagash, figured prominently in the civic life of that ancient city in the time of the famous patesi Entemena, *circa* B.C. 2960. A perforated stone tablet carries a figure of this priest in *bas-relief* and an inscription in which he is called the *šangu-maj*, "chief priest." Monuments of Entemena were frequently dated by the phrase, "At that time Dudu was high-priest of the god Ningirsu."¹ Hitherto the most ancient weight was a small spindle-shaped stone of Urukagina, patesi and king of Lagash, who reigned 2891-7 or about sixty years later than Entemena. This stone bears the inscription, "15 shekels, of the god Ningirsu. Urukagina king of Girsu".² A long period separates the weight which comes next in historical order. It belongs to the period of Ur-Ningirsu, patesi of Lagash and son of Gudea. He lived about 2560 B.C. We meet now with the duck-shaped weight for the first time. The inscription reads, "Two talents, stone, Ur-Ningirsu patesi of Lagash."³

The 15 shekel or $\frac{1}{2}$ mana weight of Urukagina, published by Scheil, *Comptes Rendus*, 1912, 478 ff., weighs 119.3 grams, which indicates a mana of 477.2 grams. The Ashmolean weight does not carry any figure before the word *ma-na*, although I could see a scratch which may possibly be \swarrow . The only possible inference is that the weight is a so-called "great mana" of the early period, employed for weighing wool supplied to workmen as their wage. The ordinary light *mana* of the Sumerians and Babylonians ranges from

¹ See the references cited in Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, and Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions* No. 4, Col. ii end, *ud-ba ér-ra-ni Du-du šangu d.Nin-gir-zu-ka-ge*, "At that time his servant Dudu was high priest of the god Ningirsu."

² Girsu was a part of Lagash.

³ Text by King in CT. 33, 50, who gives no description of the object, nor its actual weight. See Weissbach, ZDMG. 1916, 49.

about 477 to 520 grams. These ancient peoples were unable to attain precision in the making of weights, and consequently the subject of Babylonian metrology is most perplexing. The great or heavy mana in later times was equal to two light manas. The new weight introduces additional difficulties instead of solving the old ones. A thorough discussion of all the previously published metrological material will be found in Weissbach's two articles in ZDMG. Vols. 61 and 70.

A diorite weight in the private collection of Dr. S. B. Nies, of Brooklyn, N.Y., carries the inscription *I ma-na Du-du šungu uru-ki*, "One mana. Dudu high priest of the city." The object is not fully described in the publication by Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts*, No. 19.¹



CASSITE SEAL OF THE ASHMOLEAN COLLECTION.

A SUMERIAN CONTRACT FROM ELLASAR

In recent years a large number of economic tablets from Senkereh have appeared in the commerce of antiquity dealers. The Louvre² in Paris and the Yale Babylonian Collection³ in America secured a great many. A small

¹ The weight is given as 497.5 grams, which agrees with the ordinary mana of the Sumerian period. Dudu of the Nies weight is probably the same Dudu described above, and the monument also belongs to the period of Entemena.

² Mostly unpublished. Two are published by Thureau-Dangin, RA. 8, 82-85, and the same scholar communicated several date formulae in RA. 15, 20 ff.

³ Miss E. M. Grice has published 253 tablets of the Ellasar collection in *Records from Ur and Larsa*, New Haven, 1919.

collection was sold to the Museum of the University of Wales in 1914, which contains a contract of sale written at Ellasar.¹ The Rev. Chas. Overy, M.A., of Radley College, near Oxford, secured a perfect specimen of the Senkereh archives when he was in the service of the British Army in Mesopotamia. He has kindly shown me the tablet and permitted its publication in our Journal.

The translation follows:—

“Two *gan* of garden land planted with trees, beside the garden of . . . , beside the garden of Takillisu and beside the garden of Nigga-Nannar. From Sin-magir son of Kuzulum, Nigga-Nannar purchased it. $1\frac{2}{3}$ *mana* of silver for its full price he weighed out to him. “That a claim stands against the garden I shall not protest in future days,” he swore in the name of the king.

In the presence of Sin-magir son of . . . ; Ubar-shamash son of . . . ; Eribam-Sin son of . . . ; Sin-iribam, son of Zā; Sin-mubaliṭ, son of Kuzulum²; Takillisu son of . . . iddin; Tammuz-iddin, son of Da . . . ; Ur-^aAbbau, son of Ili-mābi; . . . Shamash, the merchant; Enlil-re’u, the scribe. Month of seed-sowing (4th month).

Year when (by the command of Anu, Enlil, and Enki) the Euphrates, the pure *tišida* of Nannar, which brings the water-supply to Ekur, the abode of life, [the faithful shepherd] Rim-sin [from Erech to the shore of the sea dug, caused its level to rise over the wide plain, and a river for the city Ur made].”

The legal phrase *enim-gál in-na-gub-bu*, “a claim stands against” is new and perhaps characteristic of the

¹ See my notes on the Aberystwith tablets in *Babyloniaca*, vii, 39-50. The contract concerns a sale of land, and will be found on p. 47 of the article referred to in this note.

² Note that the names of the three sons of Kuzulum, mentioned on this tablet, Sin-magir, Sin-mubaliṭ, and Nigga-Nannar all contain a title of the moon-god.

contracts of Ellasar.¹ Some of the proper names call for explanation. *Ta-ki-il-li-su* occurs as *Ta-ki-il-i-li-su* in King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, No. 8, 11. It has been regarded as dialectic for *Tākil-ili-šu*, "Trusting in his god," (Ranke, *Personal Names of the Hammurabi Dynasty*, 168, and Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, No. 49). Note the contraction *ili* > *li*, which supports my contention that *la* in certain names of the period may be for *ila*, a western word for god and a particular Arabian deity also. See OLZ. 1910, 12 ff. Certainly *šu* is expected in this name unless *su* stands for a verb "to increase" (*arābu*?), when the name would mean, "He that trusts in god will be increased." But proper names in this period are not written with ideograms, wherefore the suggestion is improbable.

Kuzulum occurs regularly as *Kuzullum* in the Ellasar texts, see Grice, *ibid.*, 31. *Kuzalum* occurs once on a Nippur tablet, Chiera, *Legal and Administrative Documents*, 92. *Kuzullu* has the appearance of being the secondary formation of *kutullu*, employed in Babylonian for sobriquets, especially with regard to bodily deformities; see Holma, *Personennamen der Form kuttulu*, p. 16. In fact, the Talmudic *kāsāl*, *kāsāl*, means "one with thick loins", and Babylonian *kisallu* = 𒊕𒍪, means "loin", Thompson, PSBA., 1908, 66, an identification which Holma, *Körperteile*, p. 155, wrongly rejected. See also for *kisallu*, loin, Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, 80, 5, and the writer's *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, 341, 4. *Kuzullu* is formed from *kisallu* "loin" on the analogy of a name like *Hulukku*, "The bald one," and means "He of the big loins".

Za-a-'a, father of *Sin-iribam*, is certainly the same person as *Za-a-a*, father of *Sin-iribam*, in Grice, *ibid.*,

¹ But note the phrase in the Ellasar contract, Grice, *ibid.*, 134, 14; *enim ba-gar-ra é-a-mi Enlil-gamil ba-ni-ib-zi-zi*, "If E. make claim for his house, it shall be dismissed."

134, 18. The name *Ur-^aAbbau* is interesting. The tablet is extremely difficult to read; the signs appear to be *ab-ba-u*, which would be a variant of the ordinary title of Tammuz, *^aAb-^u*. For *Ab-ba-^u* see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 8, n. 1.

The tablet is dated by the formula for the twenty-third year¹ of Rim-Sin. The complete text is restored in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 15, 8, from variants. Two variants occur on Nos. 149, 150 of the tablets published by Grice, *ibid.*, Pl. LIX.












The date formula is extremely important for the topography of the lower course of the Euphrates in the time of Rim-Sin. On the basis of numerous variants now known, the complete text reads as follows:—

*mu dūg² An ^aEnlil ^aEn-ki-ga-ta³
id Buranun-na ti-ši-da azag-ga ^aNannar-ge
bizem⁴-tum é-kur-ra⁵ éš nam-til-la-ge*

¹ According to Thureau-Dangin, the twenty-fourth year. But see *AJSL.*, 35, 225.

² Var. *Babyloniaca*, vi, 45, *ka-bar-ra* = opening of the mouth, oracular command.

³ Var. *ibid.*, *ga-ba-ta-ge*.

⁴ The sign is regularly ,  in the variants, but the Overy tablet has . The latter form is a corruption of , a variant *gunu* form of  (*ud*) = REC. 92, and identified by the writer with  (*AJSL.*, 33, 48). The sign has the values *sub-sab-sib*, shepherd, and *šub* = *banā*, shine forth. Note that the N. Pr. *Lugal-R-e*, Chiera, *List of Personal Names*, 17, iv, 4; 24, 3; 25, i, 17 has variants  (21, 5),  20, ii, 3. The form in 21, 5 is a double-*gunu* form of  (*ud*), i.e., a *gunu-šessig* form. This proves clearly enough the identifications defended in *AJSL.*, 31, 282; 33, 48. But Chiera has found a variant *Lugal--e*, *Lugal-sib-e*, "The king is shepherd," *ibid.*, 276. Note that the sign is not *LAGAR* + *GUNU* but *UD* + *GUNU* or rather *UD* + *GUNU* + *ŠESSIG*. See also Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 12, Rev. vii, 5. In Poebel, *PES*, v, 108, 7, the sign is glossed [. . .] *gi-em* = *pi-sa-nu-um*, bucket, basket, and (. . .) = *a-lu-u-um*, vase, which indicates a confusion with the sign , REC. 429. Note *a-NIN-PISAN*, CT. 24, 48, 17 = *NIN* (*bi-zi-em*) *PISAN*; 25, 27, K. 2117, 8. The sign *PISAN* has, therefore,



sib-zid a-Ri-im-a-Sin-e

Unug ?-(ki)-ta¹ zag a-ab-ba-šú mu-un-ba-al-lá

gá-ki a-kàr² dagal-la im-ta-è-a³

íd uru-a Uri-(ki)-šú im-mi-in-gar-ra.

There can be no doubt concerning the old course of the Euphrates. It passed through Nippur flowing south-south-west to Erech and Ellasar and reached the sea at Eridu. Its course passed above the ancient city Ur, which could not have been situated on the old course of this river. But its southern course probably fell into disuse at the end of the Sumerian period as the sea receded from the old coastline and Eridu henceforth became an isolated inland city of little importance. Rim-sin dug a new channel for the river in a more easterly direction, following more closely the modern course of the river which now flows a few miles east of Ur.

the value *bizem*, *bisem*, and the vocabulary cited above read (*bi-ši-em*)  = *pišānu*, bucket, vase. Note also *bi-iz* = *natāku*, *sapāku*, *napāšu*, words for "pour out", Scheil, *Loc.*, 130-137. The sign in question was, therefore, confused with two disparate signs, *sub*, shepherd, and *bizem*, bucket. For the original sign *bizem*, see Genouillac, *Inventaire*, MIO. 892; R. ii, 16, a (*duk*)-kam-, i.e. a *kam-bizem* or kind of jar. This is probably the original sense of the sign and its use as *sub*, *sib*, shepherd, is secondary.

⁵ Var. Grice, 149, *šú*.

¹ The only complete text for this line is Grice, 149, which has apparently *Ki-UNU-a-šú*. The reading *UD-UNU* (i.e. *Ellasar*) is doubtful. See also Grice, 155 [*Ki*]-*UNU*-(*ki*)-ga, which points to the reading *Unug-ga*.

² Var. Grice, 149, *a-kar*; 150, *a-kar*.

³ Var. Grice, 150, 58, *i-im-ta-an-è-[a]*; *ibid.*, 149, *be-in-ne*. For *en*, *in* = *ed*, *è*, go up, see *Sum. Grammar*, 213.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE NAME BY WHICH THE ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE WAS KNOWN IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

It has lately been proposed to substitute the name "Akkadian" for that of "Assyrian", by which the Semitic language of Assyria and Babylonia has hitherto been known to us. In the tablets which come from the Babylonian libraries "Akkadian" and "Sumerian" are contrasted with one another, Akkadian signifying the Semitic language originally spoken in Akkad or Northern Babylonia in opposition to Sumerian, the earlier language of the country.

But this applies only to Babylonia; we are not justified in assuming that the term "Akkadian" was recognized in Assyria, much less in the other countries of the ancient world. And I have now found conclusive proof that it was not the name adopted outside the circle of the Babylonian scribes. One of the tablets (No. 5) recently published in *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform character from tablets in the British Museum* describes the dedication of an image of silver by the *sankunnis* or "High Priest" (a Hittite loan-word from the Assyrian *sangu*), and states that he has to repeat certain words "in the language of the city of Pabli", i.e. Babili or Babylon (*ALU Pabili-li kissan memai*). The words are Assyrian: . . . *akli lû-dûb*, "may [the work] of the artificer be fortunate!" The name, consequently, by which the Assyrian language was known outside Babylonia in the fourteenth century before our era was "Babylonian".

A. H. SAYCE.

NOTE ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM ^{المِئُونَ} "THE
HUNDREDS" AS APPLIED TO CERTAIN CHAPTERS
OF THE KORAN

In the year 1864 Professor Nöldeke published in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xviii, p. 236, some verses by the poet Abu-l-Aswad ad-Du'ali on the murder of the Caliph 'Alī, which include the following two couplets :—

قتلتم خيرَ مَنْ رَكِبَ المَطَايَا وَخَيَّسَهَا وَمَنْ رَكِبَ السَّفِينَا
وَمَنْ لَيْسَ النِّعَالَ وَمَنْ حَدَاها وَمَنْ قَرَأَ المِثَانِي وَالْمِئِينَا

"Ye have slain the best of all those who ride camels and break them in, of all those who sail in ships, of all those who wear sandals and cut them to measure, of all those who recite the *Mathānī* and the *Hundreds*."

These verses appear also in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vol. iv, p. 436, in Ṭabarī, i., 3467, and in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. iii, p. 331.

What is meant by the *Hundreds*? Professor Nöldeke suggests, in a foot-note, that we should read ^{والمِئِينَا} *والمِئِينَا* "the Perspicuous", i.e. the Koran. This view may appear to be supported by the text of Mas'ūdī, which has ^{والمِئِينَا} *والمِئِينَا* (if the editor has read the manuscript correctly), and hence it is not surprising that the editors of Ṭabarī have adopted Professor Nöldeke's emendation. But the evidence of the manuscripts is decidedly in favour of ^{والمِئِينَا} *والمِئِينَا*, and that this is the correct reading seems to me to be conclusively proved by a passage in Ṭabarī's *Commentary on the Koran* (edition of A.H. 1321), vol. i, p. 34⁶ seq.

وَأَمَّا الْمِثْرُونَ فَهِيَ مَا كَانَ مِنْ سُورِ الْقُرْآنِ عِدَدُ آيَةٍ مِائَةً آيَةً
 أَوْ تَزِيدَ عَلَيْهَا شَيْئًا أَوْ تَنْقُصَ مِنْهَا شَيْئًا يَسِيرًا

i.e. the *Hundreds* is a name given to those chapters of the Koran which contain about 100 verses. That the term *Mathānī* refers to certain parts of the Koran is generally admitted, though there is great difference of opinion as to which passages are included under it. In mediaeval times the chapters of the Koran were divided into four categories, namely, (1) الطُّوْلُ, (2) الْمِثْرُونَ, (3) الْمَثَانِي, and (4) الْمَفْصَلُ

—see, for example, Lane's *Lexicon*, s.v. مَفْصَلٌ and مِثْرُونَ.

But it may be doubted whether this fourfold division is as old as the first century of the Hijrah. In the verse of Abu-l-Aswad "the Hundreds" probably include all the longer chapters and the *Mathānī* all the shorter chapters.

A. A. BEVAN.

A MISPRINT IN THE *BIBLIOTHECA INDICA* EDITION
 OF THE *AKBARNAMA* AND THE *MUNTAKHAB-AL-TAVARIKH*

An unfortunate misprint, which misled the late Mr. Vincent Smith in his admirable book, *Akbar, the Great Mogul* (pp. 110, 453), occurs in the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition (text) of the *Akbarnāma*, and in the corresponding passage (ii, 139) of the same edition of the text of Badāonī's *Muntakhab-al-Tavārīkh*. I cannot give the exact reference to the passage in the *Akbarnāma*, for I have not my copy with me, and have only notes to refer to, but I believe that it will be found on p. 4 of vol. iii.

Akbar, after leaving Ajmer on his way to Gujarāt in 1572, is made to march to *Nāgaur*, near which place he hears the news of the birth at Ajmer of his son Dāniyāl. Now, no

commander in his senses would march nearly 80 miles in a north-easterly direction when his objective lay to the south-east of him. The place, therefore, at which Akbar heard the news of his son's birth must have been Bāgor (25° 22' N. and 74° 23' E.), the *pargana* town in the Udaipūr State (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vi, 193).

That this is so is proved by the account of the continuation of his march, according to which his next stage was "the neighbourhood of Amet". The distance, in a straight line, from Nāgaur to Amet is 136 miles, a distance which Akbar never covered in one day, even during his wonderful ride from Fathpūr-Sikrī to Aḥmadābād in August, 1573. The distance from Bāgor to Amet is 28 miles, a reasonable day's march.

The difference between Nāgaur (ناگور) and Bāgor (باگور) in the Persian script is but slight, consisting in the change of the position of one dot, and nothing would be more natural than for a copyist, ignorant, like most of his class, of geography, encountering the comparatively unfamiliar name باگور, to jump to the conclusion that there must have been some mistake, and to substitute the name of the well-known town ناگور; but it is incumbent on all editing or using works in the Persian script to follow geographical details on a map, if absurdities are to be avoided.

There is another misprint in Badāonī (text, ii, 140), where Akbar's next halt after "Nāgaur" is given as Merṭha, so that he appears to be turning in his tracks. "Merṭha" should, of course, be "Amet".

"Nāgaur" occurs for "Bāgor" in the corresponding passage (p. 293) of the very unsatisfactory Lucknow edition of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (A.H. 1292), and the same mistake occurs on p. 109 of the inaccurate monograph on Akbar in the *Rulers of India* series, but here one naturally does not look for scholarship.

The Bombay edition of *Firishta* (text, 1832) is non-committal with ماکور (“Māgaṛ” or “Māgor”, i, 491). This otherwise admirable edition is entirely untrustworthy where proper names are concerned.

All who are interested in Indian history must agree with Mr. Vincent Smith (*Akbar*, p. 462) that a new and scholarly translation of *Firishta*, adequately annotated and indexed, is much to be desired.

T. W. HAIG.

TEHRAN.

11th June, 1921.

“ BHĀSA ”

Lack of leisure makes it impossible for me to discuss in detail the various interesting points raised by Mr. A. Banerji-Sastri in his paper “The Plays of Bhāsa” in the July number of this *Journal*. I will only say that his arguments are wholly based on *petitiones principii* and have no cogency, for the following reasons, among others :—

(1) The “reformation” in the preludes of plays ascribed by him to Bhāsa is badly in need of evidence, and seems to be quite irrelevant. In the Trivandrum plays, after an introductory *nāṇḍī*, which is not given in the MSS., and probably might be varied at the discretion of the *sūtradhāra* (stage-manager), the latter appears and begins the prelude, usually though not always with a preliminary benediction, after which comes the prose. In the classical dramas the *nāṇḍī* is given in full; then the *sūtradhāra* enters and begins the prelude with prose.¹ In either case the play is begun by the *sūtradhāra*. It is possible that this arrangement was introduced by the real Bhāsa, as is suggested by Bāṇa’s verse; but to argue

¹ The *sthāpaka* whom Mr. Banerji-Sastri drags in by the hair of his head is quite irrelevant. The *Daśarūpaka* (iii, 2) tells us that he should not appear until the *sūtradhāra* has left the stage after the conclusion of the prelude; and his place here is marked in some plays by the stage-direction *sthāpanā*.

that the Trivandrum plays are his works because something of the kind is found in them is a bold begging of the question.

(2) It is more natural to take *rāja-siṃha* in the Bharata-vākya as a proper name than as a mere epithet.¹ The variants are thus much more easily explained.

(3) The comparison of Prakrits is very instructive, but its lessons are not what Mr. Banerji-Sastri supposes them to be. It really tells us nothing about the relative dates of Pseudo-Bhāsa and classical authors. We have no first-hand knowledge of these Prakrits; we know only the forms that editors and scribes have imposed upon the texts. Undoubtedly the plays of Pseudo-Bhāsa contain many archaic forms which are not found in ordinary recensions of classical texts; but we cannot say that the latter never contained them, for grammarians have been working their sweet will upon the texts for many centuries. In the North they have partly succeeded in covering up their trails; but in the South we can more easily trace the successions of their malefic activities. And we can see that the use of the Prakrits in the South is based upon traditions which differ considerably from those now prevalent in the North,² and probably are older in ultimate origin. But to argue that the plays of Pseudo-Bhāsa, of which the MSS. are characterized by the former, must be works of an author earlier than (say) Kālidāsa, whose MSS. usually show the features of the latter, is a reckless *petitio principii*. Mr. Banerji-Sastri and the other gentlemen who follow the same line of thought overlook the fact that *the plays of Pseudo-Bhāsa are not peculiar in their Prakrit*. To take only a few instances, the *Subhadrā-dhanañjaya* published in the Trivandrum Series shows a number of archaic forms seldom or never found in the printed texts and MSS. of Kālidāsa, but actually occurring in the Pseudo-Bhāsa,

¹ Mr. Banerji-Sastri has fathered on me a misspelling "Teramūran", of which I must repudiate the paternity.

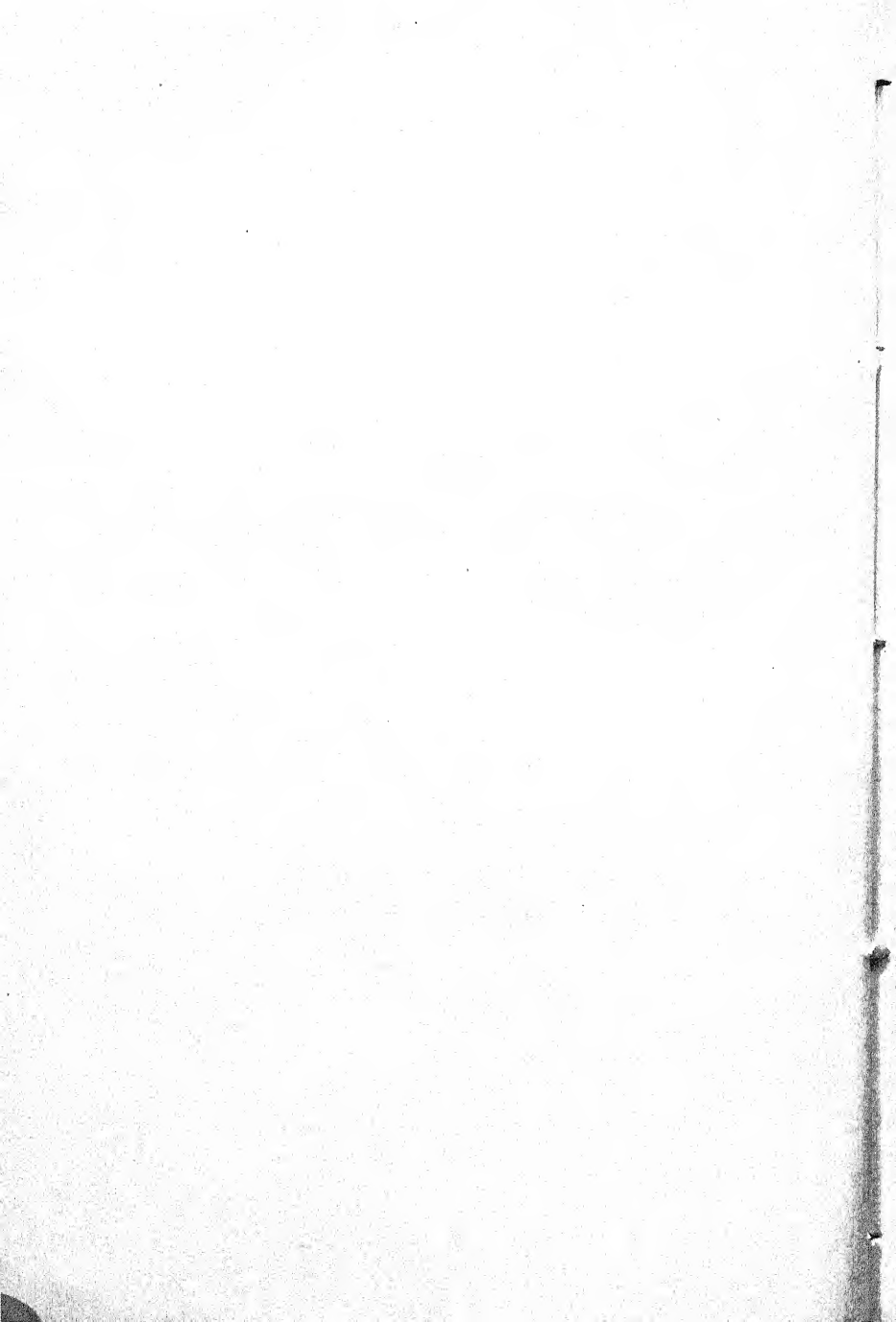
² I use the word "North" in a general sense, without prejudice to the distinction into Eastern and Western Schools (*JRAS.* 1921, p. 425).

e.g. *ayya* and *ayyaūṭṭa* (= vulgo *ajja* and *ajjaūṭṭa*), *payyāulā* (Skt. *paryākulā*), *ahake* (Skt. *aham*), *tuvaṃ* (Skt. *tvam*), *karia* (Skt. *kṛtvā*), *amhāvaṃ* (Skt. *asmākam*), and the particle *āma*; and the *Pradyumnābhyaṇḍaya* and *Tapatī-saṃvaraṇa* in the same series between them contain all these forms. Will Mr. Banerji-Sastri therefore argue that Kulaśekhara Varman and Ravi Varman are earlier than Kālidāsa ?

It is illuminating to compare the text of the *Nāgānanda* as published in the Trivandrum Series with a typical Northern edition such as that of Jivānanda published at Calcutta in 1886. We find in T. ed. *ayya*, *uyyāna*, etc. = C. ed. *ajja*, *ujjāna*, etc.; T. ed. *tuvaṃ* (pp. 24, 71, 82 f., etc., side by side with *tumaṃ*) = C. ed. *tumaṃ* always; T. ed. *kissa* (p. 66) = C. ed. *kīsa*, and on the other hand, T. ed. *kīsa* (p. 71) = C. ed. *kin* and T. ed. *kīsa* (p. 88) = C. ed. *kīsa*; T. ed. *karia* (pp. 88, 111, 148, 151, 275) = C. ed. *karia*, but also T. ed. *karia* (pp. 146, 254) = C. ed. *kadua*; T. ed. *gacchia* (p. 147) = C. ed. *gadua*; T. ed. *tava* (p. 202) = C. ed. *te*. These facts, and a great many others, show clearly that this play has had the usual fate of Indian books; many alterations have been made in both the Northern and the Southern recensions, but the latter on the whole has preserved more ancient forms—forms quite as archaic as any that appear in Pseudo-Bhāsa. But the *Nāgānanda* ascribes itself to Harṣadēva, and is certainly not earlier than the seventh century. So much for the value of Mr. Banerji-Sastri's linguistic tests of date.

The rest of his arguments are even more nugatory, and need not be discussed.

L. D. BARNETT.



NOTICES OF BOOKS

SANKALPA-SŪRYŌDAYA, or THE DAWN OF THE DIVINE WILL, of SRI VEDANTA DESIKA. With English translation by K. NARAYANACHARYA, B.A., and D. RAGHUNATHASWAMY IYENGAR, under the supervision of SRIMAN VIDYABHUSHANA A. GOVINDACHARYA. Vol. i, Acts I-V; 12mo. pp. iv, ii, 189, xxxviii, 317, 1. Srirangam : Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1917.

The Sankalpa-sūryōdaya belongs to a rare type of Sanskrit literature, the allegorical drama. Among the interesting fragments of plays discovered by the Prussian Expedition to Turfan and edited by Professor Lüders (Berlin, 1911), which are the oldest specimens of Sanskrit plays extant, there are morsels of a work of this kind, in which the triumph of Buddhist morals and religious doctrine is allegorically presented in dramatic form. Oddly enough no other play of this class has survived from the date of the Turfan fragments to about 1200, when Kṛṣṇa Miśra composed his Prabōdhacandrōdaya in glorification of Vedantic monism. The latter work made a hit (it was even rendered into Persian in A.H. 1073 by Banvālī Das, called Valī); and among the imitations which it called forth the most notable is the Sankalpa-sūryōdaya, in which Venkāṭa-nātha, known as the Vēdānta-dēśika *par excellence*, set himself to represent in the same manner the triumph of Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine. Though this drama has previously been published (at Conjevaram in 1883 and 1904), the present volume embodies the first attempt to present the text with an English rendering, and therefore deserves a welcome. The English version is in parts very free, and sometimes is more of a paraphrase than a translation, but it is generally true to the sense and helpful to readers who are not familiar with the author's subtleties of idiom. Naturally dramas of this kind cannot be expected to

possess the highest dramatic qualities, such as vigour of action and liveliness of characterization ; their appeal is literary and intellectual. The *Saṅkalpa-sūryōdaya* is no exception to this rule. But it is well worth reading, and we shall be glad to have the concluding volume in due course.

L. D. B.

DAS ŚRAUTA-SŪTRA DES ĀPASTAMBA. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von Dr. W. CALAND. 1-7 Buch. (Quellen der Religions-Geschichte. Gruppe 7.) 8vo. pp. 270. Göttingen and Leipzig, 1921.

With the exception of the *Vaitāna-sūtra*, a work of only secondary importance in its class, this is the first of the Śrauta-sūtras that has been translated ; and Professor Caland, than whom no Western scholar is more profoundly versed in the intricacies of orthodox Hindu ritualism, has performed his peculiarly difficult task with notable skill and success. The Śrauta-sūtras, as is well known, are summaries of the systems of Vedic ritual, based mainly on the *Brāhmaṇas*¹ ; hence the proper understanding of a Śrauta-sūtra requires at almost every step reference to the *Brāhmaṇa* upon which it is based, and not seldom also to other sources, when, as is occasionally the case with *Āpastamba*, the author of the *Sūtra* prefers the practice of another school to that prescribed in his own *Brāhmaṇa*, or allows both.² To investigate these intricate connexions and interpret the often obscure text of the *Sūtras*, as Dr. Caland has done in his translation and in the pithy and illuminative notes which accompany it, is

¹ In his introduction Professor Caland describes them as being "properly only excerpts from the *Brāhmaṇas*". This is slightly misleading if it be taken to mean that their rules are wholly derived from *Brāhmaṇas*, for sometimes they apparently come from elsewhere, as, e.g. *Āp.Ś.s.* IV, 3, 1 (p. 106 of the present work), which is drawn from an unknown source.

² An example of the last case is *Āp.Ś.s.* I, 14, 8b : "one who has not already offered a *sōma*-sacrifice must not offer *Samnāyā*—or he may". Here the prohibition is derived from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* II, v. 8, 1 ; and *Āpastamba* is a *Taittirīya*.

a task of extraordinary difficulty, and the manner in which he has accomplished it calls for our unstinted admiration and gratitude, the more so as the subject, though full of interest to students of comparative religion, is not at first sight an attractive one. Orthodox Hindu rituals lack almost all elements of beauty, dignity, and impressiveness, such as may be found in the worship of Christian, Jewish, and Moslem communities. The idea of a liturgy, a congregational service of prayer and praise, is almost unknown in them. Immensely intricate in their details, they are usually crude and puerile, sometimes even revolting, in their symbolism. All the more honour, therefore, is due to Dr. Caland for his devoted labours in this unlovely field ; and we sincerely hope that we may soon see his work completed by the translation of the remaining books, with an index.

L. D. B.

MANAVA ŚRAUTA-SŪTRA : CAYANA. (Opbouw van het Hoogaltaar naar de Overlevering der Mānavas.) [Edited by] J. M. VAN GELDER. 4to. pp. xx, 22. Leiden, Leipzig printed, 1921.

Professor Caland is not only a master of the lore of the ancient Brahmanic rituals, but he has also communicated his enthusiasm and sound critical method to a band of younger scholars. Miss Van Gelder is apparently one of the latest recruits of this company, and her inaugural dissertation proves her to be a worthy disciple of her Guru. The Cayana, or ritual for the construction of the chief altar, belongs to the Mānava-śrauta-sūtra, of which Dr. Knauer has published books 1-5 (Petrograd, 1900-3) ; and it forms the fifth *vibhāga* of that corpus, either by itself, according to some MSS., or in combination with the Vājapēya and Prāyaścitta, according to others. Though tedious and often obscure, like the rest of the ritual literature, the Cayana has a fair amount of interest for students of comparative religion and

early Sanskrit; and Miss Van Gelder would have increased her claims to our gratitude if she had appended to her excellent edition an *index verborum*.

L. D. B.

THE VAİṢEŚIKA SYSTEM, described with the help of the oldest texts. By Dr. B. FADDEGON. (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks. Deel xviii, No. 2.) $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 614. Amsterdam, 1918.

The Vaiṣeṣika philosophy has come by its own at last, and has found a thoroughly competent expositor in Dr. Faddegon, who discusses in this volume the study of Indian philosophy in Europe (I, i), the Vaiṣeṣika texts (I, ii), the Nyāya-sūtra and its relation to the Vaiṣeṣika (I, iii), sources of information as to other schools (I, iv), general questions of metaphysics (II, i), physics (II, ii), mathematical notions (II, iii), psychology (II, iv), trustworthy sources of knowledge (II, v), and ethics and theology (II, vi), followed by copious translations from Ācārya's Nyāya-kandālī (III), and "material for reference", including bibliography¹ and analyses of the chief texts (IV). Considerations of space forbid us to discuss the many interesting topics of which Dr. Faddegon treats in this monumental work, and to bestow more than a few words to express our admiration for the orderly method and sound scholarship by which it is marked. Praise is due also to him for the courage which inspired him to write in English, and to write it generally well, in spite of occasional lapses into foreign idiom, frequent superfluity of commas, and a considerable crop of minor misprints.

L. D. B.

¹ In this list we miss the "Vaiṣeṣika Philosophy according to the Daśapadārthaśāstra" of Mr. U. published as vol. xxiv of the Oriental Translation of the Asiatic Society in 1917. As the Chinese translation of the D. was made in A.D. 648, the latter has an important bearing on the subject of the early Vaiṣeṣika.

WILLIAM BOLTS: A DUTCH ADVENTURER UNDER JOHN COMPANY. By N. L. HALLWARD, M.A. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii, 210. Cambridge University Press, 1920.

The long-delayed life of the able and unscrupulous adventurer, William Bolts, will be welcomed by students of Anglo-Indian history. But their pleasure in Mr. Hallward's clear and scholarly account of Bolts and his methods will be less keen when they find that there is no clue throughout the volume to the provenance of the material "hitherto not available or not easily accessible" on which the narrative is based. The numerous quotations elucidating the text are presumably taken, for the most part, from the Manuscript Records of the East India Company, some of them, possibly, from the French Archives, but no hint of the whereabouts of the originals appears either in the preface or in the foot-notes. There is, moreover, neither a bibliography nor an index, for the meagre list of persons at the end of the volume is valueless to the student desirous of learning the system of inland trade in India in the eighteenth century. It is regrettable that there should be such defects in so excellent a monograph, for the author has handled his subject with skill and knowledge, and leaves a clear impression on the mind of the reader of Bolts and his contemporaries in Bengal, their intrigues and their conduct towards their employers.

The second part of the volume is treated less minutely, since Bolts, as a servant of the Empress of Austria, hardly comes within the title of the book. Still, as Mr. Hallward describes the methods taken in Bombay to thwart the design of an Austrian settlement in India, and gives an account of the relations between Bolts and the Chevalier de St. Lubin at Poona, some notice of the adventurer's reception on his return to Bengal in September, 1779 (as recorded in *Bengal Public Consultations*, India Office Records), and of his protest addressed to the Select Committee at Madras in April, 1780 (*Madras Select Committee Consultations*), might have been

expected, together with an allusion to the temporary settlement made under his direction at one of the Nicobar Islands.

R. C. T.

MAKRIZI—DESCRIPTION HISTORIQUE ET TOPOGRAPHIQUE DE L'ÉGYPTE. Traduit par M. PAUL CASANOVA. 4me partie 1er fascicule. 14 x 10½, xii + 144 pp. Le Caire : Institut Français, 1920.

Monsieur Paul Casanova has brought out, after an interval of years, another fascicule of his French translation of the Arabic chronicle of Makrizi, under the auspices of the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, published at Cairo, 1920.

In offering any criticism on the translation so faithfully rendered by Monsieur Casanova, one cannot do better than quote the latter's own words, viz. : " Je dois dire que je me suis fait une loi, dans ma traduction, d'une scrupuleuse probité scientifique. J'ai résisté à la tentation de cacher sous des phrases plus ou moins vague mon incompréhension de certains passages, et au contraire je l'ai soulignée en proposant des solutions qui n'étaient pas toujours heureuses."

His plan of printing in the text in Arabic technical and obscure words will commend itself to the student. He has, moreover, provided copious footnotes on words requiring special comment, and historical references have been unstintingly given throughout. Makrizi was born A.H. 766 (A.D. 1364), and died A.H. 845 (A.D. 1442).

The present volume deals with the reigns of the Fatimide Khalifes, and with the founding and growth of Cairo; it is a storehouse of details concerning the life and manners of the Mussulman world, during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. A short account is given of the lives of the Fatimide Khalifes. The founders of this dynasty had travelled from Arabia to Egypt in search of science, " le sentier des meilleurs." The first Khalife, 'Oubeïd Allah, was a typical Mussulman ruler of their great days, he underwent many persecutions prompted by Baghdad and Damascus, and was delivered with his son

from a Syrian prison by a victorious soldier, Aboû 'Abd Allah, who championed his cause and proclaimed him as the Mahdi (A.H. 297).

'Oubeïd Allah, when he had consolidated his power, shook himself free of his benefactor and caused Aboû 'Abd Allah and his brother to be murdered. He died aged 63, having been Khalife for twenty-four years, leaving to his descendants the task of conquering Egypt (A.H. 322). They were of widely different types ; his son was a cruel and effeminate ruler, who organized massacres of defenceless towns, but never put a leg across a horse, even for hunting, nor troubled himself to conduct the services in the mosques which were expected from his sacred office. Khalife Manşour, his son, was famous for eloquence, and for the devotion with which he could improvise the service of the Khoutbat "séance tenante".

Khalife Mou'izz, the first Fatimide sovereign of Egypt, prided himself on the austerity of his life and his assiduity in the public service. He sent for his sheikhs one cold winter's day to his palace, where he sat in a lined and wadded robe (*djoubbat*), with open doors leading to his libraries, with an inkstand and some state papers before him. He gave them a long address on the vanity of luxury and pleasure, and exhorted them to lead a simple and laborious life like his own ; to have one wife only and to pay her all respect ; and promised that if they would devote themselves to public duty as he did, Allah would give them the sovereignty of the West, which they already had of the East. Manşour husbanded all his resources to create an army for the conquest of Egypt ; he tried to impose a new tax, but when his sheikhs protested that their swords were at his service East and West, but that they would never stoop to pay a tax only fit to be levied on infidels, he rose in his stirrups and said that it was just the answer he wanted, he only meant to try their mettle.

His armies were victorious, and he celebrated his victory by laying on a magnificent scale the foundations of Cairo. He was wise, just, and generous, and had a passion for astronomy ;

when he died (A.H. 365), still in the prime of life, his rule was acknowledged in the Maghrib, throughout Egypt and Syria, and in Mecca and Medina.

The reign of his grandson, Adh Dhâhir, a lover of music and art and a collector of jewels, was marked by recurrent famine and sickness, and riots among the black slaves. A treaty (A.H. 418) was made with the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, who re-established a mosque there in return for the reopening of a church in Jerusalem and permission for the Christians forcibly converted to Islam to return to their own faith.

Khalife Moustansîr, who succeeded at 7 years of age, suffered the extreme buffetings of fortune during his long reign of sixty years. He extended his rule over Baghdad and Aleppo, but Egypt was in great misery with famine and sickness; in the universal confusion the lowest of the people became viziers and Kâdis, and their unhappy ruler, imprisoned apparently in his own palace, "*vivait assis sur un tapis, privé de nourriture et dans l'impossibilité de s'en procurer; mais une femme de famille noble lui faisait l'aumône de pain émietté, et il ne mangeait qu'une fois par jour.*" The dynasty was finally swept away by the conquests of Salâh ad dîn, having lasted for 272 years.

Makrizî then turns back to give a detailed account of the founding of Cairo, and the abandonment of the former city of Miṣr, which had become a perfect pest-house. The original design of the Kâid Djauhar, who started to build Cairo for his master Khalife Al Mou'izz, was to have two fine palaces for the Khalife and his harem, with gardens, walls, and gates which might later on be fortified as a military post, but there was no thought of founding a centre of commerce. Later in the bad days of famine, in the Khalifate of Moustansîr, the people were encouraged to build their own houses from the ruins of Foustât-Miṣr, and gradually a great city arose with mosques, schools, and bazaars, second only to Baghdad, "the market of the world." A minute account of these gates, walls, and roads, and of the education in the schools, fills the

remainder of the volume, invaluable data for the topography of Cairo, which may be compared with the account given in the chronicles of Ibn Iyâs, some four centuries later under the Mameluke Sultans.

Maḳrîzî becomes eloquent both on the miseries and the beauties of Cairo—the want of water, the stench and dust in the narrow stifling streets, the sickness and intolerable taxation—but he quotes the poets when he wants to show us the charm and fragrance of the gardens, where the narcissus waits upon the rose :—

“ Ne vois-tu pas que la rose est assise, et que le narcisse est debout pour la servir.”

He is eloquent about the beauty and variety of the birds, and he pities the man who should quit these shades and ponds for the arid rocks of Syria—the gazelles and antelopes for the sheep and mares of Damascus.

Space fails us to quote the marvellous descriptions of the banquets, and how the great men, headed by the Sultan, come out of the mosque on the last hour of the long fast to throw themselves upon their viands. A grotesque joke closes this chapter ; a prisoner long in captivity was promised his freedom if he could eat at one sitting the whole of a roasted calf. He survived the ordeal and returned home, and the chronicler adds for our full satisfaction the words of the narrator : “ Je l’ai vu, mangeant au banquet.”

W. H. SALMON.

GLOSSAIRE DATINOIS. Par LE COMTE DE LANDBERG. Vol. I (Alif to Dāl). Being part of a dictionary of the dialects spoken in Dathina, Southern Arabia. 9¼ × 6, xi + 1038 pp., 1 plate. Leide : E. J. Brill, 1920.

The author tells us that a careful study of Carl Reinhardt’s grammar of the dialect in ‘Omān and Zanzibar, with his native friends in Hadramout and Daṭīnah, has given him a fairly accurate idea of the common and different features of these

dialects. The Count has selected from Reinhardt's work the phrases and words which are also current in the Datinois dialect for his glossary, and has added other Arabic words which he considered important. He tells us that it was impossible in this case to localize the use of a word, so ably done by Marçais in his *Glossaire de TAT*, as this requires more facilities of communication than the author possessed, not having a "burak" at his disposal to carry him over the country in a few weeks and enable him to make a "linguistic atlas" like Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas*.

Many a student will echo the sentiments expressed in the Count's preface, where he laments the harm that the great war has done to science and research, and the present great expense of publishing which prevents so much knowledge from being given to the world. We are glad that in this case all the hard work involved in the *Glossaire Datinois* has not been in vain and that it was published last year.

W. H. SALMON.

DAS ALTE ÄGYPTEN. VON A. WIEDEMANN. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$,
xv, 446 pp., 78 illustrations (15 plates).

BABYLONIEN UND ASSYRIEN. VON BRUNO MEISSNER. Band I,
 $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, 466 pp., 223 illustrations (96 plates); coloured
map. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Buchhandlung. 1920.

It is now over ten years since Dr. Willy Foy, the Director of the Ethnological Museum at Cologne, projected a series of books, under the title of the *Ethnologische Bibliothek*, which should cover the whole history of human culture. Not confining itself to the civilized and semi-civilized peoples, but also embracing those races whom we call "savages"—for even the lowest savages are by no means in a state of nature—they have all developed some kind of culture to distinguish them from the irrational animals. A number of specialists were enlisted in the task, but, naturally, such an

ambitious programme requires time and patience; and it is not surprising that nothing appeared with the exception of a preliminary treatise, *Methode der Ethnologie*, by Dr. F. Graebner (Heidelberg, 1911). The two works which are the subject of this notice are the second and third of the series, and they are an excellent introduction, for they deal with the important and primary civilizations of Egypt and Chaldea, in the capable hands of Professor A. Wiedemann and Dr. Bruno Meissner.

To compress all that is known of Ancient Egypt into one small volume of 450 pages is no easy task, and Professor Wiedemann has necessarily been obliged to limit himself to bare outlines, although his full references on every page will enable the eager student to follow up any particular point in which he may be interested. A less experienced writer would have felt a difficulty in preserving the balance between the various subjects treated; more especially in regard to Egypt, which to most people seems confined to two departments only, viz. religion and sepulture. Professor Wiedemann summarizes religion in six pages and mummification in fourteen. He remembers that the civilization of the Nile Valley is his theme; and therefore he deals primarily with the culture of the Ancient Egyptians, their ethnology, their manners and customs, their art and their industries, their literature and their sciences. Nevertheless, in spite of all this compression, a clear picture is conveyed to the general reader, and there are numbers of references to books and journals outside the strict field of Egyptology, keeping in mind the fact that the Nile civilization was not an isolated phenomenon, but that it presents points of contact and comparison with many other divisions of mankind. The illustrations are not elaborate, but they are sufficient for the purpose, and there is an excellent index.

Dr. Meissner confesses that he had long had the wish to publish a comprehensive survey of Babylonian civilization,

but he was always deterred by the feeling that there were serious gaps in our knowledge, and these gaps were only slowly being filled up. As, however, he has been compelled to devote two thick volumes to a summary of what is already known, there would seem to be ample groundwork for the study. The present volume deals with the material culture of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The second will be devoted to their psychical developments, and detail their religion, their philosophy, their science, and their superstition. The work opens with a brief, but informing, description of Mesopotamia, its ancient inhabitants, and their history. Then we are told of the court, the army, and the official organization. Law, agriculture, handicraft, art, and commerce pass under review, and we have a sketch of Chaldean society, concluding with an outline of the life-history of a typical Babylonian from the cradle to the grave. It is needless to say that the many illustrations are well chosen, but, what is more remarkable in these difficult times, they are well and clearly printed; and the map is a triumph of cartography.

E. J. PILCHER.

THE TOMB OF ANTEFOKER, VIZIER OF SESOSTRIS I, AND HIS WIFE, SENET. (The Theban Tombs Series: Second Memoir.) By N. DE GARIS DAVIES, M.A., with a chapter by ALAN H. GARDINER, D.Litt. Illustrated by 6 plates in colour by NINA DE G. DAVIES, and by 42 plates in line and collotype. Egypt Exploration Society. 10 x 13. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1920.

The tombs and mortuary chapels of the great Theban nobles are cut out of the limestone hillsides on the west bank of the Nile, over against the city which stood upon the east bank. The earliest of these date from Dynasty XII (roughly 2000 B.C.), but the great majority belong to Dynasty XVIII (about 1550 to 1350 B.C.), while a considerable number are of later periods. Halls and corridors are hewn out of the rock

to form mortuary chapels or temples, and the walls are sculptured or painted with delightful scenes from the daily life of the Egyptian grandees who were buried in the sepulchres beneath them. The actual tomb is usually entered by way of a shaft or sloping passage leading from one of the upper chambers; but the burials have been ransacked and plundered ages ago. In the necropolis there are more than 250 of these chapels now open to the public, and no such mass of material for a study of ancient arts, crafts, manners, and customs is to be found elsewhere in the world.

The present writer, while he was in charge of the antiquities of Upper Egypt, took various steps for the preservation of these wonderful monuments, for his predecessors had been obliged to neglect them, owing to the number of the other calls upon their time and energies. Iron doors were affixed to the entrances, enclosing walls were erected around the main groups, watchmen were put in charge, and the chapels were numbered and catalogued. Much of the credit for the work of preservation and restoration is due to Mr. Robert Mond, who not only devoted a good many months to strenuous personal labour in the necropolis, but also gave sums of money to this most worthy object. To Dr. Alan Gardiner the thanks of the archæological world are also due; for he took over the present writer's incomplete catalogue of these tombs, and added greatly to it, working it up into the very excellent form in which it was published a few years ago.¹ And now he has been the inspiration behind the two handsome volumes which form the first of a contemplated series of publications dealing with these splendid monuments of the past.

The first volume dealt with the tomb of Amenemhet, No. 82, and consisted of facsimile copies of the paintings, made in line and colour by Mrs. de Garis Davies, with about 130 pages of text by Dr. Gardiner himself. The second

¹ *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, by Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur Weigall.

volume, which has just been published, is concerned with the tomb of Antefoker and his wife Senet, No. 60, and gives facsimile line drawings by Mr. de Garis Davies, some thirty pages of explanatory text by the same scholar, a short chapter on the graffiti by Dr. Gardiner, and some paintings in colour by Mrs. Davies.

These publications are of immense importance and value, for were these tomb-chapels now to be destroyed—as is always possible—a full record of their contents would be to hand.

The tomb of Antefoker and his wife is particularly interesting, for it dates from the reign of Sesostri I, 1970–1935 B.C., and is the only mortuary chapel of this early date now preserved in anything like its original condition in the necropolis. It was fitted with an iron door by the present writer at the expense of a native gentleman, Alexander Bey Ebaid of Keneh, in 1907, but until that date it had stood open and unprotected on the bare hillside of Shèkh abd'-el Kurneh. Its wall-paintings served as a model for those of the later chapels, and in ancient times it was one of the particular places to be visited by the curious, as is evidenced by the many graffiti scribbled upon the walls. The paintings include harvesting scenes and other pictures of the work upon the estate, fishing and hunting expeditions, the preparation of food, a very complete representation of the funeral ceremonies, sacred dances and musical performances, and so forth.

The only important fault which is to be found with this excellent and useful volume is that there are no adequate key-plates to the reproductions of these paintings. The scenes in this tomb extend along the walls of the main passage, which is some sixty feet in length; and these scenes are here reproduced in short sections, reduced to varying scales, and cut off so as to fit the page or double page of the volume. Key-plates on a single reduced scale are therefore required to link these sections together, and to show at a glance some twenty or thirty feet of the wall, for without such aids

the work of hunting up a particular scene or inscription is rather a nuisance. For instance, an inscription referring to the making of a fire with green firewood is translated on p. 15 of the text, and plate xii is given as the reference; but this plate shows no sign of the inscription, and, at last, one finds that this particular scene, with its accompanying legend, overlaps on to another plate four pages back. Moreover, without these key-plates the student at home can have no idea of what the paintings really look like, nor can he visualize how they are arranged.

Another minor criticism must be made, though the present reviewer will perhaps be thought captious in calling attention to it. In these wall-paintings the Egyptians were in the habit of inscribing fragments of conversation against the figures represented, as though to give added life to the scenes and an air of reality. These brief snatches of the workmen's or servants' chatter often have a rather jocular strain; and it is clear that their object is to indicate the good-feeling existing amongst the deceased noble's employees. Most Egyptologists, in endeavouring to render these difficult and often obscure phrases into English, have tried to catch the spirit of the originals by using somewhat slang words, but the result has always been extremely unconvincing. Mr. Davies makes the same mistake. In the case of one man who tells another to attend to his cooking, the reply is given thus: "I am close to it and won't budge," the actual translation being: "I am at it (lit. near it); (I am) not going away." In another case a workman is jocularly scolding a boy for eating too much; and Mr. Davies gives us the remark in the following unreal language: "Thou eatest more than a king's serf when ploughing! Why, you are chock-full!" The last word of this sentence is to be translated "gorged", or "choked", or "replete"; but "chock full", like the word "budge", is out of place in this connexion, and does not in the least convey the spirit of the original.

Mr. Davies's explanatory text is always scholarly and

illuminating, and here and there one catches glimpses of his fine literary style, which can never be altogether suppressed in his scientific work, though he seems to be peculiarly shy of it. The last paragraph of the text is a very beautiful piece of writing, and one cannot help wishing that he could be persuaded to give us one day a literary essay or two in regard to the subject of Egyptology, which his scientific work has done so much to advance.

ARTHUR WEIGALL.

INSCRIPTIONS GRECQUES ET LATINES DES TOMBEAUX DES ROIS OU SYRINGES À THEBES. By JULES BAILLET. Premier fascicule (Mémoires publiés par les membres de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Tome xlii). Large 4to, 219 pp., 53 pls. Cairo, 1920.

The Pharaohs of Egypt, during the years between 1550 and 1100 B.C., were buried in sepulchres cut into the cliffs and hillsides of what is now called the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, a desolate place concealed behind the mighty ramparts of rock which form the background of the great Theban necropolis, over against the modern town of Luxor. These sepulchres consist of long passages and flights of steps leading down to halls and chambers all hewn out of the solid rock, the walls being covered for the most part with hieroglyphic inscriptions and religious scenes; and after some of these tombs (those which were not entirely concealed) had been robbed of their royal contents at the time when the Pharaonic power was waning, they stood open and empty, to be visited by the awed tourists of ancient days, both Egyptian and foreign. In the time of Strabo some forty sepulchres were known, though this number probably included tombs in other localities; and Diodorus speaks of seventeen in his day.

As in modern times, the ancient sightseers used to visit first the main necropolis, paying special attention to the two

Colossi which stand at its edge, one being the famous vocal Memnon; and they then made their way over or around the cliffs to this royal valley, and descended by torchlight into the deserted sepulchres, which the Greeks called *syringes* or "tunnels". Upon the painted or sculptured walls of the corridors they were wont to scratch their names or scribble their comments, while the more religious-minded sometimes wrote brief prayers or recorded pious sentiments. Thus the walls of these great sepulchres at the present day are seen to be dotted over with short graffiti, mostly Greek, the majority being mere names without interest, but some having importance as illuminating the life of those times.

While the antiquities of Upper Egypt were under my care I often wondered when some painstaking archæologist would take the trouble to make a complete record of these scribbles, and I suggested more than once that some savant should undertake the work. At last Monsieur Jules Baillet has done it, and the first volume of his catalogue has recently been published.

Now, considering that the making of an exhaustive catalogue of these graffiti is a piece of work which has required great patience and skill, and which will be of considerable value, I suppose I shall be regarded as very ill-natured in stating that the volume is a typical example of that unpractical and extravagant kind of publication which is the bane of archæology. We have here about a thousand graffiti, scores of them consisting of but one word or name, and the remainder, with a few important exceptions, having from two to five words. In this catalogue, however, there are 219 very large pages of text printed on stout paper, and 53 plates; and the result is a great unwieldy volume, costing 80 francs, which few libraries and fewer individuals can afford to purchase, especially as it has only a paper cover, and requires to be bound to prevent it falling to pieces. The whole material might have been printed in a handy little ten-franc book, which any interested archæologist would have been glad to place

upon his shelves ; but, as it is, libraries and private scholars will mostly have to strain their resources if they desire to buy it, and the practical man will feel that archæology is evidently a study meant for the fat years and not for the lean.

Who can possibly want pages and pages of text describing the exact height of the letters, the exact length of the words in centimetres, the exact position of the scribbles upon the walls, and so forth, when there are elaborate plates in the volume, giving photographs and facsimile copies as well ? And, with paper at its present price, why should the text be spaced out so that only six or eight graffiti go to fill a large folio page, and there is more than three times as much blank margin and space on each page than there is print, if you measure it up ? Why on earth should all this money be spent on elaborate publication when every penny is required for the preservation of antiquities, the excavation of new sites, and the making accessible of knowledge to the largest possible number of students ?

The fact is that the antiquarian is often at heart still a dilettante ; and when he has done a good piece of work, such as this, he likes to see it published in the grand manner. He likes to bring to you with both hands a magnificent tome, and to say : " Behold, my contribution to science ! " He does not trouble to think whether he is making his contribution accessible to the world ; he does not look to the practical side ; he has never asked himself in what manner he can most modestly issue the results of his labours so that knowledge in general may benefit at the least possible cost. Or, if he may be exonerated personally from grandiose considerations, as in the case of our present author, the institution he serves desires to make a fine show of its output, and to impress by the sheer bulk of its publications ; nor does there seem to be any realization of the fact that large areas of expensive blank paper are to the student simply expensive blank paper.

In the volume under consideration there are no aids to study ; and woe be to anyone who wants to look up any

particular graffito ! It is the first instalment of a series, and it deals with the graffiti in only a few of the royal sepulchres ; but if I were asked to state which tombs are here disposed of, and which remain for future publication, I should be inclined to reply that I really cannot be bothered to hunt through 219 pages to find out. There is neither an index nor even a table of contents of any kind whatsoever to help me. There is no attempt at the arrangement of the graffiti in a handy manner ; there are only sporadic discussions or critical examinations of the inscriptions ; and such helpful notes as there are seem to have been put in only when something tickled the author's fancy. The work, of course, does not pretend to be much more than a bare catalogue ; but, this being so, one ought not to be asked to pay 80 francs for it in order that L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire may maintain its reputation for turning out handsome volumes.

In other respects the work seems to be worthy of praise, and one is grateful to M. Baillet for his labours. So far as can be seen without close study it is accurate, though one may here and there question the author's interpretation. At any rate, we have now got the beginning of a corpus of these graffiti ; and we can bring back to life in some measure these classical prototypes of the patrons of Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son.

It is interesting to notice that two of these, Dionysios and Poseidonax, hailed from Marseilles, the word being written both *Μασσαλιότης* and *Μασσαλιώτης* ; while some come from other distant places. There is an inscription stating that one Apollophanes of Lycopolis visited the tombs in the seventh year of Antoninus ; another visitor records a date in the reign of Augustus ; and there are a few other dates to be seen. There is the record of a certain Jasios, who says : " I have heard the Memnon speak, and I have seen the peculiarly excellent workmanship of these tombs, which is unutterable to us." A Roman official named Januarius states in Latin

that he came with his daughter Januarina, and that he "saw and marvelled"; and he says "Valete omnes". A curious Christian prayer is: "O God Almighty, and Saint Kollouthos, and Saint Father-Patemothis, and Saint Father-Ammonios the Anchorite, intercede with God that He may grant life to Artemidora with Paphnuce for a little time . . ." And the following is rather amusing: "I, Philastrios the Alexandrian, who have come to Thebes, and who have seen with my eyes the Colossi, and the work of these tombs of astounding horror (*μύσος*), have spent a delightful (*ὄλβιος*) day." *Μύσος* is just the right word for the atmosphere of these tombs in which M. Baillet has performed his long and praiseworthy task.

ARTHUR WEIGALL.

ASOKA, THE BUDDHIST EMPEROR OF INDIA. By Vincent A. SMITH. Third Edition. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 278 pp., map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.

This work is too well known to need a long notice, for it has been before the public for twenty years, and now a third edition has been called for. It occupied the lamented author just before his death. This is a thoroughly revised edition. In it he has brought the subject up to date and improved the treatment with the increased knowledge gained about it during the last ten years. The chapters on the Rock edicts and the Pillar and miscellaneous inscriptions have been rewritten, and the first three chapters have been corrected in accordance with the revised interpretation of the inscriptions and with recent archæological discoveries.

F. E. P.

HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1800-1825. By SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xx + 509 pp. University of Calcutta, 1919.

The author divides his subject into four periods, a retrospect of the literature from 1760-1800, the beginnings of modern

literature (1800-25), a time of transition (1825-58), and the development of the new literature (1858-94). This volume deals nominally with the second period, and begins with a review of the political history of the first period in relation to social and other changes, the decadence of the older literature and the religious life, which proceeded until Bengal received a new impetus, chiefly from English missionaries and civilians. The nineteenth century opened with the foundation of the College at Fort William and the activities of William Carey (who reached Bengal in 1793) and the other Śrīrampur missionaries, of certain civilians, and of the pandits of the College. Their cultivation of the vernacular, their translations into it and original compositions in it, and their journalistic ventures, are described fully and with interest, as marking the formative period and as constituting the elements out of which Bengalis themselves developed in time a fine diction and literature, elevated from the colloquial by Sanskrit ideals and words yet freed from pedantic subservience thereto.

Mr. De then turns back and reviews the literature of the period 1760-1800, the songs of the kabiwalas and other versified compositions; and he shows that, almost independently of the political vicissitudes, the old body of indigenous literature really became effete then, and needed fresh impulses to start it into new and vigorous expression. Altogether he devotes nearly as much space to that period as to the twenty-five years following; so that the volume is really a treatise on both periods. The style is rather diffuse, especially in the appraisements of the kabiwalas, and at times strange grammatical discords occur, generally between nouns and their verbs. Otherwise the book is well written, the language well-chosen and appropriately descriptive, and the criticisms are generally judicious; and throughout copious quotations are made from the literature reviewed. Unfortunately there is no index.

IBN 'ASĀKIR TĀRĪKH DIMASHQ. 8vo. Vol. I, 7 and 479 pp.; Vol. II, 464 and 11 pp.; Vol. III, 463 and 7 pp.; Vol. IV, 464 and 14 pages; Vol. V, 464 and 11 pp. Cairo: Raudat ash-Shām Press, A.H. 1329-32.

This important publication, which has apparently come to a stop, as several years have now elapsed since the last volume was published, deserves the special attention of Arabic scholars, as the author has drawn for the early history of Islām from sources which have not been utilized by the historians accessible to us.

The author, Abul Qāsim Alī b. al-Hasan b. Hibat Allāh Ibn Asākir, was born at the end of Muharram 499, in Damascus. He was early instructed in Muhammadan traditions, and travelled after attaining the age of 21 years to the 'Irāq and Persia in pursuit of his studies; later he returned to Damascus, where he died on the 21st of Rajab A.H. 571. He composed several works, among which his *History of Damascus*, in eighty volumes, is the most important. The author was inspired in undertaking this work by the *History of Baghdad* by the Khaṭīb Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Baghādādī. However, though for both works the main aim was to record the biographies of traditionists, Ibn 'Asākir, from our point of view, has brought together more valuable material as he gives far more space to the biographies of rulers, poets, etc., than the Khaṭīb, who loves to cite traditions through a long chain of persons who transmitted the same.

The disposition of the work is the following: After an introduction, upon which I shall speak later, the author gives in alphabetical order the biographies of men of note who either were born or lived in Damascus, but also persons are included who perhaps are only reported to have visited Damascus; and it is strange to find among the latter such names as the patriarch Abraham,¹ Adam,² Elias,³ Job,⁴ David,⁵ among biblical persons. He gives, however, great prominence to

¹ Vol. ii, 133-58.

² Vol. ii, 338-61.

³ Vol. iii, 95-100.

⁴ Vol. iii, 190-200.

⁵ Vol. v, 187-95.

celebrated¹ and little known poets who visited Damascus. I only wish to draw attention to long biographies of Amru'ul Qais¹ and Ḥassān b. Thābit.² From the historian's point of view there are numerous biographies of princes of the royal house of 'Umayya, and there is a long biography of the celebrated al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.³ There is also a long account of Umayya b. Abiṣ-Ṣalt.⁴

The introduction referred to above begins with philological explanations about the names of Syria and Damascus, legendary accounts of the building of the city which have no historical value; then follow chapters which have no real value, but are a collection of traditions which are recorded as sayings of the Prophet concerning the merits of Damascus and Syria. Suddenly the author forgets his subject, and turns his attention to the biography of the Prophet⁵ and his campaigns, then follow accounts of the conquest of Damascus, with the details of the varying narratives. The author then describes the glories of the chief mosque at Damascus, and a catalogue of the mosques, which unfortunately is only a mere enumeration, omitting all topographical and historical details. The introduction ends with an account of the ascension of the Prophet, which in the editions ends rather abruptly, when immediately the biographies begin with Alḥmad b. 'Utba.⁶ Here is certainly a considerable lacuna in the edition which apparently the editor has not noticed.

Ibn 'Asākir, according to the custom of his times, gives with frequent repetitions the accounts of his various authorities, in each instance with long chains of the names of persons who have recorded the event or saying. This is the system in manuscript copies, such as a copy belonging to Mr. A. G. Ellis, which contains biographies of the letter 'Ain. The editor has intentionally omitted these chains of authorities, which, if done with judgment, would not matter; but I fear

¹ Vol. iii, 104-15.

² Vol. iv, 125-40.

³ Vol. iv, 48-84.

⁴ Vol. iii, 115-28.

⁵ Vol. i, p. 85 ff.

⁶ Vol. i, p. 391.

he has been a trifle too radical in pruning, and I believe has often combined several accounts into a more readable, connected text. He has added notes which in the first two volumes are at the foot of the pages, but in the following volumes they are incorporated in the text, being enclosed in brackets.

In a work containing matter of so varied character, it is not surprising that the editor has contented himself very often in printing the text just as he has found it in his manuscripts. The poetical pieces are frequently in such a form that they are not intelligible, but also frequently the names of persons are consistently wrongly printed, and the total absence of vocalization is naturally a great drawback. However, in spite of these drawbacks, the work is so important that it is to be hoped that the remainder of the history will soon be published, as the last biography so far published is that of Zaid b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib.

F. KRENKOW.

INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA. Part I. By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. 7 × 5, pp. 99. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 4, E I. London: Luzac, 1920.

In this short volume of 99 pages, Mr. Narendra Nath Law has made a study of the latter half of Kautiliya's Artha-shastra, with a view to illustrating what is called "inter-state relations". This term, however, must not be understood to mean the normal relations between states as understood now, but rather the abnormal relations—they were probably normal then—in which each state, if strong, wished to subdue its neighbours, and, if weak, defended its own existence by alliance, policy, and resources, financial, military, and moral.

It was postulated that each state was naturally an enemy to every state adjoining it. If we start with a state A, and imagine it surrounded with a zone or ring of states, B₁,

B_2, B_3 , etc., then every one of the B states would be naturally hostile to A , because contiguous to A . Now, if we imagine the B zone to be surrounded by an outer ring of states, C_1, C_2, C_3 , etc., each of these C states would be a natural enemy of the B state immediately contiguous. But an enemy of an enemy would be a natural friend in statecraft; therefore, A and C_1 would be natural friends, having a common enemy, B_1 . We might extend the series to D, E , and F . If we postulate six states so situated, there will be two groups of three states each, friendly within the group but hostile to the other group.

But A, B_1 , and B_2 would all be contiguous to each other: which among them would be friends and which enemies? We take A and B_1 to be normal states mutually hostile; B_2 is ambiguous; if it goes with A it would be hostile to B_1 , and if it goes with B_1 it would be hostile to A . B_2 is called *Madhyama*, which Mr. Law interprets to mean medium as regards strength and resources, that is to say, intermediate in strength between A and B_1 on the one hand, and, say, B_4 on the other, which is described as *Udāsīna* (translated super-state). I take it that the attitude of such ambiguous states would be determined by other considerations than mere position. The *Madhyama* may be strong enough to fight either of the other two singly, but not both of them conjointly. The *Udāsīna* may be strong enough to fight the two ordinary states combined, and may even be able to take on an ordinary state and a *Madhyama* combined, but may not be able to fight three of them in combination.

This leads to a consideration of the seven factors which count in estimating a state's resources and strength. They are thus catalogued by Kautiliya: (1) the virtues and merits of the ruling authority; (2) those of the ministers; (3) the resources of the territory and the people; (4) forts and defensive positions; (5) treasure; (6) character of the army; and (7) character of the allies. A consideration of these factors would determine policy, of which again six courses

are enumerated, viz.: (1) treaties of alliance or peace, and the circumstances and incidents connected with them, including stratagems for the escape of hostages and for the planting of spies; (2) the making of war; (3) halt (biding one's time?); (4) attack; (5) self-surrender to the protection of another; and (6) an alliance with one and fighting with another. Steps are indicated in detail by which a state can acquire world power, beginning with the subjugation of weak or ordinary states, and progressively absorbing states of greater power ("medium" and "super" states).

Mr. Law has done well to compile this commentary on some of the ideas of ancient Hindu polity. If they appear cynical in places and too abstract to be of much practical use in actual diplomacy or warfare, they, at least, throw light on the way in which political and external state problems presented themselves to the Hindu mind in the age of Chandragupta. There is no glimpse of a comity of nations in the "circle" (mandala) of states here sketched—no equal states in friendly rivalry or co-operation, linked together in the common pursuit of human ends. A fierce struggle for existence pervades the whole atmosphere, but perhaps this is not to be wondered at in the transition period of the early Mauryas. A striking contrast is presented by the inscriptions of Asoka. And we must not forget the spirited protest of the gentle Bāna of Kādambari fame against Kautiliya, nine hundred years later.

A. YUSUF-ALI.

SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY. By S. KRISHNASWAMI
AYYANGAR. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xix + 394. University of
Madras, 1920.

The Hampi ruins in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency are to-day standing witnesses for Vijayanagar, "the City of Victory," the capital of an empire which stretched from sea to sea over the whole of Southern India.

The country round is a tumbled mass of granite boulders through which in a narrow gorge rushes the Tungabhadra River, hurrying to its junction with the River Kistna. The small fever-stricken hamlet of Hampi gives no idea of former greatness, but scattered amongst the low, rocky hills are massive stone temples with beautiful carvings, and for miles around are remains of fortifications wall behind wall. The outer gate of the ancient city was, indeed, 9 miles, as the crow flies, from the centre of the ruins.

The Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar covered a period of about 300 years, from A.D. 1336 to 1646, and was the final stand made by the Hindu against the Mohammedan invasion from the North. The materials for a history of Vijayanagar are abundant, but no complete and detailed study of the period has yet been made. The best outline account is given by Mr. Vincent Smith in his Oxford *History of India*, and the picturesque narratives of two Portuguese chroniclers, as well as much other information, are reproduced in Mr. Robert Sewell's charming book, *A Forgotten Empire*. The Mohammedan historians living in the Deccan furnish their versions of the story, and hundreds of inscriptions have been deciphered providing much detail of interest. In addition to all this body of evidence there is much Sanskrit and Telugu literature dealing with the period, and the volume now before us contains numerous extracts from this last-named source.

Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, who has selected and edited these extracts, gives an interesting summary of the main points on which fresh light is thrown. It will be for the future historian to judge how far casual references in non-historical literature can be accepted as the basis for historical data, but there is no doubt that the documents now brought together and published for the first time will afford valuable help to students of the period. It is well that work of this nature should be encouraged, and the University of Madras recognizes this fact.

The first document is a Sanskrit poem by a wife of Kampana,

son of Bukka, who, with his brother Harihara, founded the empire in 1336. How these two brothers, who were probably kurubas or shepherds in the Telugu Deccan, came to assume command, and to consolidate a Hindu Empire over the whole of Southern India, is not explained in any of the present documents. It is established, however, by contemporary inscriptions that neither Harihara nor Bukka assumed royal rank, and the editor seems to be wrong in speaking of the *Emperor Bukka*. The extracts themselves call him Bukka Raja and Pedda (or the elder) Bukka, who was overlord of the Carnatic, but there is no authority for the title of emperor. It would have been helpful to mark each document with an approximate date. Bukka died in 1376, and the first poem by Kampana's wife was probably written in Bukka's lifetime. The second extract jumps 100 years or more, as it is dedicated to Narasingha, whose reign did not begin till 1486. It deals, however, with Kampana's campaign in the South, the object being to extol Narasingha's ancestor, Saluva Mangu, who was one of Kampana's generals.

The middle years of the fifteenth century, which mark the decay of the first dynasty, have always been obscure, and extract No. 27 is of special interest. It is a Sanskrit poem telling of the haunted palace at Vijayanagar. The ruling Raya was Vimpaksha (1465), but had gained his throne by murdering all other claimants, and his palace became the home of ghosts, who worried the Raya by day and by night. Two holy men entered the building and read the Ramayana to the ghosts, who were so much impressed that they narrated the story of their death. The poem indicates that Vimpaksha was a usurper, and partly explains the support given a few years later to the successful general Narasingha Saluva, who broke the early line of kings and founded the second dynasty.

It is not possible in a brief review to examine the documents in detail. They show that the rulers of Vijayanagar were great patrons of literature and art. Mr. Vincent Smith says : "The kings of Vijayanagar from the beginning of their rule

were distinguished as builders of strong fortresses, immense works for irrigation and water supply, gorgeous palaces, and temples decorated with all the resources of art, both sculpture and painting." The efforts of Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar and other scholars are worthy of every support, for the empire which produced such works should certainly not be allowed to merit the epithet "forgotten".

R. C. CULLING CARR.

THE RITCHIES IN INDIA. By GERALD RITCHIE. 9 x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$, xvi + 398 pp., 26 plates, and map. London: John Murray, 1920. 21s.

This is a pleasant book, and one that will be specially interesting to old Anglo-Indians. It is the record of a half-Scottish, half-English family, which has been prominent in Bengal for three generations. Like the Stephensens, the Ritchies were Aberdonians, and like them, too, their strong point was energy.

The Sylhet part of the book is rather thin. This is partly owing to Mr. Gerald Ritchie's weak health, which has prevented him from making researches, and partly, perhaps, to a natural desire to write gently of a Nabob who was the Indian founder of the clan, and also the grandfather of the famous novelist. William Makepeace Thackeray, the grandfather had plenty of vigour, and when he retired to England he became a zealous churchwarden and a benefactor to his friends and relatives. But during his Indian career he seems to have been unscrupulous and to have followed the Latin maxim, which, according to Trollope, must have been coined by some man who wished to give his friends an honest tip, of "Rem, si possis, recte, sed quocunque modo, rem."

The real honour of the family was his grandson, William Ritchie, who died in early middle age as Advocate-General of Bengal. His father was John Ritchie of Baltimore, and his mother was Charlotte Thackeray. The correspondence between the mother and son, and between the son and his

wife, is of a charming character. The mother's letter to her son of May 3, 1828, p. 15, is especially quaint and beautiful.

William Ritchie, the father of Gerald, did a fine thing in going out to India on the failure of his father's fortunes. Colonel Yule (is this Sir Henry Yule?) beautifully says of him in his epitaph that his rare success bred no envy, and we can well believe it of such a man as he must have been.

There were other connexions of Thackeray the novelist, besides those mentioned in this book, who were resident in Sylhet and its neighbourhood. Among them was Gethin Shawe, who was judge of Sylhet. Some people used to say that he was the original of Josh Sedley, but he was a better man. He was not a great judge, and he was sarcastic about new-fangled laws, but he was kind-hearted. And now, in my old age, I feel compunctions because in my ignorant and hot-headed youth I was rather a thorn in his side. I well remember how he startled me one morning by saying that "the newspapers are full to-day of my poor brother-in-law". I did not at first recollect that he was Thackeray's brother-in-law. There was also a General Thackeray, who was a V.C., and who, I hope, is still alive.

H. BEVERIDGE.

P.S.—I have since learnt from a notice in the *Times* of the 19th inst. that Gerald died about the middle of this month.

27th May, 1921.

MAQRIZI. EL MAW'Â'IZ WA EL I'TIBÂR FÎ DHIKR EL KHITÂT WA EL ÂTHÂR. Arabic text edited by M. GASTON WIET. 14 x 11, Vol. I, Part II, 196 pp.; Vol. II, Part I, ix + 228 pp. Cairo, 1911, 1913. In *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*. Tomes XXX, XXXIII.

The first fascicule of Monsieur Wiet's splendid edition of Maqrizî's Khitât appeared in 1911, and was reviewed in this *Journal* for 1912. During the last six years publication has naturally been interrupted. Those who study the history

of Egypt will be glad to know that the editor is now proceeding with his work again. The parts actually issued cover about one-eighth of the whole of the text. The two latest instalments published are named above. They would have been noticed here long ago but for the war.

The history and geography of Egypt, which are contained in *El Khitāt*, are in general a compilation of passages from earlier Arab authors, cited by Maqrîzî verbatim, with the addition of but little original matter of his own. Maqrîzî does not display much power of systematic arrangement or much sense of proportion in this book. One of his greatest merits is the completeness with which he despoils the works of his predecessors. Some of these books are still in existence, so that one is able to see how thoroughly he draws from them the substance material to his purpose, and hence there is reason to believe that he has treated in the same way the numerous other authors he quotes, whose works are now lost. As a rule, Maqrîzî is careful to name his sources.

The existing printed edition of *El Khitāt*, which was published at Bûlâq nearly seventy years ago, teems with errors, and critical notes are almost entirely wanting. There is no index, and the urgency of the want in a book of about a thousand large pages, studded with proper names, is obvious.

Monsieur Wiet's edition is based upon some thirty MSS. ; it is fully annotated and fully indexed. Besides the readings of the various MSS. and references to the originals in the case of quotations from books still in existence, the notes give parallel passages not infrequently. They show also where any parts of the text have been translated or commented upon by European scholars, and they contain many explanations and much information likely to be of use to the reader. Occasionally Monsieur Wiet expands a note so that it forms almost a monograph on some subject raised by the text, as in the case of the note relating to the price of wheat at various dates, and that concerning the dimensions of the pyramids according to the statements of different writers.

Besides the usual historical and geographical indices, there are five others; among them a chronological index showing every year which is mentioned, an index of functionaries and offices, and an index of the numerous words and expressions which are explained in the text itself or in the notes.

The book is being printed with great care, and turned out in the magnificent style as regards type and paper in which all the publications of the Mission appear. A text of such importance, edited with such thoroughness and such lavish pains, is sure to become a standard classic.

The sections under notice treat mainly of geography, antiquities, and taxation and administration. Under the first heading one finds something about the inhabitants of Egypt, the climate and various other points, but the principal topic is the Nile. The geography includes a great deal of myth and literary stuffing, and but little precise geographical fact, even about points that must have been within Maqrîzi's personal knowledge. One chapter consists of lists of provinces and districts showing how Egypt was divided up at various dates.

Antiquities are centred chiefly round an account of the pyramids. The Mohammedans could find no genuine reminiscences of Egypt of the Pharaohs among the people, so they evolved a more or less systematic mythical history. Specimens of this fabrication are given, with conjectures as to how and why the pyramids were built, and so forth. There is also a considerable amount of information as to the monuments of Egypt during the Mohammedan period. The existence of some that have disappeared is recorded, and one learns how monuments were discovered and explored, and how some became defaced and damaged.

A long chapter deals with the military organization of Egypt from the Arab conquest to the fifteenth century, with particular reference to the nationality of the troops at different epochs, and gives some information as to numbers. The beginning of this chapter relates to the first armies of Islam

as a whole. Much of it will be found in Ṭabarī, but it would seem that Maqrīzī probably drew the parallel passages from some other source.

No authority is given for an important statement as to the exact periods at which parchment replaced papyrus and paper replaced parchment in the *diwān*, but it looks as if it could be accepted as accurate.

Many details of the taxation are given. When the Arabs took possession of Egypt they allowed the administration to continue with little alteration for a long time, and the taxation remained as before. In general, the central government fixed the charges to be borne by localities, and left the contributions to be paid by individuals to make up the quota to be settled locally. In the eighth century there was some change. The Government seems to have asserted its right to all land and farmed it out to the highest bidders, under leases granted for terms of four years. Besides taxes on land there were a number of other taxes, not considered lawful by Muslims and so suppressed now and then by pious sovereigns, but constantly revived. The Government also raised money in other ways, such as by monopolies, licences, and trading. There was another change in the twelfth century. The country was parcelled out into fiefs, a part of which were reserved for the Government, the remainder being divided between the amirs and the troops.

The land tax raised depended to some extent on the irrigation for the particular year. The tax on any piece of land depended on the particular crop grown. There were land settlements from time to time and annual surveys, at least at some periods. The revenue of Egypt varied a good deal at different epochs.

Much of our knowledge with regard to the taxation and finance of Egypt in the earlier centuries of Muslim rule reposes on what has been collected here by Maqrīzī. Now and then doubt may be entertained as to his accuracy, for instance, when he attributes the origin of taxes other than land tax

entirely to Ibn el Mudabbir; but in certain points he is fully corroborated by the papyri. Maqrîzî expresses decided views as to the economic progress of Egypt under the Muslims. He pictures a more or less continuous decline in prosperity, and the reason he gives is that those in authority were never ready to spend sufficient on irrigation. He also indicates that the feoffs had reduced the peasantry to a degree of slavery unknown before. Doubtless the Mohammedan era in Egypt has been in general a period of decay. There are still a good many matters connected with the taxes that have not yet been explained, and require explanation before the conditions can be clearly understood and the course of events followed.

A. R. G.

MATERIAUX POUR SERVIR À LA GÉOGRAPHIE DE L'ÉGYPTE.

Par JEAN MASPERO et GASTON WIET. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Tome XXXVI. 14 × 11, v + 282 pp. Cairo, 1919.

Under a modest title, this book supplies a long-felt want, for it affords a comprehensive guide to the geography of Egypt in the middle ages. Hitherto the subject has been difficult to follow, although it has been much discussed by European writers, who have studied it both for the sake of Mohammedan history and because it is a stepping-stone to the earlier geography. Arab geographies and histories and other books in Arabic contain a great deal of material relating to the geographical conditions of Egypt during Mohammedan times, but much of it consists of repetition and of detail limited to a narrow range of topics, and it is defective in many respects. The original authorities are generally wanting in precision, and are not free from mistakes. Their texts, moreover, have been distorted by copyists. They require careful comparison with one another before much use can be made of them, and they are contained in a considerable number of books. The modern researches into the sources are likewise

dispersed widely. Except for points more or less immediately obvious, the inquirer has been under the necessity of searching through a large and increasing mass of literature himself.

The present book is a geographical dictionary. In this form it groups together the information given by Maqrîzî (in his *Khitat*) as to the towns of Egypt. For each town there is given a summary of Maqrîzî's statements with regard to it, the identification, where possible, of the Arabic name with that in use before Islam, a selection of statements from other Arab authors, who are cited in chronological order, and the modern name equivalent. Other geographical features are treated similarly. Each article takes the form of an independent re-examination of its subject, the results of any previous inquiries by others being duly noticed and utilized.

Maqrîzî names nearly all the places of any consequence in the Mohammedan period up to his day, and what has been taken from other authors appears to represent in general all the additions of importance to what Maqrîzî tells us which are to be derived from them. The method adopted, therefore, produces a review of nearly all the main points of mediaeval Egyptian geography, summarizing or at least indicating the original evidence, and showing what has been deduced from it up to now. Full references to the works cited are given, so the book is well adapted to serve as a basis for any further inquiries, and being furnished with excellent indices in French, Greek, and Coptic, as well as in Arabic, its contents are easily accessible to those who do not know Arabic.

The amount of research required for the task is evident on looking at a page or two. Great care seems to have been exercised, and misprints and minor errors, so difficult to avoid, are very few, if not entirely absent. A number of new identifications are made, and a good many mistakes that have been made by others are corrected.

But few of the mediaeval towns of Egypt now remain unlocated. Among the number one must put 'Aidâb, for the identification with Berenice offers great difficulties,

notwithstanding the evidence produced in favour of it. Another is Naqyûs (Niciu), though the approximate position is known in this case. The town, by the by, is mentioned in Khiṭaṭ at least once (ii, 337), but it does not seem to be alluded to in this book, and one could wish it had been included for the sake of completeness.

The position of nearly all the kûrahs or districts into which Egypt was divided in the earlier part of the Mohammedan time is definitely fixed. The division into kûrahs varied to some extent from time to time, and full comparative lists are given, as also lists of the provinces which superseded the kûrahs and differed, too, in some degree at different periods. Aphroditô, although it was a kûrah within the Mohammedan epoch, would seem not to be mentioned as such by any of the Arab writers, and is only alluded to once in the volume, incidentally. While the division into provinces is known to have been in force in the eleventh century, the date at which the kûrahs were given up does not seem to be established within a century or more. The change to provinces may be believed to have meant a fundamental change in the administration to the detriment of local autonomy. An exact determination of its date is desirable for this reason. Another point that remains for further research is the irrigation. All that seems to be possible in the way of tracing the Nile and the canals at various epochs with the material accessible appears to have been done, and further information must depend on discovering new sources.

Among the historical notes to which allusion has been made there may be mentioned one on Alexandria, treating chiefly of its administration, including a list of some of its governors. Under El Qâhireh the recorded names of the governors of Cairo are collected; another note brings together details given by various authors of the revenues of Egypt.

M. Jean Maspero, one of the authors, having joined the forces early in the war, was killed in action towards the beginning of 1915. The tribute of his colleague to his memory

in the preface shows how great was the loss. Incidentally, there is an allusion to a most remarkable discovery made by M. Jean Maspero shortly before the war broke out. In some fragments of papyri he came across a letter from Mu'āwiyah to 'Alī. It is to be hoped that this document will be published.

A. R. G.

ISLAMISCHE SCHRIFTBÄNDER AMIDA-DIARBEKR.—XI. JAHRHUNDERT. ANHANG : KAIRUAN, MAYYĀRFĀRIQIN, TIRMIDH. By S. FLEURY. 4to., pp. 52, with 20 plates and 16 figures. Probenius, Basel, and Geuthner: Paris, 1920.

As the author remarks in his opening paragraph, it is a cause for astonishment that the splendid decoration provided by bands of inscription in elaborate Kufic has not been previously studied by writers on Muhammadan art. Mr. Flury has been the first to specialize in this field, commencing his studies with the early Fatimide period in Egypt, the results of which appeared in a valuable monograph, *Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee*. In the present memoir he has made a detailed study of the eleventh century inscriptions of Amida (Diyarbekr), as it is there that may be found, united in one place, the conditions necessary for a truly scientific study of an evolving series of inscriptions, viz. exact dating, superior artistic quality of execution, and uniformity of material. He studies a series of inscriptions dated 426 (1034-5), 437 (1045-6), 444 (1052-3) 460 (1067-8), 482 (1089-90), 485 (1092-3), 550 (1055-6), and 559 (1163-4), analysing them, and in nearly all cases reconstructing alphabets from them. The first inscription exhibits the "flowering Kufic" already well developed, the vertical shafts of the letters ending, in nearly every case, in a two-lobed leaf, instead of being merely split as in the inscription on the Nilometer at Cairo (199 H. = 814-5). In the inscription of 437 (1045-6), a whole series of new elements appear, and the rising tails

of the *rá*, *nûn*, and *wâw* end in elaborately decorated three-quarter circles. It was under the Seljûq Turks, however, that the writing attained at Amida its most characteristic development, and the inscriptions of Malik Shâh in the Great Mosque exhibit everywhere the increasing tendency to the interlacing and plaiting of the shafts. The artist has also created a new principle whereby single letters lose their individuality and groups of letters are treated as a single decorative feature. Thus we pass from the "rythmic" to the "picturesque" style, a transition which may be observed, as the author points out, in the Naskh inscriptions of Egypt.

As governing principle he shows that the calligraphic decorator aimed at covering in a fairly uniform manner the band to be decorated. Ancient monumental Kufic, such as that of the Nilometer at Cairo, in no way satisfied this canon, as the base line divides the background into two unequal zones, of which the lower, occupying about one-third of the whole, was nearly bare. The displacement of the writing towards the bottom edge of the band, which took place later, did not solve the problem, because the vertical shafts of the letters had many wide gaps between them. Hence the combination of these shafts with purely ornamental elements to create a uniform sprinkling of the background. This problem occupied the artists throughout the eleventh century.

As for the place of origin of the decorated Kufic, the author establishes two most important points, (1) that the inscription of Amida dated 426 (1034-5) exhibits a degree of evolution only found in Cairo a hundred years later, and (2) that a recently published inscription on a tower at Radkan, in north-east Persia, dated 407 (1016-17) is in an elaborate style only found at Amida 150 years later. Thus the stream of influence appears to have flowed westward from Persia.

Mr. Flury's studies are of great importance, not only for the history of Moslem ornament at a period when calligraphy played so important a part, but also on account of the new criteria which they provide for the dating of monuments

bearing inscriptions which are merely Quranic. He is to be congratulated on the results of his researches in a field which is entirely his own, and students of Moslem art will impatiently await the further memoirs promised by him.

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

A HISTORY OF PERSIA. By Sir PERCY SYKES. Second Edition. 2 Vols. 9 × 6, xxvii + 563 pp.; xix + 594 pp., 201 plates, 7 maps. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921.

The first edition of this History appeared in 1915, and was reviewed at some length by Mr. Longworth Dames in the October number of the *Journal* for that year. Sir Percy Sykes has now published a second edition of his work, revising it in many particulars and adding eight chapters which bring it up to date.

This *Journal* is not the place for the discussion of political questions; but it must be observed that the fresh period which has been added to the subject matter of the History is one of special importance—the period of the Great War, which has changed the face not only of Persia, but of the world. And it is safe to say that no man living was so well fitted for telling the story as Sir Percy Sykes. In reviewing the first edition, Mr. Longworth Dames drew attention to the writer's "unrivalled experience of the country of Persia, and of its people, their customs, their art, and their archæology". This unique qualification for the work stands out with double clearness when the historian comes to deal with events "*quorum pars magna fuit*". Possibly it tends here and there to detract slightly from the historical manner of the book, but it ensures the accuracy of the statements made regarding a very intricate series of military and political operations, and renders them comprehensible. If told by a writer whose knowledge had been gathered entirely in his library, the story would be very hard to follow,

for the writer would himself understand but imperfectly the characters, and lines of thought and action, of the various races which go to make up the population of Iran. As told by Sir Percy Sykes, with his very different type of knowledge, the story becomes a lucid and consistent whole. I have not space to comment in detail upon the various points of interest which are treated in this second edition, but they are many; and the reader, as he passes from one to another, cannot fail to be impressed by a feeling, which is evidently the writer's feeling, of admiration for the high level of courage and practical capacity shown in difficult circumstances by unknown men and women of British race. Whether in the great adventure of the "Dunsterville mission" to Baku, or in the operations of the force which restored order and peace to the vast tracts of Southern Persia, or in other positions of trial, those qualities seem to emerge as a matter of course; and it is cheering at times, when we are passing through episodes of apparent failure in war, or in the organizations of peace, or in the contests of sport, to think how true to type the average Englishman shows himself to be, all over the world, when he finds himself faced with novel dangers and responsibilities.

The last chapter of Sir Percy Sykes's book, "Persia after the Great War," is perhaps the most interesting chapter of all. As one lays it down one can only feel with the writer a hope, not a certainty but a hope, that in time to come Persia will once more play a part in the world worthy of her splendid past. Nowhere could her people find more encouragement to do so than in the pages of this History.

H. M. DURAND.

ENGLISH-CHINESE DICTIONARY OF THE STANDARD CHINESE
SPOKEN LANGUAGE AND HANDBOOK FOR TRANSLATORS.

By K. HEMELING, Ph.D. 10 x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, vi + 1726.

Shanghai, 1916. London: P. S. King.

On first opening this rather massive octavo volume of 1,700 odd pages, one gathers the impression that it must be

intended for a dictionary of technical terms, so large is the proportion that these bear to the total number of entries. The preface, however, informs us that it is "fundamentally" a dictionary of the Mandarin colloquial, though it also contains new words and terms used in almost every branch of science and literature. So ambitious a scheme has made it necessary to attempt at least some rudimentary classification, such as we find in Genähr's *Cantonese Dictionary*, in order to guide the bewildered student through the mazes of Chinese terminology. Accordingly, the following categories are specially marked and distinguished: (1) vulgar or slang terms; (2) literary terms; (3) modern terms; and (4) the standard scientific terms selected for the use of Chinese universities and schools by Dr. Yen Fu. The last-named class alone comprises some 30,000 terms, all of which have apparently been dumped into these pages without any further process of selection.

It is hardly fair to complain because we are given more than we have reason to expect, but one cannot help questioning Mr. Hemeling's judgment in allowing so large a number of extremely uncommon words to take up so much valuable space. Who, for instance, can conceivably want a more or less factitious Chinese equivalent for such words as chondropterygious, corm, skirret, Bess o' Bedlam, Peyer's Patches, nandin, dolomedes, papico, götterbaum, and rawund? The last five do not appear in Murray's *Oxford English Dictionary*! Nor does Bajadere, the German form of bayadère; "dancer" or "dancing-girl", on the other hand, might well have been included here. The same, perhaps, may be said of the verb "to chamfer"; and "chalice" appears only in the misspelt form "challis", which is really a dress fabric. The omission of the word "expletive" is indefensible, considering how rich the Chinese language is in particles which come under that designation. How it should be translated is another question: *chu yü tz'ü* (help-speech-word) is a possible rendering; and *hsü tzü* (emphy character)

is sometimes used in this restricted sense, though it is more usually applied to abstract terms in general.

It is obvious that many out-of-the-way terms, such as those we have quoted, can only be rendered in a kind of bastard Chinese, as uncouth or as unintelligible as dog-Latin. Take "panpneumatism"—a term, according to Murray, "used by von Hartmann (only) to designate a higher synthesis of Panlogism . . . and Panthelism . . . according to which the absolute is both will and thought"—what can a Chinese make of this abstruse conception when boiled down into *fan-ling-lun* (float-spirit-theory)? Often the task of inventing such circumlocutions has proved too arduous, and mere transliteration has been resorted to; thus, "mendipite" is simply, though with dubious utility, transformed into *mén-ti-p'ei-té*. On the whole, however, Mr. Hemeling is to be commended for the evident pains he has taken to obtain idiomatic Chinese equivalents for English phrases, especially sayings and proverbs. For instance, "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear" is well rendered by "A dog's mouth will not vomit ivory," and, "higgledy-piggledy" by *ch'i tien pa tao* (a curious parallel, by the by, to our phrase, "At sixes and sevens"). Sometimes he is less happy: in the familiar tag, "Man is not good for a thousand days, nor are flowers red for a hundred," it is hard to recognize the proverb, "Every dog has his day." Again, "That cock won't fight" is a figurative way of saying that a plea or an argument will not hold; it may be doubted whether this meaning is idiomatically expressed in Chinese by "This tiger doesn't bite people". Under Pope we find "Virginian Pope", but not "Taoist Pope", the term now consecrated by long usage for *T'ien Shih*, the Celestial teacher. The Chinese word *hsien* ought surely to appear under "immortal", and *fang-shih* (*lit.* master of recipes) under "adept", or "necromancer", or "medicine-man".

Perhaps the least satisfactory feature of the work, for which the excuses offered are decidedly unconvincing, is the omission

of all tone-marks. It is true that tones do vary considerably in different dialects, and are sometimes even affected by the position of a word in a sentence ; but all the same, half a loaf is a great deal better than no bread, and to refer the student to " his teacher or some authoritative work " is simply shifting the difficulty to other shoulders. A teacher may not always be handy ; and the student who finds that the use of Mr. Hemeling's dictionary necessarily involves the possession of another, will be tempted to economize by purchasing only the latter.

The author warns us to be on our guard against printing errors ; but the proofs have evidently been read with great care, and a fairly prolonged search has failed to reveal a single wrong character. The type employed is excellent, and the general arrangement of the page could hardly be bettered.

L. GILES.

INTRODUCTION TO PRAKRIT. By ALFRED C. WOOLNER, M.A.

9½ × 6, 219 pp. Published by the University of the Panjab, Lahore. 1917.

One of the untoward results of the war was that Orientalists in England had few opportunities of knowing what was being done by their brethren in India, and that books printed in that country between 1914 and 1918 became little known here, and, even when known, were not easy to procure. The present volume is a case in point.

Beginners of the study of Prakrit in this country have hitherto had to depend chiefly on Professor Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, an excellent work, but possessing the double disadvantage of describing only one dialect—Mahārāṣṭrī—and being written in a foreign language. Pischel's great work is, of course, suited only for advanced students. Mr. Woolner has now provided an introduction to all the dialects of Prakrit which is written in English. He takes as

his base standard Śaurasēnī-Mahārāṣṭrī, the two dialects being throughout put side by side and treated together. In a separate chapter he deals with the special peculiarities of the other dialects, Pāli, Māgadhi, Apabhraṃśa, and so on.

The book is in two parts. The first (pp. 1-80) contains a brief but clear and complete introduction to the subject as a whole, an account of the three stages of Prakrit—Pāli, Middle Prakrit, and Late Apabhraṃśa—and a description of the chief literary forms and their general characteristics. Then follow chapters on phonetics, accidence, the dialects, and Prakrit literature. The whole is lucidly written and carefully printed. It is exceptionally free from misprints, and the one or two that I have detected are merely types misplaced in the printing in such a manner that the necessary correction is at once suggested. The book is thus not only a convenient, but also a safe guide, a statement that, unfortunately, cannot be said of many learned books published in India.

The second part (pp. 81-194) consists of specimens of Prakrit, and forms an admirable reading book. Mr. Woolner rightly starts the student on Śaurasēnī—the dramatic Prakrit which is nearest to Sanskrit, and which is the grandparent of modern Hindī—and of this he gives about twenty pages of extracts from the plays. The student is then led on to Mahārāṣṭrī (twenty pages), Jain Mahārāṣṭrī (about the same amount), and so to Ardha-Māgadhi, Māgadhi, and other dialects, concluding with ten pages devoted to Pāli and the older inscriptional Prakrits. All these specimens are supplied with abundant notes and with translations, and in addition there is a very full Index-Vocabulary. The work is completed by the addition of a Students' Bibliography, which should be found most useful by beginners.

We must congratulate Mr. Woolner on having thus successfully removed a reproach that has long hung heavily over English Orientalists. Many of us will wish that such a book had been available in our own student days, and even to older stagers it will be found a most convenient work of reference.

I can thus warmly commend it to the notice of every student of Indian languages.

G. A. GRIERSON.


CAMBERLEY.


13th May, 1921.

LA LANGUE ÉTRUSQUE DIALECTE DE L'ANCIEN ÉGYPTIEN.





By HILAIRE DE BARENTON. 11 × 7½, 62 pp. Paris : Geuthner, 1920.


It is a matter of some difficulty to treat this work seriously. The author's knowledge of the principles of comparative philology in general, and of the grammar and syntax of the Egyptian language in particular, hardly appears adequate for the task he has undertaken, and he allows himself to be betrayed into writing such nonsense as—

“ARIMI was, it is said, the name of the monkey among the Egyptians (Strabo, xiii, 46).’ The name of the monkey, in the Hieroglyphic-Coptic language, signified “the imitator”. It was pronounced  *ánlou, áin, áini* in Egyptian; **en* in Coptic. Now *án* (*cini* in Coptic) meant “to imitate, write”. The monkey, then, was “the imitator”.

But in Hieroglyphic, , *arimá, arimi* means exactly “to imitate”, *ár* (*ari* in Coptic) “to act”; *má* (*maï, mi*) “the like”, that is to say, “to imitate.” This word, then, well describes the monkey.

We have not found this word *arimi*, with the sense of monkey, in the Hieroglyphic-Coptic texts. It is none the less a word of the language and an exact synonym of *ániou*, which signifies monkey.”

On this we may remark (1) that the Egyptian for a monkey is ,  or , ³*c*_n, ⁱ*c*_n or ^c*c*_n, and that M. de Barenton's form is a rather rare form of the plural; (2) that the verb  ^c*n* is not “to

imitate" (for which word Dr. Budge's new dictionary contains no Egyptian equivalent), nor "to write" (which is  ss, formerly, it is true, read 'n), but "to paint"; (3) that there is no likelihood of a philological connexion between this verb and the word for "monkey"; (4) that it is as impossible in Egyptian as it is in any other language to form nouns out of such undigested phrases as "to act like".

An attempt to trace the origin of a language which is based on philological ineptitudes such as these cannot be adjudged successful.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

RIG-VEDIC INDIA. By ABINAS CHANDRA DAS, M.A., B.L., etc. Vol. I, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxii, 592. Calcutta University, 1921.

This is an interesting work by one who is well versed in Vedic lore. It consists of an inquiry into the early history of India as reflected or "depicted" in the Rig-Veda, when examined in the light of modern geological, archæological, and ethnological investigations and results. His contention that it would be absurd to treat the Rig-Veda and the other Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads, and the Sutras, as all belonging to one and the same period, seems to me quite reasonable. Historical strata, layers, or successions there must be, whether these are traceable, or have been discovered, or not. There are, in this connexion, aspects relative to the character and composition of the Vedas, of which Mr. Das does not appear to me to have taken proper account. He has collected much interesting material, of a geological kind, in support of the climatic and distributional changes in ancient India, but the difficulty is far greater, than he appears to realize, to connect or identify the Rig-Veda hymns or compositions with the geological changes or successions in a convincing manner. He never hesitates to charge Western

scholars with preconceived ideas, but one is compelled to doubt whether he does not rival them in this respect when determining the "antiquity" of the Rig-Veda in as "hoary" a manner as possible. Still, he has provided much interesting material for discussion. He fears that "Vedic scholars will accuse" him of "romancing wildly" on the age of "some of the oldest hymns of the Rig-Veda" (p. 567), and I very much fear they will, for the evidence furnished is of too conjectural and problematic a character. This is not meant to detract from the ability and plausibility with which Mr. Das presents his case, but is meant to emphasize the fact that, to a mind with any real geological training, the geological issues are themselves too hypothetical to serve for confident and dogmatic conclusions as to the age of the Vedic compositions. On p. 553 we find Mr. Das himself confessing, after much discussion, that "the original cradle of the Aryans must remain undetermined". And so we are back to the bootless quest for origins, which is not to say that the discussions are without use and interest.

The book consists of twenty-six chapters, the earliest of which are concerned with the antiquity of the Rig-Veda and of the Aryans; the intermediate chapters with Aryan influence on other ancient civilizations; the eight chapters which follow are controversial, and centre on the late Mr. Tilak's theory of the Arctic cradle of the Aryans. These are succeeded by the concluding chapter, a bibliography, and an excellent index. I have spoken of the aim and method of the earliest chapters, and now remark that the intermediate chapters are in themselves interesting, whether one can accept the extravagances in theory of Mr. Das or not. He makes the Vedic civilization or Indo-Aryan influence practically the mother of all the ancient civilizations, whether Phœnician, or Assyrian, or Babylonian, or Egyptian. "The real fact was," he says, "that when the whole world was steeped in utter darkness, the Rig-Vedic Aryans on the banks of the sacred Sarasvati and the Sindhu, and in the beautiful valley

of Kashmir, lighted up the holy fire of civilization and spiritual culture and kept it burning and glowing for hundreds of thousands of years for the benefit of humanity" (p. 284). Mr. Das never misses an opportunity for a tilt at Western scholars and European savants, with their "blind prejudice", "circumscribed vision", and lack of "calm and dispassionate mind", and so forth; but an impartial reader could, if so minded, with not less justice, hurl these charges back on Mr. Das himself. He overlooks the obvious but important consideration that Western scholars and European savants are in more neutral and favourable position for forming a judgment, as between the ancient Indian and other ancient civilizations, than native scholars like himself, identified with one of the civilizations in question. An excellent example of this drawback in our author is afforded in the very summary and dogmatic, and rather illogical, fashion in which he pronounces the indebtedness of Egypt to India, without any discussion of the testimonies or evidences *per contra*, which, without offering any opinion on the subject, I am entitled to say he ought to have known and disposed of. This kind of omission makes much of his work less convincing than it would otherwise be, as a more self-critical author would have seen.

The work in whole, however, affords ample proof of the author's learning and industry as a Rig-Veda scholar.

JAMES LINDSAY.

KITAB LOGHAT MĒLAYU. By R. O. WINSTEDT, D.Litt., and IBRAHIM BIN DATO' MUDA LINGGI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 138. Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1921.

This is a Malay dictionary of a peculiar and rather original sort, being entirely in Malay and written primarily for Malays and others to whom that language is most familiar. Accordingly it does not aim at anything like completeness, but deliberately omits a number of very common words,

whose meaning is universally known amongst its prospective readers, and likewise local and many special technical terms as well. It has also resisted the temptation of pouring the contents of the Arabic lexicon into its pages, selecting only such as are in ordinary literary or colloquial use. The result is a very useful book of reference for those for whose convenience it was designed. The key-words are in the Arabic character and alphabetical order, but a Romanized transcription is added. The explanations are in Romanized Malay. It may be questioned whether it would not have been better to give these in the Arabic character also. But to add them would have involved doubling the size and cost of the volume, while the omission of the Romanized definitions would have left the work a sealed book to thousands who do not read the Arabic character. As the younger generation of Malays is familiar with both scripts, whereas Malay-speaking foreigners do not as a rule trouble to learn the Arabic character, the system followed is amply justified.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

BESCHRIJVING VAN DEN KOAN IEM-TEMPEL TIAO-KAK-SIE
TE CHERIBON. Door J. L. J. F. EZERMAN. Bataviaasch
Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Populair-
wetenschappelijke Serie, No. II. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 62,
24 plates.

This little work is a popular description of a small Chinese temple at Cheribon (Java), dedicated to Kuan Yin, a Chinese impersonation of Avalokiteśvara, but also containing altars in honour of other saints, heroes, and divinities. The period of its foundation is unknown; of the many inscriptions it contains the oldest dates from 1658, but since then the building has been three times restored and practically completely rebuilt. It was the creation of a resident Chinese community, long ago established at this place, and in close touch with its country of origin, to wit, the region round Amoy which has sent out so many adventurous colonists to Indonesia, where they have

faithfully preserved the traditions and customs of their homeland.

Apart from certain structural and decorative architectural features, the chief interest of the temple consists in a series of panels portraying in the most realistic Chinese fashion the gruesome tortures of the Buddhist hells. The author's account is characterized throughout by a sympathetic understanding of the Chinese spirit, both in art and religion, which makes it very agreeable reading and enables the reader to approach the subject from the right point of view. The chief inscriptions found in the temple are appended, with translations. The illustrations, both good and numerous, include for comparative purposes a few other Chinese buildings besides the actual subject of the monograph, to which, except for the inevitable absence of colour, they seem to do full justice.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SOME RECENT WORKS ON MALAY SUBJECTS

DICTIONARY OF COLLOQUIAL MALAY (MALAY-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-MALAY). By R. O. WINSTEDT. 6 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. iii, 176. Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1920.

This handy little book of 176 pages will be a useful help to the large number of persons who are concerned only with the ordinary spoken languages and have no need to learn purely literary or recondite technical terms, or words that are only understood in particular areas. I have noticed very few points open to criticism, and will only single out two of them for mention. The word *tělěntang* does not occur in the Malay-English part (though it does in the English-Malay). I have never heard *těləh* in the colloquial, and am disposed to think that it hardly satisfies the author's test of being "current coin of conversation", though it is common enough in books. But it is impossible to review a work of this kind in detail. I have been content to take samples from it, and find it admirably suited to its purpose.

MALAY LITERATURE SERIES, 16: HIKAYAT BAYAN BUDIMAN
ATAU CĤĤRITA KHOJAH MAIMUN. Edited with intro-
duction and notes by R. O. WINSTEDT. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$,
pp. 228. Singapore: Printed at the Methodist Publishing
House, 1920.

This first printed edition of one of the Malay recensions of the "Tales of a Parrot" goes back ultimately through the Persian Tuti Nameh to the Sanskrit Śukasaptati, and contains twenty-four tales within the framework of its main story. An appendix has been added, giving from other MSS. (of which several have been collated) a variant version of one tale and two additional stories, a variant introduction, and the text in the Arabic character of an old fragmentary Bodleian MS. of part of the book. The whole is preceded by a scholarly Introduction, a Comparative Table of the tales, and an outline of them in English. It is an interesting collection of folk stories in good Malay.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS (Second Series): JOHOL, INAS,
ULU MUAR, JEMPUL, GUNONG PASIR AND TERACHI—
THEIR HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION. By J. E. NATHAN
and R. O. WINSTEDT. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. i, 90. Published
for the Committee for Malay Studies, Federated Malay
States, and printed at the Baptist Mission Press,
Calcutta, 1920.

The tiny "states" mentioned in the title form part of the State (or confederation) known as Negri Sembilan, "the Nine States," situated to the north and west of the British territory of Malacca. This monograph gives an interesting account of their history, which is somewhat obscure, and of their constitution, which is based upon an exogamic system of tribes or clans descending in the female line. This peculiar feature was derived from Minangkabau immigrants coming from the uplands of Central Sumatra, who intermingled with the aborigines and imposed their matrilineal system, which has persisted with various local modifications to this day.

When this process of colonization began is not known, and the antiquity of these little states has been the subject of much discussion. The earliest mention of the Minangkabau immigrants in the Peninsula that I have met with occurs in Couto's *Da Asia* (Dec. X, pp. 357-61, of the Lisbon edition of 1788). We are there told that in 1586 the "Manacambos" (for "Manancabos") of "Nam" (for "Nani", i.e. Naning) raided the plantations and orchards along the Malacca river, from which the town derived its fruit and vegetables. A punitive expedition sent up river reached the enemy's stronghold on the 12th November, and destroyed it. The Portuguese commander, Diogo de Azambuja, hearing of further Minangkabaus at "Rombo" (Rëmbau), decided to destroy that place also, but on his way thither he was persuaded to desist, on its being represented to him that the chief there had retired and the people were peaceably disposed. It is mentioned that the Naning raiders had been "friends" of the Portuguese. In fact, as expressly stated by Godinho de Eredia in his *Declaração de Malaca* (1613), they were vassals of Portugal, inhabiting part of Malacca territory, while Rëmbau lay outside it and was under Johor.

It is pretty evident that the Minangkabaus at this time were not newcomers, and Eredia's map shows the district around Rëmbau as "Regiam de Monancabos". Of the places mentioned in the work under review it gives Rombo, Gelë, Iol, Pungor, Iompol, and Sartim, and between the last two, Panarican, where boats were dragged from the Jëmpul river to the Sërting, besides a sketch of part of the Pahang river some way further on. If Johol and Jëmpul are not of ancient foundation as states, they can, at least, claim a respectable antiquity as place-names. I have thought it worth while to mention these matters, because the authors of this monograph seem rather inclined to discount the age of these little states. It only remains to be said that their work is based on carefully collected and critically sifted evidence, and has been put together in a clear and scholarly way.

PAPERS ON MALAY SUBJECTS: A HISTORY OF THE PENINSULAR MALAYS, WITH CHAPTERS ON PERAK AND SELANGOR. By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G. Second edition, revised. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. 173. Singapore: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1920.

The first edition of this work was published in 1908, and this re-issue, besides correcting some errors of its original, represents a considerable increase in bulk, and includes a good deal of new and interesting matter. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that this has entailed the omission of the "technical matter" referred to in the Preface, for that was also interesting and valuable. Of the fresh material embodied in this edition, the most important part concerns the introduction of the "residential system" into the principal Native States of the Peninsula and the proximate causes of the Perak war. It is not my wish to revive painful controversies of nearly half a century ago, so I refrain from entering into a discussion of the ghastly blunders that were made. The position was undoubtedly a difficult one, and as the author justly says, it is easy to be wise after the event. He tells the story with tactful reserve, and in a spirit of scrupulous fairness to all parties concerned, and it is not his fault if hardly any of them come out of it very well.

Mr. Wilkinson has been the first in the field to attempt anything like a critical and complete history of the Peninsula. Of course, it is complete only in the sense that it begins *ab ovo* and continues almost down to our own times; but there are many inevitable gaps where data are entirely wanting, and the treatment is necessarily brief. Yet he manages to create an impression of reality and make the dry bones live, besides setting the whole into its true perspective. It is a work that has certainly involved much thought and research. I venture, therefore, to regret that he should have given us no reference to his sources, and not even a bibliographical list of them. This may do well enough for the general reader, but it leaves the aspiring student in the lurch, and it also tends to create a

false impression as to the extent of the author's own share in the ascertainment of the facts which he relates. Many of these facts have only recently been laid bare by fellow workers in the same field, while others have been matters of common knowledge for a long time past. It seems desirable to differentiate between the two sets of cases. There has also been a good deal of inaccuracy in the transfer of this borrowed material, and it seems worth while to give here some of the errors that I have noticed. When another edition is called for, as it certainly will be some day, they might with advantage be corrected.

The inscription referred to on p. 15 commemorates one Shaikh Ahmad (not Hasan), and its date is not 862 but A.H. 872. Ibid., a *makāra* (sic) is not a "divinity". For *Bintang* (p. 23) read *Bentan*, as elsewhere. It was not I Tsing, but the Arab geographers, who spoke of the ruler of Palembang as "Maharaja" (p. 24), and though the family of the Palembang princes is in inscriptions styled *śailendravarmanśa*, there is no record (so far as I am aware) of any vernacular equivalent such as the Malay title "Maharaja Gunong" (p. 31). For *Kadaha* (p. 26) read *Katāha*. For *Chula* (p. 27), read *Chola* (*Coḷa*). Ibid., in A.D. 992 Mahapahit did not exist, for it was not founded till after the middle of the thirteenth century, and it is unhistorical to represent it (p. 28) as claiming suzerainty over the South of the Peninsula up to 1478. Long before that time its greatness, which culminated about a hundred years before, had become a thing of the past. Even prior to 1415 Malacca had (wrongly) laid claim to the possession of Palembang, then held by Majapahit. On the other hand, the date 1478 for the final fall of Majapahit rests merely on popular tradition and is too early by about forty years. Nor is there any evidence that Majapahit ever "harried" Langkasuka (p. 32), or that the latter state is to be identified with Ligor (pp. 17, 32). In 1365 Majapahit included Langkasuka in a list of its alleged vassals, but Ligor had been reached by the Siamese in their southern campaign

of conquest some eighty years before that time, so there seems little likelihood that they can be the same place. What warrant is there for the statement that Chinese contemporary records are explicit on the point of the ruling chief of Malacca being a Hindu in A.D. 1403 (p. 33)? So far as I am aware, they say nothing about it, and the author of the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (1416) distinctly states that both he and his people were Muhammadans in 1409. As the Chinese author had then visited the place, and was himself a Muslim, he would be certain to know. According to the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, the Bĕndahara Tun Mutahir (p. 47) was a brother of the Sultan's mother, and it was the latter, not the Sultan's wife (cf. p. 38), who had recommended him for his high office. Some of the Portuguese authorities also speak of the Bĕndahara as the Sultan's uncle, and there is no reason to doubt it. The Sultan's son (pp. 49, 51, 52, 56, 57) was Ahmad not Alaedin; the latter name was wrongly given him by some of the early European writers (such as Barros and Maffei), owing to a confusion with a younger brother of his who eventually succeeded to the throne. There is no point in perpetuating such an error. The Portuguese authorities speak of Ruy d'Araujo, not d'Aranjo (p. 49 seq.). At the time of the fall of Malacca its Laksamana was neither Hang Tuah (as stated in the first edition) nor Hang Nadim (p. 52), but Khoja Hasan. There is no reason to throw doubt (p. 53) on the Malay artillery, the Portuguese writers are perfectly explicit on the point that it *was* artillery, though mostly of small size. There is evidence that Sultan Alaedin II of Johor (p. 61) lived to A.D. 1564, and was then captured and killed by the Achinese. The pedigree and genealogical statements of pp. 73-4 are irreconcilable with the data of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, from which they purport to be drawn. The word *daulat* (p. 70) should properly be *tulah* (though Malays sometimes confuse the two). The pedigree on p. 83 differs materially, both as to facts and dates, from one which was given in 1855 by the then head of the family (*Tijdschr. v. Ind., T. L. en Volkenkunde* (1855),

Deel IV, p. 412), but I am not prepared to say which (if either) is right. On p. 96, for "about the year 1635", read "some time after the year 1636", and for "Bendahara Johor", read "Old Bendahara". On p. 133, "the close of 1873" should be "November, 1874", and on p. 141, 1874 should be 1875. I presume that the date 1860 on p. 158 is a misprint for 1869.

In spite of all these errors, the work is very good, and there is certainly no general sketch of Malay history in existence that is as scholarly, as interesting, and on the whole as true, as this one.

SUPPLEMENT-CATALOGUS DER MALEISCHE EN MINANGKABAUSCHE HANDSCHRIFTEN IN DE LEIDSCH E UNIVERSITEITS-BIBLIOTHEEK. Door Dr. Ph. S. VAN RONKEL. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. xxiii, 216. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1921.

The Leiden University Library is fortunate in the possession of a large collection of Indonesian MSS., which seems to be continually growing. Since 1899, when the former catalogue of Malay MSS. was published, there have been so many accessions that the present substantial supplement (in which Minangkabau works are also included) has been found necessary. I have not noticed any startling novelties amongst the Malay items recorded in it, and I cannot claim familiarity with the Minangkabau literature. But the catalogue has been prepared with all the scholarly care one would expect from its author and the distinguished institution in which he is a professor, and its printing leaves nothing to be desired.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

"PHÉNICIENS": ESSAI DE CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE ANTIQUE DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE. Par C. AUTRAN. 12×9 , pp. 146. Paris: Geuthner, 1920. 30 f.

The Phœnicians have still an interest for French writers. In England archæologists do not trouble themselves much

about them nowadays. We have come to the conclusion that apart from their colonizing ability they were an extremely dull and uninteresting people, without art and without originality. Everything they made was copied from somebody else. The French, however, still find them worth writing about, and in the present instance we have a speculative French author who presents us with a very novel and revolutionary theory with regard to them, namely, that the Phœnicians, to whom the Greeks ascribed their art and whom they regarded as their masters in civilization (absurdly enough, according to modern ideas of the real Phœnicians), were not the Semites of the Syrian coast whom we call Phœnicians, but another race that lived in Phœnicia before them. These people, according to their sponsor, M. Autran, were not Semites at all, but "Caucasians". What nowadays is meant by writing about "Caucasians" one does not attempt to explain; the term is entirely old-fashioned, and signifies little in the light of modern knowledge of ethnology. But the theory itself is "intriguing" enough. For M. Autran these proto-Phœnicians were the Caro-Lelegians of later days, and none other but the Minoans and Mycenæans of Crete and Greece themselves, who came *ex hypothesi* from Phœnicia. It seems probable enough that when the later Greeks talked of Phœnicians as their fathers in art they really meant the Minoans, who had become confused in legend with the Phœnicians, who for a time penetrated into the Ægean during the Dark Age that accompanied the Indo-European occupation of Greece. But that Minoans ever formed a settled population in Phœnicia is not yet evident, and the proposition that there were no Semites there in Minoan times is directly contrary to the fact, as we know from the el-Amarna letters as well as Egyptian evidence. So far as we can go back, the population of Phœnicia was Semitic. Whether there was in the grey dawn of history, before Semites reached the coast, a Mediterranean native population, afterwards driven out or absorbed by the Semitic Phœnicians, is

another matter. But such hypothetical non-Semitic proto-Phoenicians were long anterior to the Minoans in date. We can then modify M. Autran's thesis in the sense that we readily allow that the Greeks in talking of Phoenicians in old days really very often meant the Minoans or the Carian inheritors of Minoan culture. But when they did so they believed they were talking of the Semitic Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon, and thereby showed themselves not very discerning in the matter; bad judges of character, in fact.

We must congratulate M. Autran on the skill and learning that he has brought to the elaboration of his thesis.

H. R. HALL.

LES ORIGINES DE MAHÉ DE MALABAR. PAR ALFRED MARTINEAU. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xvi + 319. Paris, 1917.

The port of Mahé, in Malabar, is the only French possession still remaining on the West Coast of India, and its small territory is now an enclave surrounded by the British district of Malabar. M. Martineau, who has lately brought out the first volume of a very important work on "Dupleix", gives in this volume a full account of the fortunes of this settlement from the date of its foundation in 1720 up to the outbreak of war between France and England in 1744. The main object of this post and of its English neighbour, Tellicherry, was to obtain command of the pepper-trade of Malabar, and the history of Mahé is mainly the history of the rivalry between the two competitors, generally confined to negotiations and intrigues, but occasionally bursting out into open warfare.

It is impossible here to attempt to follow the intricacies of this story, which is set out fully by M. Martineau, who relies mainly upon materials never before published. In succeeding periods Mahé changed hands more than once, but ultimately rested in French possession. In the course of time it has lost its former importance, and is now, like many of the old ports of the Malabar coast, without much activity but still interesting through its historical associations.

The name of Mahé seems to be derived from the Malayālam Mayyazhi, which the French used first in the form of Mayé, and very soon in the present form. Two hundred years before the Portuguese historian, J. de Barros, had used a very similar form Maim. Yet it has been commonly supposed, and is stated as a fact in the *Malabar Gazetteer*, that the name was taken from that of the French commander, Mahé de la Bourdonnais. M. Martineau's account gives no support to this supposition. He does not mention La Bourdonnais in connexion with the name, and as a matter of fact he was in the earlier days of the Settlement Governor of the French Isles (the Ile de France and Bourbon), and does not seem to have had any personal connexion with Mahé, beyond correspondence and assisting to fit out an expedition for its recovery in 1726, after the French had been expelled by the native powers. The form Mahé had been in use for several years before that, and the correspondence between this name and La Bourdonnais's Christian name seems to have given rise to the legend.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

1. DUPLEIX ET L'INDE FRANÇAISE, 1772-1741. Par ALFRED MARTINEAU. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, xi + 534 pp., 2 plates, 3 maps. Paris: E. Champion, 1920.
2. DUPLEIX AND CLIVE: THE BEGINNING OF EMPIRE. By HENRY DODWELL. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xix + 277. London: Methuen & Co., 1920.

Two important volumes dealing with the relations of France and England with India in the eighteenth century have appeared lately. The first of these is an instalment of a life of Dupleix, by M. Alfred Martineau, late Governor of French India, and at present Director of the Ministère des Colonies. This work is very full, and is mainly based on hitherto unedited materials. The present instalment, a well-printed and fully illustrated volume of 534 pages, is an account of Dupleix's early life, of his work at Pondicherry from 1722 to 1731, and of his administration

of French factories in Bengal from 1731 to 1742. At the latter date he was appointed to be Governor of all the French establishments in India, and from this point until his recall to France in 1756 is the period of his greatest and most important activity. Nothing regarding this period is dealt with in the present volumes, but M. Martineau proposes to give the history of the momentous events of these fourteen years in two succeeding volumes, the appearance of which will be expected with interest, for it is evident that the author, as he shows in the present volume, is well qualified for the task, and that he will treat it in a spirit of impartiality and with full regard to historical accuracy. Dupleix's earlier career at Pondicherry is not of the highest interest. No great questions were involved, the establishments, both English and French, were purely commercial, and the great rivalry of later years had not developed.

Dupleix's personal relations with his superiors seem not to have been of the happiest nature, and with one, Lenoir, he appears to have been in a state of perpetual enmity. With Dumas he was for some years on good terms, but in time his feelings with regard to him also underwent a change. Nor could he forgive La Bourdonnais for having obtained the government of the Isles (l'Île de France), to which he conceived himself to be entitled. Greater interest attaches to Dupleix's administration of the Bengal factories. It seems to have been fairly successful, amicable relations were generally maintained with the Nawab of Bengal, as well as with the English and Dutch trading establishments. The invasion of Nādir Shāh seems to have caused some apprehension, but Bengal was too far removed from the centre of the Empire to be seriously affected, and the foreign merchants remained undisturbed.

Chapter X deals with an episode of interest to numismatists. Dupleix endeavoured to obtain the consent of the Nawab of Bengal to the grant to the French of a privilege already enjoyed by the English and Dutch, that of

taking their silver bullion direct to the Murshidabad mint, and having it there coined into rupees of the recognized Imperial currency. The affair was complicated by the fact that the French had already obtained in South India a grant going far beyond that claimed in Bengal. They had for many years been allowed to take their silver to the Arcot mint and to have it coined there, but in 1736 they succeeded, by dint of heavy bribes to the persons whose interests were affected, in obtaining the privilege of striking the rupees with the Arcot stamp at their own mint in Pondicherry. No such claim had been made by any of the Europeans trading in Bengal, which still formed an integral part of the Mughal Empire, but the French here were not granted even the privilege of having their silver coined at the established mint. They had to buy their *sikka* rupees through agents who made a great profit out of the transaction. All efforts to obtain this privilege failed, owing apparently to the fact that the sum of 40,000 rupees offered as a bribe was not sufficient to induce the interested parties to yield, and Dupleix did not think it worth while to make a higher bid. After 1736, however, when the French could strike rupees at Pondicherry, they expected to be able to circulate these freely in Bengal, but were soon disillusioned. There was, in fact, a considerable difference in value between the Arcot (or Pondicherry) rupee and the Imperial rupee of Murshidabad. The Arcot rupee was certainly less valuable, and it was believed that those struck at the French mint were still lower in quality, although this apparently was not correct. In any case, the assertion or belief had the effect of depreciating the French rupee, with the result that after all costs of exchange had been met 100 Arcot rupees exchanged only for 87 *sikka* rupees. An appeal was made from the local authorities to the Emperor, and after long discussions some concessions were made by which the French were allowed to take their bullion to the mint for coinage on the same terms as the Dutch, as regarded one-half of their requirements, and for the rest they could

circulate the Arcot or Pondicherry rupees at the ordinary trade *batta*, without extra charges. Dupleix had to make a gift of Rs. 50,000 to obtain this grant, which he considered to be the best which could be expected. Dumas, however, who was governor of Pondicherry, was not at all pleased. He considered that the permission he had obtained to strike rupees at Pondicherry was thereby rendered useless, and a very acrimonious correspondence ensued. Dupleix adopted a tone not at all compatible with any form of official subordination, and his attitude goes far to explain his difficulties with his official superiors. He seems, however, to have made the best arrangement possible. This is the opinion of M. Martineau. The authorities of the French company, while blaming him for his insubordination, found at the same time that he was justified in the course he had taken on the rupee question.

Other interesting episodes are dealt with, but the book's chief value lies in the light it throws upon Dupleix's complex character, and on the gradual developments of the French influence in southern India. For the most important results of this development the later volumes of the series must be awaited.

The second volume to be considered is of a different nature. It does not deal minutely with the personal history of either Dupleix or Clive, but Mr. Dodwell gives a very valuable historical sketch of the important movements which took place after Dupleix's accession to the post of Governor at Pondicherry, and especially after news of the outbreak of war in 1744 had reached India. He relies to a great extent, like M. Martineau, on original materials existing in the records which have been preserved at Madras, and those in the India Office, and other records existing in England. For this task he was already well qualified by his work as Curator of the Madras Record Office. During the period immediately preceding the war known as that of the Austrian Succession, trade rivalry and jealousy between the French and English

companies had been gradually increasing. Both still regarded trade as their sole object, and political influence with the rulers of Southern India was desired solely as a means of promoting trade. But when war had once been declared, the maintenance of neutrality in India became difficult and ultimately impossible. Dupleix at first desired it, for Pondicherry, like Madras, was not in a state of defence, while an English squadron had arrived in Indian waters. He tried to obtain the continuance of an ancient agreement to observe neutrality, which the English Presidencies held was beyond their authority. From this time Dupleix devoted his energies to induce the local potentate most immediately concerned to enforce neutrality on the English, an attempt which did not meet with success. La Bourdonnais, meanwhile, arrived on the coast with a strong French squadron. The mismanagement of affairs by the English Commodore Peyton left Madras defenceless, and La Bourdonnais landed a force and took it in 1746. A violent quarrel broke out between him and Dupleix as to the disposal of the place, and La Bourdonnais sailed away with his squadron. The important point in the end was that Dupleix became involved in difficulties with the Nawab of Arcot, who to enforce his policy of prohibiting hostilities on land attacked the French and attempted to drive them from Madras. His troops were defeated by the French in an action on the Adiyar river, and had to abandon their blockade of Madras. This action, as Mr. Dodwell shows (p. 20) has been exaggerated by historians, following Orme's lead, into a battle of great importance, and has been considered to be "the first considerable success obtained by Europeans over the country troops for over a century." Mr. Dodwell shows that this assertion is baseless, but that at the same time the efficiency and armament of European troops had been greatly improved, and that they had become more superior to Oriental troops than they had ever been before. As an example, it pointed out what could be done by small bodies of French or English troops when well

disciplined and armed, and this superiority was shared by the "country troops", when armed and led by European officers.

Dupleix was the first to take advantage of the new position. Peace was declared with England in 1748, Madras was restored to the English and Pondicherry was freed from further attacks by sea, but the way was open to establish French influence by giving the assistance of French troops to one or another of the numerous claimants to power among the fragments of the moribund Mughal Empire. The story of how this policy was carried out by Dupleix and Bussy, of its brilliant successes and ultimate failure, is told by Mr. Dodwell in the second, third, fourth, and fifth chapters of his work with greater accuracy and clearness than in any previous work on the subject. The causes of Dupleix's failure are seen to be of two kinds, military and financial. The military factor of greatest importance was the gradual adoption by the English of Dupleix's own methods. They saw clearly enough that as the French improved their position and influence with the local powers, this position was used to the injury of the commerce on which the Company depended, and which was the reason for its existence. They, therefore, steadily began to improve their own forces, and at the same time to take sides in the wars of the country, backing their own nominees or pretenders against those favoured by the French. In these struggles, although peace existed between the two nations, yet English and French troops were perpetually facing each other, fighting nominally not for their own country, but for the Nawāb or Subadār who employed and paid them. The financial position was also difficult and complicated. The revenues of the Company and its remittances for trade purposes were encroached upon and almost swallowed up in the expenses of the numerous wars. The rulers who obtained the services of French troops were expected to pay for them, but their revenues were insufficient, and not only were the receipts irregular, but a large part of the money available went to increase the private fortunes of the officials high and low.

Difficulties were continuous, and the Company's managers in France were dissatisfied and angry. It was a dispute on such matters that led to the recall of Dupleix in 1754. Such was the state of affairs when war between England and France was declared in 1756.

The second part of Mr. Dodwell's book, which he calls "The English Achievement", is concerned with the remainder of Clive's career in India beginning with the resumption of war between England and France in 1756, and affairs in Bengal which led to the establishment of English rule in that province. Mr. Dodwell gives a lucid and illuminating account of these events, and especially insists, more fully perhaps than has been done hitherto, on the connexion between the French position under Bussy in the Deccan, and the English position in Bengal. And, indeed, in the chain of events there seems to have been something which it is difficult to call by any other name than chance or fortune. The position of Bussy in the Deccan enabled him to keep on foot at the expense of the Nizam forces which the French could not otherwise have maintained. In the case of war breaking out again, these forces could be used against Madras, and it was determined by the Company that the English forces must be strengthened, and employed if possible in supporting the Mahrattas against Salābat Jang, who was backed by the French. A body of European troops was sent out under Clive, who was just then returning to India. They arrived at Bombay in 1755, the plan being that they should be used to support Bāljaji Rao. The Bombay Government, however, did not enter into the scheme with any heartiness, and diverted Clive and his force with Watson's flotilla to attack a pirate nest under Gheriah or Angria at Vijaydrug, on the west coast. This caused delay and dislocation in the arrangements, and when at last it had been determined to dispatch the expedition, war being imminent, news suddenly arrived of the fall of Calcutta. The Deccan schemes were abandoned, and Clive and the troops available

in time found their way to the Hugli. Mr. Dodwell's remarks (p. 99) are worth quoting: "Had we," he says, "been finally committed to the Deccan expedition when Calcutta was lost, Clive could not have sailed for its recovery, and the course of events in Bengal might have been widely different. It was therefore fortunate that in 1756 Bombay preferred its local interests in attacking Gheriah to the general interests of the nation in attacking Bussy. But it was the fortuitous concurrence of events that converted a stupid blunder into a lucky abstention. The Deccan could never have afforded the resources which, derived from Bengal, permitted the capture of Pondicherry in 1761 . . . The Bombay policy was wrong in spite of its issue; the Madras policy was wise in spite of the difficulties in which it might have involved us."

This may serve as an example of the manner in which Mr. Dodwell often throws a ray of light on a confused and entangled state of affairs. There are other instances in the remainder of the book, but space does not permit further details. It is a masterly review of the well-known military and civil events of the period, and sets forth in a clear light the merits of Clive's civil administrations and the firm basis which it laid for future developments. The military events are well dealt with, although Mr. Dodwell seems to place the battle of Plassey on too low a level as an achievement. Surely considering the conditions under which wars were waged and battles fought in India at that period it was a remarkable victory. Mr. Fortescue, an excellent judge, takes a much more favourable view in the brilliant account of Indian operations in vol. iii of his history of the British Army.

Mr. Dodwell's volume, taken altogether, is probably the best history available of this interesting period, and will be indispensable to all students of the subject.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

LA CITÉ DE DAVID: COMPTES RENDUS DES FOUILLES EXÉCUTÉES, SUR LE SITE DE LA VILLE PRIMITIVE, CAMPAGNE 1913-1914. Par RAYMOND WEILL. 10 × 6½, 219 pp., with sketch-plans, etc., and an album of plates, 13 × 10. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1920.

This is a book we ought, in all probability, to regard as the standard work dealing with the excavations made upon the site, at least until superseded by something based upon more thorough excavations, though it must be admitted that it is doubtful whether any really valuable complementary work in "David's city" will be carried out. Notwithstanding that the extent of ground excavated was small—about 82 yards square—a considerable amount of interesting data were obtained. As will be remembered, the tombs of the kings of Judah were located here, and it was this circumstance which made it the principal objective of the French explorers. The task which they set themselves was the clearing of all the tract near the acropolis, and the amount of soil which had to be removed was considerable. The results, however, were exceedingly satisfactory, for in the course of the work, in which the Roman, Jewish, and Canaanite layers were successively encountered, important monuments and general indications of an interesting nature came to light. From the top to the bottom of the hill, under the wall on the crest, appeared the details of the staged fortification of which the system could be analysed and the history reconstructed. Inserted in the layers of the superimposed slopes tombs and other remains of Canaanite and Jewish occupation have been found. These are similar to Parker's finds on the same watershed at the northern angle of the acropolis, "which still conceals archæological treasures."

On the plateau, the explorers found themselves upon ground largely devastated by the quarrymen of the Roman period, but they were rewarded, on the other hand, by the discovery of materials and the Greek inscription referring to the buildings there—the khan, bathing establishment, and synagogue.

Lower down are chambers used as tombs, and belonging to the burial places founded by David in the ancient citadel, where he and the first twelve of his successors were interred.

Notwithstanding the extent of the tract excavated, there is no doubt that the burial-ground covered a much larger surface, and the remainder will doubtless be recovered by continuing the excavations north and west of that already cleared. This, however, with the neighbouring portions which ought to be excavated, means a vast amount of digging when the work is resumed.

On the whole, the excavations made on the site of David's city were of considerable importance. All the work executed is very minutely described, and with all the systematic arrangement for which French writers are renowned. Sketches enable the details to be followed, and the album, which contains twenty-six plates, gives plans of the primitive city, the hill of ed-Dahoura, the principal excavations, "Tombeau T1," and an interesting series of half-tone views, which include the principal excavation, the walls laid bare, the cavern of Tomb T7, with the skeleton which it contained, the funerary furnishings of the Canaanite period, the quarries, etc., etc. There is no index, but the contents of the volume and its accompanying "album" are given at the end. The continuation of the work is greatly to be desired.

T. G. PINCHES.

RECORDS FROM ERECH : TIME OF NABONIDUS (555-538 B.C.).

By RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Boucher College. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 47 pp. and 84 plates. Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. vi. Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1920.

Though the museums of the world possess thousands of Babylonian contract-tablets, the number of known documents of this class continues to increase. In many cases their same-

ness is monotonous, but they are usually well worth studying, and that is in a marked degree the case in the present work. This is due to the fact that Erech was an important religious centre—the seat of the worship of Anu, the heaven-god, and Ištar, the Babylonian Venus. These inscriptions show, moreover, that the temples and consequently the priesthood of Erech held a more important place in the life of its inhabitants than seems to have been the case in other religious centres of Babylonia, including even Babylon, and perhaps also Sippar, the principal seat of the sungod-worship. It is therefore possible that its position as second on the list of the cities of Nimrod's kingdom, "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh," may be due to this fact.

The texts now published show that Erech was a city much favoured by royalty, and this favour it apparently strove to maintain by encouraging the king and the crown prince (Nabonidus and his son Belshazzar) to hold office or to interest themselves in the religious foundations of the place. As the tablets of the Harding Smith collection (published by me in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for January, 1916, pp. 27-54) show, the scribes of Erech give important details concerning Belshazzar's position in Babylonia (as they do also with regard to the status of Gobyras, otherwise Darius the Mede), and from the present volume, with its 246 autographed inscriptions, these details are confirmed and supplemented.

One of the most interesting inscriptions referring to Nabonidus is No. 11, which is described as a lease granted by Nabonidus. This is an inscription of thirty-two lines, in which two men, Sum-ukîn and Kalbaya, pray the king to grant them additional lands to cultivate, and on which to raise livestock for the temple of the Lady of Erech. The field requested lay *ina eli mê*, "upon the waters"—probably meaning by the side of a river or canal. Whilst the tract was in the possession of the leaseholders, it was stipulated that the cattle should not be allowed to die off, so all those which

were born on the estate were to be reported to the king's messenger, who branded them with the mark of the Lady of Erech. The text gives many other noteworthy details, and is of considerable importance in connexion with the ways of the religious community located of old in Erech. The date of the document is the 29th of Nisan in Nabonidus's first year.

A tablet of a similar nature is No. 150, containing thirty-five lines of writing. It is described as "A lease of land from Belshazzar". In this text the applicant for the lease is Ibnî-Ištar, an official of the Lady of Erech. How far, therefore, this may be described as a lease, is doubtful. This official, as in the former case, applies—not to the king, but to the crown prince—for permission to take up the cultivation (of land requiring, for seeding), 825 *gur* of grain as his *bît šipri*, which probably means "the house" or "place of his commission"—that is, the tract he desired to administer for the benefit of the temple. It was situated in the pasture-enclosure of the Lady of Erech, which lay in the *sumantar* district, and entailed the command of 100 men, with 100 oxen, and 50 full-grown cows belonging to the king's son, (each) "a bearer", and in return for this concession Ibnî-Ištar promises to hand in 3,000 *gur* of mature barley, by the king's measure, during the year (or yearly). The bargain having been agreed to, certain stipulations are made which include 3,000 trusses of straw. The transaction is dated in the eleventh year of Nabonidus. Other texts referring to Belshazzar are those which record the oath which, in Babylonian affidavits, were sworn and which tend to show that Belshazzar was on the same footing as the king, his father.

It is impossible to touch upon a tithe of the interesting details which these inscriptions contain, but a few more items may be noted. Thus, one of the tablets (No. 154) records how "a widow . . . owing to a famine in the land, marks her two little sons with a star, and gives them to the temple for life." The name of the woman was Banât-Innin ("the goddess of Erech's creation"), but the boys' names are compounded with

that of the sun-god, and appear as Šamaš-êriba and Šamaš-îli". The officials of E-anna (the temple of Ištar of Erech) heard Banât-Innin's request, and gave food to the children, who remained devotees of the goddess for the remainder of their lives.

No. 224 has the description "Legal action with reference to a man whose grandmother had been dedicated to the Belit of Erech." The text begins with a list of the officials and free-born citizens of Erech before whom the inquiry took place, and also the officials of Ê-anna, who conducted it.

Addressing Šamaš-šum-iddina, the officials said: "Thou art the son of Silim-Ištar, daughter of Haršinana, the *širkatu* of the Lady of Erech." Šamaš-šum-iddina answered "Babuni, daughter of Iddina-Marduk, has confirmed the declaration of Silim-Ištar, my mother, and Haršinana, my grandmother—through her (are) the confirmations".

The mayor of Erech, the steward of Ê-anna, and the king's representative, brought Babunu, and she invoked the spirit of the gods and the king in the assembly, (saying) that "I have not seen the star-sign and the curses on the hand (or wrist) of Haršinana, handmaid of Iddina-âhu, my father's brother, grandmother of Šamaš-šum-iddina, whom Iddina-âhu, my father's brother, before she brought forth, declared free to the Lady of Erech for the position of *širkatu*."

Here follows the name of the scribe and the date: "additional month of Adar, day 3rd, year 15th, Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

In the introduction the author has several notes upon the office of *širku* (or *širqu*, as he transcribes it). That it designated some order of devotees (*širkatu* in the fem.) is clear, but just what it implies is doubtful.

Though short, the introduction is very interesting, and the whole work shows care and technical skill. There are lists of names of men, places, canals, and gates; and a catalogue of the contents.

T. G. PINCHES.

DIE ANFÄNGE DER CHINESISCHEN GESCHICHTSCHREIBUNG.

Von A. ROSTHORN. 10 × 6, 28 pp. Wien bei Alfred Hölder. 1920.

The first nineteen pages of this pamphlet are devoted to an analysis of Chinese historical literature as it exists to-day; the remaining nine pages to a summary of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's essay on the reform of historical writing in China. The author of the essay visited Europe in connexion with the Paris Conference, and is probably known to many readers of this Journal. His chief ground of complaint against Chinese historical books is that they are in some ways different from European works. They do not attempt to trace "influences" or construct a "philosophy of history". For this abstinence many readers will be thankful. What a "philosophy of history" is or should be Mr. Liang apparently makes no attempt to explain. As for "influences", those absurd generalizations so dear to History Dons, we get on very well without them. Chinese histories are essentially books of reference. Mr. Liang complains that it would take forty years to peruse them all. It would, we may reply, take a considerable time to read through the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and *Dictionary of National Biography*. Weary of the objectivity of Chinese chronicles, Mr. Liang falls in love with Herbert Spencer. We, sated with empty theorizations, welcome the bald annals and formal biographies of China, and would gladly make an offer for Mr. Liang's discarded library!

A. WALEY.

CHINESISCHE SCHATTENSPIELE. Herausgegeben VON WILHELM GRUBE and EMIL KREBS. 12 × 9, iii + 754 pp. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1915.

The 752 handsome pages of this book contain the unannotated Chinese texts of about sixty shadow-plays. In 1901 Berthold Laufer purchased for the American Museum in New York a large manuscript collection of these plays. Wilhelm Grube undertook the translating and editing of the

texts, and after his death in 1908 the work was carried on by Herr Emil Krebs. The plays are here arranged in categories, such as Buddhist, Taoist, historical, etc. In some cases more than one version is given. The dialogue is in Pekin colloquial; the lyrics, in the language of classical poetry. Many European readers will therefore find themselves in the position of being able to read only a part of each play. Fortunately, a translation of the plays (by Grube and Krebs, with introduction by Laufer) was published in the *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie*, xxviii Bd., 1915. It must be confessed that they make heavy reading; but it would not be fair to judge of them apart from actual performance. Certainly the texts stand no higher as literature than those of "legitimate" Chinese drama.

A. WALEY.

TREE AND BIRD AS COSMOLOGICAL SYMBOLS IN WESTERN ASIA. By Professor A. J. WENSINCK. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xi + 49. Amsterdam: Johannes Mueller, 1921.

Professor Wensinck is finishing with this book a trilogy of investigations which he has carried on concerning the conception of the Navel, the Ocean, and now the Tree and Bird in Semitic Mythology, if the latter word is not too wide, covering perhaps a larger space than the author intended. In any case Professor Wensinck tries to find an explanation for some curious traditions connected with the tree, starting with the Babylonian Legends, of the Journey of the Hero in the Gilgamesh Epic. A peculiar tree is mentioned there made of precious stones and radiating in many colours. Professor Wensinck identifies first this tree with the sun, and then traces this legend in its wandering from east to west as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. These latter take the place of the ancient cleft through the mountains in the Babylonian legends through which the sun passes in rising and setting.

He is thus then able to throw a new light on many of the

pictures of Assyrian seals and cylinders and to interpret their symbolical meaning. A large number of such illustrations accompany the text.

Incidentally Professor Wensinck refers also to the gigantic Bull pursued and killed by its natural enemies. In this connexion one might mention also the famous gigantic Ox of Jewish traditions, on which the pious will feast after the advent of the Messiah. It is another form which the legend of the Behemoth has assumed to which Professor Wensinck refers.

The final portion of the book deals with the bird which in the legendary form appears in an extraordinary character, and more especially in Mohammedan traditions. Professor Wensinck identifies these birds also with the sun. Of course, the Phoenix occurs among them, and the legend of the eagle, which in a simpler form is already found in the ancient Physiologus, by centuries older than any written record of Islamic literature.

It would be an interesting problem to investigate afresh and on a more comprehensive scale than has hitherto been the case the probable sources of the Mohammedan legends. Professor Wensinck has been well advised in adding a complete index to all the three publications. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of Comparative Mythology.

M. G.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Lord Reay

FROM the public point of view the career of Lord Reay, whose death took place on August 1, has been commemorated with due appreciation in the *Times* and other organs of the Press; and many more tributes from institutions and societies which had benefited by his wise and moderate counsels, his statesmanly instinct, his accomplishments and experience, and his distinguished and courtly presence will, no doubt, be placed on record. The Royal Asiatic Society, of which he had been President since 1892, may claim to have enjoyed a full share in his regard. He seldom failed to be in the chair at its public gatherings or at the meetings of its Council. He was always in close touch with the work of the honorary and permanent officials; all important proceedings were discussed with him, and, even when the course actually followed had not his entire concurrence, it generally bore the impress of his advice.

From the admirable obituary notice in the *Times* we are permitted to quote the following summary account of his lordship's ancestry and early career, as well as to extract some other particulars:—

“The Scottish peerage of Reay was created in favour of Donald Mackay of Far, chief of the clan Mackay, in 1628. This restless soldier was one of the many Scots who during the long peace which followed the accession of James VI to the English crown sought fame and reward in the Continental wars. He was succeeded in the title by his son John, who remained loyal to the Stuarts during the Commonwealth. The second Lord Reay had two sons, Donald, who never succeeded to the title, but was ancestor of the subsequent peers until the death of Eric, the ninth Lord,

in 1876 ; and Æneas Mackay, colonel of the Scots regiment in Holland, from whom the late Lord Reay was descended. Æneas was the father of another Colonel Æneas Mackay, who by his marriage brought the Dutch estate of Ophemert into the family. He was the first of the Mackays settled in Holland who accepted permanently the foreign domicile. His son, Baron Barthold Mackay, served in the Dutch Navy ; and his grandson, Baron Æneas, who eventually succeeded to the Scottish title, was a Minister of State and Vice-President of the Council of the Netherlands. Baron Æneas married a daughter of Baron Fagee, a distinguished Dutch statesman, and became the father of the late peer.

“ Born on 22nd December, 1839, Baron Mackay was educated at the Gymnasium at the Hague, and at the University at Leyden, where he graduated in Laws. After graduating he entered the Dutch Foreign Office, and was appointed an honorary attaché to the Dutch Legation in London. He was then transferred to the Dutch Colonial Office, in which he held for a short time the post of an Assistant Secretary. This he resigned in 1866, in order to make a tour through the United States, for the purpose of studying the social and political condition of the country at a particularly interesting period of reconstruction. On his return to Holland he was elected president of a society for the promotion of manufactures and handicrafts, and in that capacity he organized the first industrial exhibition which was ever attempted in Holland. In 1871 he was returned to the Chamber of Representatives of the States-General as Liberal member for Tiel. The subjects which most engrossed his attention were those relating to the social well-being of the people and to the Colonies. He was again returned to the Chamber of Representatives in 1875, the year in which his father succeeded to the Scottish title of Reay, on the death of the ninth baron. The succession was a barren honour, for the ancestral estates, ‘ the Reay country,’ had been alienated by Eric, the seventh lord, in 1829. The tenth

Lord Reay remained in Holland, where he died in 1876, and the title devolved upon his son.

“The new peer decided to take up his residence in England. In 1877 he resigned his seat in the Dutch Chamber of Representatives, and became naturalized as a British subject. In the same year he married Fanny Georgiana Jane, the widow of Alexander Mitchell, M.P. This lady possessed considerable estates in Berwickshire, and thus Lord Reay was enabled to assume with dignity the position in Scotland which was due to the Chief of the Clan Mackay. As a Scottish Liberal peer, he had little opportunity of taking any practical part in politics until 1881, when he was created a baron in the peerage of the United Kingdom. Meanwhile he had been studying the social and economic conditions of England and Scotland, and was president of many useful societies and congresses for the advancement of social and intellectual interests. In 1884 he was elected Rector of St. Andrew's University.”

Lord Reay's connexion with India was initiated by his appointment in 1885 as Governor of the Bombay Presidency, in succession to Sir James Fergusson. His tenure of the office was a marked success, and it was attended by progress in many departments, such as railways, forestry, and local government. The greatest achievement of his time is held to be the Bombay Municipal Act. But the subject which probably ranked first among his interests was education. It fell to him to develop and apply to the Bombay Presidency the conclusions of the Education Commission, presided over by Sir William Hunter, which issued its voluminous report in 1883-4. It was in the field of primary education that the most important advance was made by Lord Reay. But technical education was recognized by him in its full significance for India; and under his auspices was founded the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, which achieved an “extraordinary initial success”, and the Reay workshops were attached to the school of art. Agricultural education was encouraged in connexion with the College of Science at

Poona, and in 1886 the Bombay Veterinary College was opened. Lord Reay also took measures to foster education in special parts of the country, such as Sind and Gujarat, and among particular communities, for example the Muhammadans and Lingayats, "depressed classes" and aboriginal tribes. The main tendencies of his policy were to the encouragement of private enterprise and of practical aims. An address which he delivered before the Convocation of the Bombay University in 1889 deserves to be read by all persons interested in Indian education.

Of his position as Governor Lord Reay had a very clear conception. In his dealings with his Council and with the Secretariat there were some original features. His methods were calculated to maintain his independence, and his appointments were not invariably under the sway of routine. Among the members of his council one on whom he much relied, especially in legal matters, was Sir Raymond West, who afterwards served our Society as Vice-President and Director under his Presidency. Other colleagues in the Bombay administration who were then or subsequently connected with the Society were Sir William Lee-Warner, Col. G. A. Jacob, and Dr. Fleet. Many distinguished Orientalists and members of the Bombay branch — we may mention Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, Mr. Justice Telang, Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Mr. Justice Tyabji, Professor Bühler, Professor Kielhorn, Sir Narayan Chandavakar—worked with or under him or came in contact with him.

Lord Reay manifested an active interest in humanitarian and charitable works, in which sphere he was ably seconded by his wife. It was said that never had Bombay founded so many and such useful institutions as during his time, and that, having found the city proud of its architecture, he left it proud of its hospitals, laboratories, and asylums. He had an extraordinary success in eliciting private munificence.

"There was scarcely a single movement of this kind in the

Presidency which had not felt the beneficial touch of his helping hand." In company with Lady Reay he was also influential in promoting social intercourse not only between European and Indians, but also among the different native communities. Lady Reay also showed her care for the feminine portion of the population by the foundation and support of hospitals and by her encouragement of *Purdah* parties. These efforts, joined to his lordship's gracious courtesy and charm of manner, won him a marked popularity among all classes. Professor Bhandarkar spoke of "the form which had become endeared to them". With the native princes in particular the Governor was successful in cultivating friendly relations. Quite a number of institutions in Bombay and the towns still bear his name or that of Lady Reay. In 1889 his portrait was installed in the Victoria Institute, and upon the termination of his Governorship a memorial fund was inaugurated, resulting in the fine marble statue by Gilbert, which adorns the vicinity of the present secretariat. The proceedings in connexion with this fund and with the unveiling of the statue by Lord Sandhurst in 1895 are recorded in a brochure published in 1896. But for a full commemoration of this eventful period in Lord Reay's career we must turn to Sir William Hunter's *Bombay 1885 to 1890* (Oxford, 1892).

In 1892 Lord Reay became a member and later along with Sir Raymond West a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society; in the next year he succeeded Lord Northbrook as President. At that time the governing body included, among others, such well-known scholars as Sir Henry Rawlinson (director), Professor Sayce, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Professor Robertson Smith, Sir Thomas Wade, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Dr. Rost, while the office of Honorary Librarian was held by Dr. Codrington, and the secretary and assistant secretary were Professor Rhys Davids and Miss Hughes, all three, as well as Mr. James Kennedy, then an honorary auditor, destined to serve the Society during a long period under his Presidency. Lord Reay proved an ideal

chairman for the public meetings of the Society. His dignified figure and courtly manner, his gift of ready and pointed speech, on occasion his perfect command of the French language, lent a grace especially to the anniversary meetings, when the Society took stock of its achievements and prospects. In one of the first of these assemblages he dealt with a subject in which he was later to make a decisive intervention, namely, that of the establishment of a School of Oriental Studies in London. A notable occurrence in the first years of his tenure was the institution of a Triennial Gold Medal, which was first awarded to Professor E. B. Cowell in 1897. Subsequently, in consequence of the success in eliciting subscriptions with this object, a matter in which Mr. A. N. (now Sir Arthur) Wollaston was specially fortunate in eliciting the liberality of Indian princes, provision was made for a second medal, annually awarded for the best essay sent in by pupils from certain schools, and ultimately a sum was available for a third object, namely, a series of prize publications now numbering six volumes, of which the first was published in 1909. Through the liberality of Lord Northbrook and Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, and the active exertions of the latter, the Society was able to found a new series of the Oriental Translation Fund, in which a large number of important works have appeared, Professor Rhys Davids' visit to India in 1899 resulted in a project for a series of volumes to be issued by the Society on behalf of the Government of India with the title *Indian Texts Series*. In the course of the protracted negotiations which followed a second series, entitled *Indian Records Series*, was added, and eventually the relation of the Society to both series, which are published by Murray, became rather that of a guarantor of their scholarly quality than an actual controlling authority. In 1907 a standing committee was appointed to deal with the matter; the proposed tale of volumes still awaits completion. Lord Reay took a personal part in the discussions and negotiations connected with this matter.

An important transaction of the years 1905-8 was the revision of the rules of the Society, in which the late Dr. J. F. Fleet took a prominent part. Of the reconstruction the leading feature was the provision for compulsory retirement from the Council after four years' service. During this period the proceedings of the Council and even of the general meetings were not always harmonious; and the President's reserve and moderation, as well as his occasional assertions of authority, were by no means out of place.

On June 2, 1903, an interesting letter, addressed to the *Times* by Dr. Sten Konow, of the University of Christiania, drew attention once more to the need of a School of Oriental Studies in London; and about the same time the Council had to deal with a proposal for a system of recommending teachers of the languages of the East. But it was perhaps Professor Rhys Davids' address to the British Academy in February, 1904, which gave the initiative. The first public outcome was a deputation to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as First Lord of the Treasury, on December 4, 1906. The deputation, in which beside the British Academy a number of Societies, including our own, were represented, was headed by Lord Reay. Of the Treasury Committee appointed to take evidence and present a report his lordship was nominated chairman. The report and evidence, the latter contributed by many eminent scholars, British and Continental, were issued as a blue book in two parts during the year 1909. When the time came for giving effect to the Committee's recommendations (in 1909), the matter was referred to a new committee, of which the most prominent members were Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon, while Oriental scholarship was more particularly represented by Sir Charles Lyall, then one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, and also head of a department in the India Office. To the success of the labours of that committee it is unnecessary to refer. Upon the governing body of the School established in Finsbury Circus Lord Reay was naturally chosen as the Society's first representative; he resigned in 1916.

Another capacity in which his lordship maintained a close connexion with Orientalism was that of chairman of the the Board of Oriental Studies in the University of London. This position he held from 1901 to 1918, and until recent years he was usually present at the meetings.

We need not here do more than refer to Lord Reay's tenure of the office of Under-Secretary of State for India (1894-5), or of his work as Chairman of the London School Board (1897-1904). He was a prime mover in the foundation of the British Academy in 1902, and its first President (1902-7). He was also Vice-President 1892, President 1897 of University College and Chairman of its Council from 1908 until his death, and of the Institute of International Law and the Franco-Scottish Society. These pre-occupations did not detract from his interest in political matters or prevent his taking a distinguished part in the debates of the House of Lords.

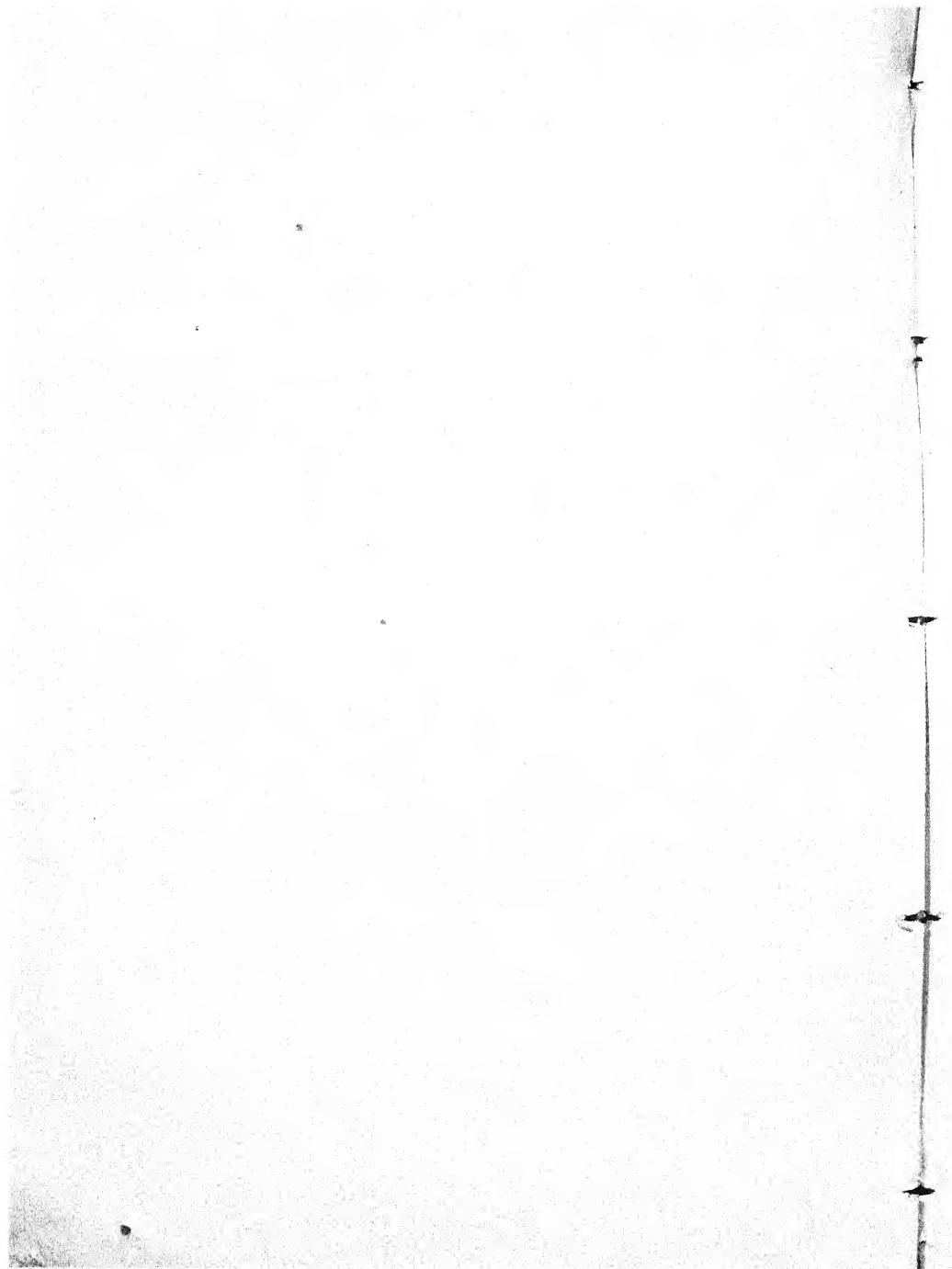
An unfortunate accident in the year 1917, resulting in a broken thigh-bone, which refused to join, confined Lord Reay thenceforth to an invalid's chair. It did not, however, prevent his appearance at the meetings of University College and the Royal Asiatic Society. He was rarely absent. He took a keen interest in all the transactions connected with the Society's recent change of domicile; and in addition to his public appearances he was always ready to welcome the officials of the Society, once even the whole Council, to discuss matters with him at his house in Berkeley Square (No. 35). He presided with his wonted grace and cheerfulness at the last Anniversary meeting in May of this year, and at the last Council meeting in July. Those who consulted him just prior to his leaving London for the summer failed to note any signs of weakening interest or grasp of affairs; and in spite of his great age the announcement of his death, in the *Times* for August 2, came as a surprise. The Society sent wreaths to his funeral in Scotland, and at the memorial service in St. Columba's Church in Pont Street on August 4 it was, considering the holiday season, well represented.

Lord Reay was made a G.C.I.E. in 1887, and a G.C.S.I. three years later. In 1906 he became a Privy Councillor, and in 1911 the high honour of Knighthood of the Thistle was conferred upon him. Lady Reay died in 1917: there had been no children of their marriage. Interesting references to his lordship's literary and social life and to the Breakfast Club, of which he was a member, will be found in the volumes of the late Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff's *Notes of a Diary* (London, 1899).

F. W. THOMAS.

H.R.H. Prince Vajiranana

THE Society regrets to record the death of the Siamese Patriarch, His Holiness Prince Vajirañāna. The Prince was Supreme Patriarch of the Buddhist Church in Siam, and his scholarship was of a high order. In 1898 he was elected Honorary Member of the Society, and on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday presented the R.A.S. with sixty pounds in honour of the event.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(August-October, 1921)

The title of Vāgīsha (Lord of Speech) has been conferred on Sir George Grierson by the Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association with the sanction of the Bihar and Orissa Government. The Society also congratulates Dr. F. W. Thomas (Hon. Secretary) on his election as Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and also as Foreign Member of the Norwegian Academy.

The following 41 members were elected at the General Meeting in June :—

Capt. R. C. Abraham.	Mr. Louis Levi.
Mr. K. L. Ahmad, B.A.	Dr. A. Marmorstein.
Mir M. Anwar Ali, P.C.S.	Mr. W. Miller.
Babu A. C. Banerjea.	Capt. Arnold Platts.
Mr. H. Basu, M.A.	Miss H. A. E. Roberts.
Mr. H. A. M. Belshah.	Raja M. N. Roy, Chaudhury of Santosh.
Mr. S. M. Brown, D.F.C.	Kunwar Shib S. Roy of Rajshahi.
Mr. J. S. F. Campbell.	Mr. E. Samuel, B.A.
Viscount Chelmsford.	Mr. N. Sarif.
Rev. H. Danby.	Mr. K. R. Sitaram, B.A.
Mr. B. E. C. Davis, M.A.	Mr. J. E. Smart, B.A., M.C., etc.
Rev. T. Fish.	Capt. P. F. Smith, M.C.
Mr. A. Frisby.	Mr. R. F. G. Swinson, B.A.
Mr. A. B. Gagendragadkar, M.A.	Mr. S. Tolkowsky.
Rev. Prof. A. Guillaume.	Mr. S. S. G. Viran, B.A., etc.
Rev. T. M. Harden, LL.D.	Mr. G. M. Wallace.
Miss Harris.	Lieut. J. F. Ward.
Mr. A. Hyman.	Mr. R. N. Welinkar.
Mrs. H. Irwell.	Mr. W. K. Wernham.
The Imam Mustapha Khan.	Miss D. F. Williams.
H.H. Maharaja K. C. Roy Bahadur of Krishnagar.	

On 19th September Mr. Lee Shuttleworth, I.C.S., gave a most interesting exhibition of photographic enlargements of views in the Western Himalayas. He also showed a complete Tibetan Buddhist altar with all accessories and large numbers of Tibetan illuminations. During the course of the afternoon he threw on the screen numerous lantern transparencies, including many taken by direct colour photography.

Sir E. Denison Ross opened the session on 11th October with a paper entitled "The Red Sea at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century". In November Professor Sayce reads one on "New Light from the East", and Mr. Campbell Thompson tells of "Modern Babylonia" in a lecture illustrated with slides, in December.

Corrigenda.—There is a mistake in the title of Professor Hagopian's review of the *History of the Armenians in India* (*July Journal*, p. 457). The reviewer wished to say that the work could be obtained at 12 Wellesley Square, East, Calcutta. Messrs. Luzac write to say that they were the publishers of the book in 1895, which is the right date, and not 1915 as stated in the review.

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SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	व v
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

— (Anusvāra) . . . m̐

◌̣ (Anunāsika) . . m̐

ː (Visarga) . . . ḥ

× (Jihvāmūliya) . . ḥ

◌̣ (Upadhmaniya) . . ḥ

ˆ (Aragraha) . . . ˆ

Udātta ˆ

Svarita ˆ

Anudātta ˆ

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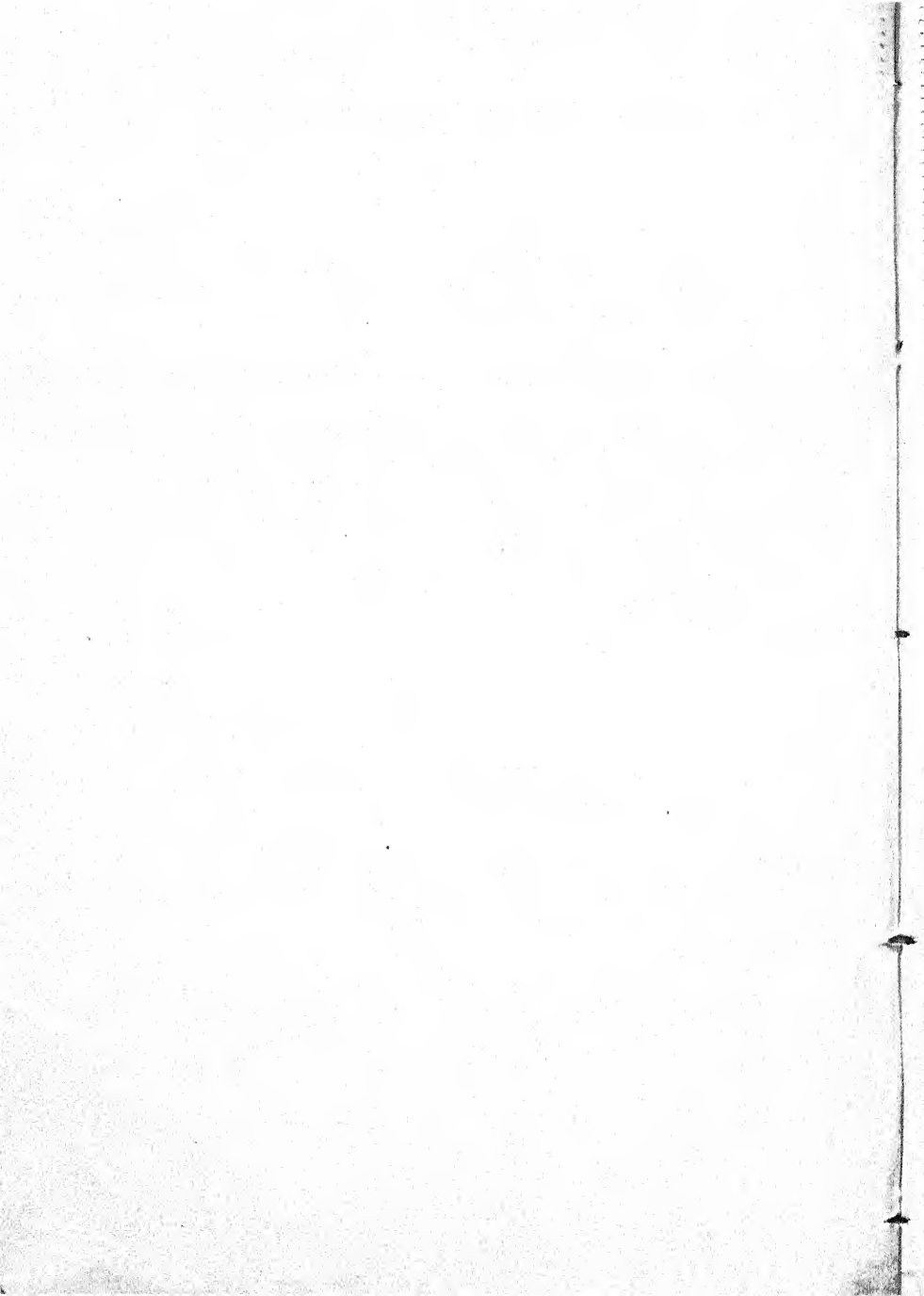
ا at beginning of word omit;	ك k	آ ā
elsewhere َ or ِ	ل l	ي ī
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	و ū
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ص . s or <u>z</u>	و . w or v
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or <u>z</u>	ه h
ح h	ط ṭ	ي y
خ . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ ẓ	و u
د d	ع ʿ	wasla ʾ
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	hamza َ or ِ
ر r	ف f	silent t ḥ
ز z	ق q	letter not pro-
		nounced

DIPHTHONGS.

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PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ك when pro-	ت or پ . t	څ ts
چ . c or <u>ch</u>	nounced as	ڄ or څ . . . d	ڄ ɟ
ز . z or <u>zh</u>	g k	ڙ or ڙ ?	ن n
گ g	ڱ ñ		ښ ksh



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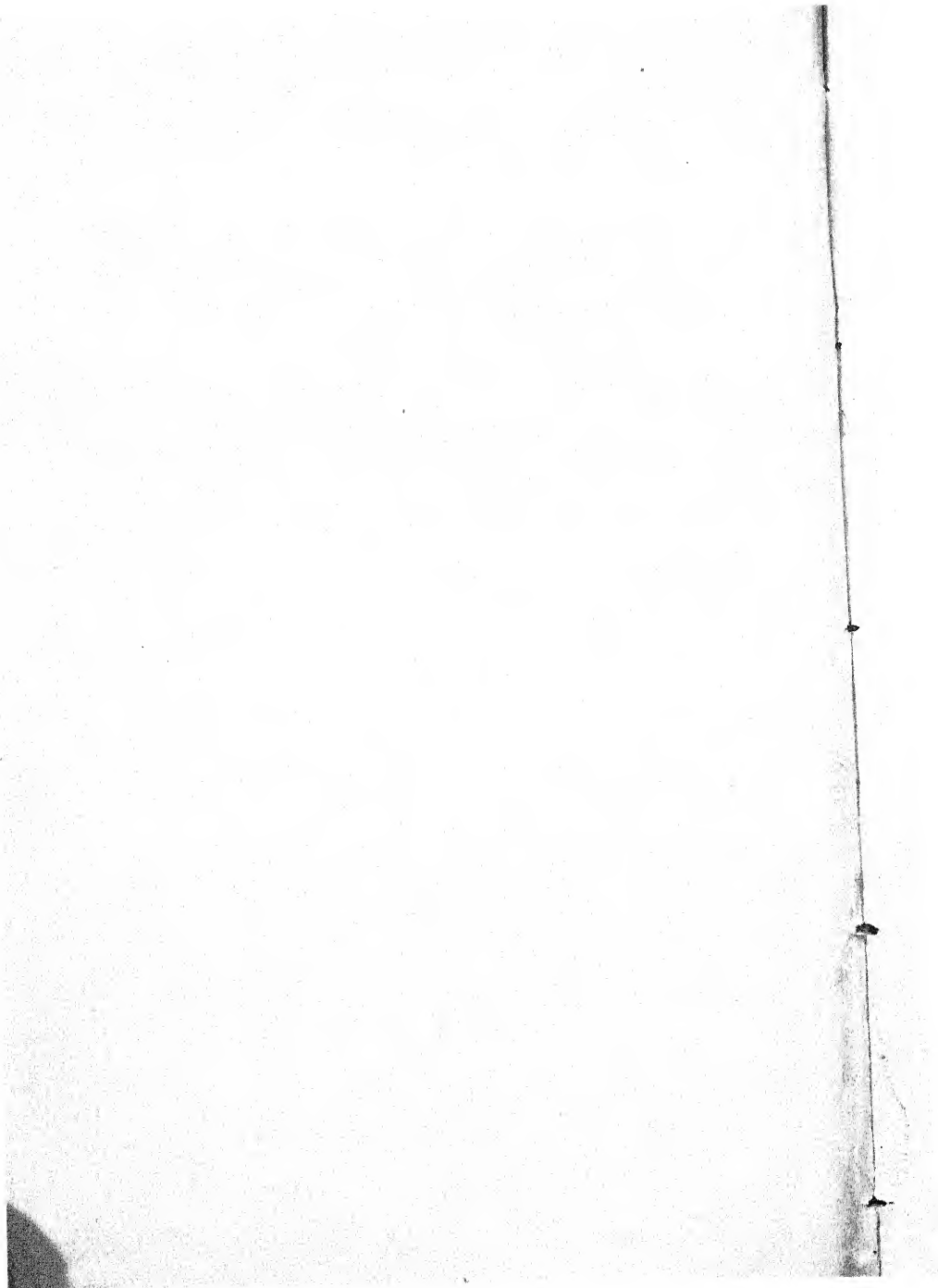
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